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FASCICLE 1 : Jarā - Kāśyapīya

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Frontispiece

Vihāramahādevi, daughter of the King of Kälaniya, about to be set adrift to appease the sea gods.

Wall painting at Kälaniya Rajamahavihāra.

Courtesy: 'The Rock and Wall Paintings of Sri Lanka' by Senaka Bandaranayake and Gamini Jayasinghe, Colombo, 1986, p. 280.

IN MEMORIAM

We record with sorrow the passing away of
Dr. L. P. N. Perera, Professor Emeritus, former
Professor and Head of the Department of Pali
and Buddhist Studies and one time Vice-Chancellor
of the Sri Jayawardenapura University
of Sri Lanka. An expert of the Pali language,
he was a versatile writer on Buddhist Philosophy
in the English medium and was accepted by scholars
in general as a clever exponent of Buddha Dhamma.
His contributions to the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism
DEMOCRACY, EGALITARIANISM and HUMAN RIGHTS
remain as monuments to his profound and indepth
understanding of the sublime teachings
of the Buddha.
Professor L. P. N. Perera served the
Encyclopaedia of Buddhism as an expert
consultant, for over 10 years.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. .. Anguttara Nikāya, I-VI, ed. R. Morris, E. Hardy, C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1885 - 1910.

AA. .. Anguttaranikāya Atthakathā, (Manorathapūrani), I-V, ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp, *PTS.* 1924-56.

AAWG. .. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.

AbhK. .. Abhidharmakośa (Nāgari characters), ed. R. Sankrityayana, Banaras, 1930.

AbhKbh. .. Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, ed. Th. Stcherbatsky, *BB. XX,* 1930.

AbhKk. .. Abhidharmakośakārikā, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Paris, 1931.

AbhKvy. .. Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-36.

Abhs. .. Abhidhammatthasangaha, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1884, 1-48.

Abhsy. .. Abhidharmasamuccaya, ed. P. Pradhan, *VBS.* 12, 1950.

Abhvt. .. Abhidhammāvatāra, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* I, 1915.

ABIA. .. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute.

ABORI. .. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).

Abs Puś. .. Abhisamayālamkāraprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-*śāstra* (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation), ed. Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller, *BB, XXIII,* 1929.

AbsPvy. .. Abhisamayālamkārālokaprajñāpāra-mitāvyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932 - 35.

AdśP. .. Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. H. Leumann, Strassburg, 1912.

Akanuma 1 .. Akanuma, C.: Indo-Bukkyō, Koyūmeishi-Jiten (Dictionary of Buddhist Indian Proper Names), Nagoya, 1931.

Akanuma 2 .. Akanuma, C.: Kam-pa Shibu Agon Goshō roku (The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas), Nagoya, 1929.

AKM. .. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes heraus g. von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

AM. .. Asia Minor.

AMG. .. Annales du Musée Guimet.

Anāgv. .. Anāgatavamsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1886, 33 ff.

Anesaki. .. Anesaki, M.: The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese, 1908.

AO. .. Archiv Orientálni: Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute.

Ap. .. Apadāna, I-II, ed. M. E. Lilley, *PTS.* 1925-27.

ApA. .. Apadāna Atthakathā (Visuddhajanavilāsini), ed. C. E. Godakumbura, *PTS.* 1954.

ArtA. .. Artibus Asiae (Ascona, Switzerland).

Arvś. .. Arthaviniścaya, ed. A. Ferrari, Rome, 1944.

AS. .. Aluvihāra Series (Colombo).

ASCAR. .. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report

ASCI. .. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Inscription

ASCMem. .. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Memoir

ASIAR. .. Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report

ASIMem. .. Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir

AsP. .. Astasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1888.

ASWI. .. Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India

Atā. .. Atānātikasūtra, ed. H. Hoffmann (Bruchstücke des Atānātikasūtra), *KITurf.* V, 1939

Avk. .. Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das, *BI,* 1888-96

Avś. .. Avadānaśataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST,* 19, 1958.

BASR. .. Bulletin de l' Académie des Sciences de Russie

BB. .. Bibliotheca Buddhica (Leningrad)

Bbh. .. Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930-36

Bc. .. Bodhicaryāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Calcutta, 1901-14

Bcp. .. Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, 1902

BD. .. Buddhist Dictionary, by Nyānatiloka (revised edition), Colombo, 1956

Beal .. Beal, S.: The Buddhist Tripitaka, 1876

BEFEO. .. Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient (Hanoi)

Bendall .. Bendall, C.: Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge, 1883

Bhkāv. .. Bhadrakalpāvadāna, ed. S. Oldenbourg, 1884

BHS. .. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary, ed. F. Edgerton, Yale, 1953.

Bksk. .. Bhavasamkrāntisūtra (and commentary, reconstructed in Sanskrit from Tibetan translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938.

BI. .. Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)

BiblB. .. Bibliographie Bouddhique (Paris)

BIIMEO. .. Bulletino dell' Instituto Indiano peril, Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Rome)

BM. .. Buddhadatta's Manuals, I-II, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1915, 1927

BMFJ. .. Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise (Tokyo)

BniPrāt. .. Bhiksunīprātimoksa ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstücke des Bhiksunīprātimoksa), *KITurf.* III, 1926

BOH. .. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapêst)

BPrāt. .. Bodhisattvaprātimoksasūtra, ed. N. Dutt, *IHQ.* 7, 1931, 259 ff.

BS. .. Buddhistic Studies, ed. B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1931

BSOAS. .. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London

BSS. .. Bombay Sanskrit Series

BST. .. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga)

Buc. .. Buddhacarita, ed. E. H. Johnston, Calcutta, 1935

Bup. .. Buddhaghosuppatti (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London, 1892

Buv. .. Buddhavamsa, ed. R. Morris, *PTS.* 1882

BuvA. .. Buddhavamsa Atthakathā (Madhurattha-vilāsini), ed. I. B. Horner, *PTS.* 1946

Cabaton .. Cabaton, A.: Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Pāli, Paris, 1907

Catuś. .. Catuḥśataka (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts reconstructed), ed. V. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1931

CHJ. .. The Ceylon Historical Journal

CII. .. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

CJHSS. .. The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies

CJSc. .. Ceylon Journal of Science — Section G

Ckv. .. Chakesadhātuvamsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1885, 5–16

Cordier .. Cordier, P.: Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain, II-III, 1909–15

Cp. .. Cariyāpitaka, ed. B. C. Law, Lahore, 1924.

CpA. .. Cariyāpitaka Atthakathā (Paramatthadipani), ed. D. L. Barua, *PTS.* 1939

CPD. .. A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Copenhagen

Cviśp. .. Cittaviśuddhiprakarana, ed. P. B. Patel, *VBS.* 8, 1949

D. .. Digha Nikāya, I–III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, *PTS.* 1890–1911

DA. .. Dighanikāya Atthakathā (Sumangalavilāsini), I–III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, J. E. Carpenter, W. Stede, *PTS.* 1886–1932

Dāthv. .. Dāthāvamsa, ed. B. C. Law, *PSS.* 7, 1925

Dbhg. .. Daśabhūmika-sūtra (Gāthā portion) ed. J. Rahder and S. Susa, Extract from the Eastern Buddhist, Vol. V., No. 4, 1931

Dbhs. .. Daśabhūmika-sūtra, ed. J. Rahder, Louvain, 1926

DCBT. .. Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms ed. W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, London, 1937

DeS. .. de Silva, W. A.: Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts, I, *MCM.* series A. No. 4, 1938

DeZ. .. de Zoysa, Louis: A Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon, Colombo, 1885

Dhk. .. Dhātukathā (with commentary), ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *PTS.* 1892

Dhmpr. .. Dharmottarapradipa, ed. D. Malvania, Patna, 1955

Dhp. Dhammapada, ed. S. Sumangala *PTS.* 1914

DhpA. .. Dhammapada Atthakathā, I–V, ed. H. Smith, H. C. Norman, L. S. Tailang, *PTS.* 1906–15

Dhpr. .. Dharmapradipikā(va), ed. Dharmakirti Sri Dharmārāma (sixth edition), Vidyalankara Press, Ceylon, 1951

Dhs. .. Dhammasangani, ed. E. Müller, *PTS.* 1885

DhsA. .. Dhammasangani Atthakathā (Atthasālini), ed. E. Müller, *PTS.* 1897

Dhscy. .. Dharmasamuccaya, ed. Lin Li-Kouang (first part of Sanskrit text with Tibetan and Chinese versions), Paris, 1946

Dhsmg. .. Dharmasamgraha, ed. F. Max Müller and H. Wenzel, Oxford, 1885

Divy. .. Divyāvadāna, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886

DPPN. .. Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I-II, by G. P. Malalasekera, London, 1960.

Dpv. .. Dipavamsa, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879.

Dpv. 2. .. The Dipavamsa, ed. B. C. Law, *CHJ.* VIII, Nos. 1-4, Maharagama, Ceylon, 1959.

Dukap. .. Dukapatthāna, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1906.

EB. .. The Eastern Buddhist.

EI. .. Epigraphia Indica (Calcutta, Government Press).

EncyBsm. .. Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, Ceylon.

ERE. .. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, I-XIII, ed. J. Hastings, Edinburg, 1908-26.

EW. .. East and West (Rome).

EWA. .. Encyclopaedia of World Art, I-VIII, McGraw-Hill.

EZ. .. Epigraphia Zeylanica (Ceylon Government Press).

Gg. .. Gandistotragāthā (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan) ed. Staël-Holstein, *BB*, XV, 1913.

GM. .. Gilgit Manuscripts, I-III, ed. N. Dutt, Srinagar and Calcutta, 1939-50.

GOS. .. Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda).

Gst. .. Guhyasamājatantra, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1931.

Gv. .. Gandhavamsa, ed. J. Minayeff *JPTS.* 1886, 54-80.

Gvyū. .. Gandavyūahasūtra, I-IV, ed. D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi (second edition), Kyoto, 1949.

Hatthv. .. Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa, ed. C. E. Godakumbura, *PTS.* 1957.

Hbg. .. Hôbôgirin, Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme, ed, P. Demiéville, Tokyo, 1929-37.

Hetub. .. Hetubindutikā (with sub-commentary), ed. S. Sanghavi and M. S. Jinavijayaji, *GOS.* 113, 1949.

HJAS. .. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.

HOS. .. Harvard Oriental Series.

Hvp. .. Hastavālaprakarana (reconstructed in Sanskrit from Chinese and Tibetan translations) ed. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1918, 267 ff.

IA. .. Indian Antiquary (Bombay).

IAL. .. Indian Art and Letters (London).

IBK. .. Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū (University of Tokyo, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies).

IC. .. Indian Culture (Calcutta).

IHQ. .. The Indian Historical Quarterly.

It. .. Itivuttaka ed. E. Windisch, *PTS.* 1889.

ItA. .. Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī, I-II, ed. M. M. Bose, *PTS,* 1934-36.

J. .. Jātaka (with commentary), I-VI, ed. V. Fausböll, *PTS.* 1962.

JAOS. .. Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JAs. .. Journal Asiatique.

JASB. .. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBHU. .. Journal of the Benares Hindu University.

JBORS. .. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

JBRAS. .. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JBRS. .. Journal of the Burma Research Society.

JBTS. .. Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.

JCBRAS. .. Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JDLC. .. Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.

JGIS. .. Journal of the Greater India Society.

JIH. .. Journal of Indian History.

Jinac. .. Jinacarita, ed. W. H. D. Rouse, *JPTS.* 1904-5, 1-165.

Jinak. .. Jinakālamāli, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1962.

Jināl. .. Jinālaṃkāra (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London, 1894.

Jm. .. Jātakamālā, ed. H. Kern, *HOS.* 1, Boston, 1891.

JOR. .. Journal of Oriental Research.

JPTS. .. Journal of the Pali Text Society.

JRAS. .. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JSS. .. Journal of the Siam Society.

Keith. .. Keith, A. B.: Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1905.

Khp. .. Khuddakapātha ed. H. Smith *PTS.* 1915.

KhpA. .. Khuddhakapātha Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā I), ed. H. Smith, *PTS.*1915

Khs. .. Khuddasikkhā, ed. E. Müller, *JPTS,* 1883, 88-121.

KhT. .. Khotanese Texts, I-II, ed. H. W. Bailey, Cambridge, 1946-54.

Klpm. .. Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, ed. H. Lüders (Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā), *KlTurf.* II, 1926

KlTurf. .. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte (Königliche Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen).

Kp. .. Karuṇāpuṇḍarika, ed. S. C. Das and S. C. Sastri, Calcutta, 1898.

Kśyp. .. Kāśyapaparivarta, ed. H. Staël-Holstein, 1926.

Ktr. .. Karatalaratna (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938.

Kvbh. .. (Karmavibhaṅga): Mahākarma-vibhaṅga (La grande Classification des Actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahākarma-vibhaṅga), ed. S. Lévi, Paris, 1932.

Kvit. .. Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, ed. Dorothy Maskell, *PTS.* 1956

Kvu. .. Kathāvatthu, I-II, ed. A. C. Taylor, *PTS,* 1894-95.

KvuA. .. Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa, Aṭṭhakathā, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1889, 1-222.

Kvyū. .. (Avalokiteśvaraguṇa) Kāraṇḍa-vyūha, ed. S. Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873.

Lal. .. Lalitavistra, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST,* I, 1958.

Laṅk. .. Laṅkāvatārasūtra, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.

Ligeti. .. Ligeti Louis: Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol, I, *BOH.* III, 1942-44.

Lś. .. Lokeśvaraśataka, ed. Suzanne Kārpelès *JAs.* 1919, 5. 11, XIV, 357-465.

M. .. Majjhima Nikāya, I-IV, ed. V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1888 - 1925.

MA. .. Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papañcasūdanī), I-V, ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, I. B. Horner *PTS.* 1922-38.

MBT. .. Minor Buddhist Texts, ed. G. Tucci, *SOR.* IX Part I, 1956.

MCM. .. Memoir of the Colombo Museum.

Mdhvṛ. .. Mādhyamakavṛtti, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *BB.* IV, 1902-13.

Mdhvt. .. Mādhyamakāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, BB. IX..

Mgh. .. Meghasūtra, ed. C. Bendall, *JRAS,* 1880, 288ff.

Mhbv. .. Mahābodhivaṃsa, ed. S.A. Strong, *PTS.* 1891.

Mhm. .. Mahāmāyūri, ed. Oldenberg in Zapiski Vostschnago Otdelenija Imp. Rusesk. Archeol. Obschestva, XI, 1899.

Mhps. .. Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, ed. H. Waldschmidt, Abhandlungen der Deubtachen Akademie, Berlin, 1950-51.

Mhs. .. Mahāsamājasūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Sūtras, I) *KlTurf.* IV, 1932.

Mhsmg. .. Mahāyānasaṃgraha, I-II, ed. É. Lamotte (La Somme du Grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga), Louvain, 1938.

Mhv. .. Mahāvamsa, ed. W. Geiger (chapters i-xxxvii) *PTS*. 1908; Cūlavamsa, ed. W. Geiger, I-II, (chapters xxxviii-lxxii and lxxiii-ci), *PTS*. 1925-27.

MhvA. .. Mahāvamsatikā (Vamsatthappakāsini = Mahāvamsa Atthakathā), I-II, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, *PTS*. 1935.

MhvE. .. Extended Mahāvamsa, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, *AS*. III, 1937.

Mhvu. .. Mahāvastu, I-III, ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882-97.

Mhvyut. .. Mahāvyutpatti, ed. R. Sasaki, Kyoto, 1916.

Miln. .. Milindapañha, ed. V. Trenckner, *PTS*. 1962.

Mmk. .. (Ārya) Mañjuśrimūlakalpa, ed. T. G. Sastri, *TSS*. 1920-25.

Moc. .. Mochizuki, S.: Bukkyō-dai-jiten, 1-8, Tokyo, 1933-57.

Mūls. .. Mūlasikkhā, ed. E. Müller, *JPTS*. 1883, 122-32.

Mvibh. .. Madhyāntavibhāga, ed. S. Yamagucthi, Nagoya, 1934.

Mvyk. .. Maitreyavyākarana, ed. S. Lévi, Mélanges Linossier, Paris, 1933, 381-90.

Nanjio. .. Nanjio, B.: Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, Oxford, 1883.

Nd. I .. Mahāniddesa, I-II, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas, *PTS*. 1916-17.

Nd. II .. Cullaniddessa, I-III, ed. W. Stede, *PTS*. 1981.

NdA. I .. Nidddesavannanā (Saddhammapajjotikā = Mahāniddesa Atthakathā), I-III, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS*. 1931-41.

NdA. II .. Niddesavannanā (Saddhammapajjotikā = Cullaniddesa Atthakathā), ed. Boruggamuwe Siri Revata *SHB*. XIV, 1923.

Nett. .. Nettippakarana, ed. E. Hardy, *PTS*. 1902.

NettA. .. Nettippakarana Atthakathā ed. Widurupola Piyatissa, *SHB*. IX, 1921.

NIA. .. New Indian Antiquary.

NR. .. Nagoya Daigaku Bungaku-bu Kenkyū Ronshū (Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University).

Nrp. .. Nāmarūpapariccheda, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *JPTS*. 1913-14.

Nrs. .. Nāmarūpasamāsa, ed. P. Dhammārāma, *JPTS*. 1915-16.

Nyāb. .. Nyāyabindu, ed. Th. Stcherbatsky (Nyāyabindu, Nyāyabindutikā), I-II, *BB*. VIII, 1904; III, 1929.

Nyāp. .. Nyāyapraveśa (with commentary, ed. A. B. Dhruva, *GOS*. 38, 1930.

OM. .. Otani Daigaku Toshokan-zō Tibet Daizōkyō Kanjur Kandô Mokuroku, Kyoto, 1930-32.

Pañcg. .. Pañcagatidipani, ed. L. Feer, *JPTS*. 1884, 152-61.

PB. .. Prabuddha Bhārata.

PBO. .. Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny (The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies, Varsovie).

PED. .. Pali-English Dictionary, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *PTS*.

Pet. .. Petakopadesa, ed. A. Barua, *PTS* 1949.

Phrd. .. Prajñāpāramitāhrdayasūtra, ed. F. Max Müller, Oxford, 1884.

Pjm. .. Pajjamadhu, ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *JPTS*. 1887, 1-16.

PMG. .. Publications du Musée Guimet.

PpA. .. Pañcappakarana Atthakathā (Paramatthadipani), Part I, ed. Rerukāne Ariyañāna, *SHB*, XXXVII, 1936; Part II, ed. Rerukāne Candavimala, *SHB*. XL, 1938.

Ppind. .. Prajñāpāramitāpindārtha, I-II, ed. G. Tucci (Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajñāpāramitā), *JRAS*, 1947.

Prāt. .. Prātimoksasūtra, ed. L. Finot (Prātimoksasūtra des Sarvāstivādins) with a French translation of the Chinese version ed. Huber, *J.As*. XI, 2 (1913), 473 ff.

Prgsg. .. Prajñāpāramitāratnagunasañcayagāthā, ed. E. Obermiller, Moscow, 1937.

Prvār. .. Pramānavārttikam (with commentary and sub-commentary) ed. R. Sankrityayana, Allahabad, 1949.

Ps. .. Patisambhidāmagga, I-II, ed. A. C. Taylor, *PTS*. 1905-07.

PsA. .. Patisambhidāmagga Atthakathā (Saddhammappakāsini), I-III, ed. C.V. Joshi, *PTS*. 1933-47.

PSS. .. Panjab Sanskrit Series (Lahore)

PTC. .. Pāli Tipitakam Concordance, *PTS*.

PTS. .. Pali Text Society (edition).

Pug. .. Puggalapaññatti, ed. R. Morris, *PTS*. 1883.

PugA. .. Puggalapaññatti Atthakathā, ed. G. Landsberg and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *JPTS*. 1913-14 pp. 170-254.

PvśP. .. Pañcavimśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. N. Dutt, London, 1934.

Pvu. .. Petavatthu, with commentary: Petavatthu Atthakathā (Paramatthadipani), ed. E. Hardy, *PTS*. 1894.

Ratgot. .. Ratnagotravibhāgamahāyānottaratantraśāstra, ed. E.H. Johnston Patna, 1950.

Rkāv. .. Roruka Avadāna (I: Tibetischer Text und Dt. übersetzung; II: Wörterbuch), ed. J. Nobel 1954.

Rpp. .. Rāstrapālapariprcchā, ed. L. Finot, St. Petersburg, 1901.

Rsv. .. Rasavāhini, ed. Ñānavimala Mahā thera, Colombo, 1961.

Rvibh. .. Rūparūpavibhāga, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* I, 1915.

S. .. Samyutta Nikāya, I-VI, ed. L. Feer and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1884-1904.

SA. .. Samyuttanikāya Atthakathā (Sāratthappakāsini), I-III, ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1929-37.

Sādh. .. Sādhanamālā, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1925-28.

Sāg. .. Samyuktāgama (fragments from Stein manuscripts), ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *JRAS.* 1913, 569 ff.

Sāl. .. Sālistambasūtra (reconstructed), ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, (Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Thèorie des douze causes), Gand, 1913, 19-90.

Sāsv. .. Sasanavamsa, ed. M. Bode, *PTS.* 1897.

Saund. .. Saundarānanda, ed. E. H. Johnston, Oxford, 1928.

Saund. K. .. Saundarānandakāvya, ed. Haraprasād Sastri, Calcutta, 1910.

SBB. .. Sacred Books of the Buddhists.

SBE. .. Sacred Books of the East.

Sdarś. .. Sarvadarśanasamgraha, ed. E. B. Cowell, 1878.

Sdmp. .. Saddharmapundarikasūtra, ed. U. Wogihara and K. Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934-35.

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CROSS-REFERENCES OF SPECIAL TITLES TO ABBREVIATIONS

Aṭṭhasālinī	.. Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(DhsA.)*
Madhuratthavilāsinī	.. Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(BuvA.)*
Manorathapūraṇī	.. Aṅguttra Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(A.A.)*
Niddesa-vaṇṇanā	.. Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(NdA. I, II)*
Papañcasūdanī	.. Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(MA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	.. Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(CpA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	.. Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(ItA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	.. Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(PpA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	.. Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(PvuA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	.. Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(ThagA.)*
Paramatthadipani	.. Therigāthā Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(ThigA.)*
Paramatthajotikā I	.. Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(KhpA.)*
Paramatthajotikā II	.. Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(SnA.)*
Paramatthmañjūsā	.. Visuddhimagga Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(VismA.)*
Saddhammapajjotikā I, II	.. Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(NdA. I, II)*
Saddhammappakāsinī	.. Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(PsA.)*
Samantapāsādikā	.. Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(VinA.)*
Sammohavinodanī	.. Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(VbhA.)*
Sāratthappakāsinī	.. Saṃyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(SA.)*
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī	.. Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(DA.)*
Visuddhajanavilāsinī	.. Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā	.. *(ApA.)*

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

VOLUME VI

JARĀ, old age, decrepitude, senescence, senility, frequently combined with the next stage in the process of life, death, as *jarā-maraṇa.* As a characteristic of the process of change *(vayadhamma* or *anicca)* the state of senescence or senility is the common lot of all living beings in keeping with the decomposing nature of all that is composed *(saṅkhata).* According to the Buddhist analysis of the nature of phenomena, they are constantly in a state of flux wherein three stages as birth or coming into being *(uppāda),* continuance *(ṭhiti)* and dissolution *(bhaṅga)* are accepted. These stages are spoken of for purposes of clear understanding for, they are merely three aspects of the process of change, which, when applied to the human being, shows how beings are born, grown old and die. Normal old age or senescence as well as illness and senility have thus to be regarded as part of life.

Buddhism does not accept the phenomena of birth as the beginning of one's existence, for it teaches that birth is preceded by death which again is followed by birth. In this cycle of repeated births and deaths *(saṃsāra)* is found the characteristic of ageing as a part of it. And it is this fact that is repeatedly mentioned in the Buddha's teaching as 'birth is suffering, decay is suffering, death is suffering' in the explanation of the fourth Noble Truth (*Vin.* I, 10; *A.* I. 176, III, 416 etc.).[1] This analysis shows that *jarā* is inherited by man at his birth which fact is explained by Buddhaghosa in the following words, "just as budding toadstools *(ahicchattaka)* always come up lifting dust *(paṃsu)* on their tops, so beings are born with ageing and death" (*Vism.* VII, section 10). This natural tendency of living organisms for senescence and senility cannot be avoided unless the decayless and deathless *(ajarāmara)* state of Nibbāna, as preached by the Enlightened Ones, is realised.[2]

People like to remain young and youthful and old age is not a welcome phenomenon. To be old and feeble, incapable of fulfilling the normal activities of life, is psychologically a painful thing and is inevitably followed by death and this is why *jarā* is characteristically described as painful *(dukkha).* A stock description of the state of old age is found in several places in Buddhist literature which runs as "growing old is the decay the decrepitude, the breaking up, the hoariness *(pālicca),* the wrinkled state *(valittacatā),* the shrinkage of life's span, the collapse of the sense-faculties *(indriyānaṃ paripāka, D,* II, 305, *M.* I, 49, *S.* II, 2 etc.). The fact that physical degeneration is inevitably accompanied by mental deterioration is meaningfully expressed by the phrase *'indriyānaṃ paripāka'* which means the failure of all the sense faculties, which, having become incapable of fulfilling their functions have begun to give way, resulting in the atrophy and involution in the structure of organs and of tissues. A very graphic description of old age, specially in its physical aspects, is also found: "any human being, a woman or a man, eighty, ninety or hundred years of age, broken down, bent inwards like the rafter or a roof, crooked, staff propped and trembling as he/she goes along, ailing with youth gone, with broken teeth and grey-haired or hairless, bald, with wrinkled brow and limbs all blotched and spotted" (*A.* I, 138; *M.* I, 88).[3] A rather philosophical and a poetic account is given by Buddhaghosa in the following words:

"With leadenness in every limb
With every faculty declining
With memory and wit grown dim
With strength now drained by undermining
With growing unattractiveness
To wife and family and then

1. Man is said to be burning *(āditta)* from these forms of suffering (*Vin.* I, 34).
2. It is the prevalence of birth *(jāti),* old age *(jarā)* and death *(maraṇa)* that necessitates the appearance of Buddhas in the world (*A.* V. 144).
3. Hardly an improvement is possible in this description of the physical appearance of old age in all its aspects. An important fact to be noted here is that the age of the old man is given as 80, 90 or 100 years from birth. A description found at *J.* I, 59, is not so comprehensive and picturesque. See also *Vism.* XI, section 36.

With dotage coming on, what pain
Alike of body and of mind
A mortal must expect to find!
Since ageing all of this will bring
Ageing is well-named suffering." (*Vism.* XVI, Section 45, Bhikkhu Nanamoli's translation).

Buddhaghosa, quite scientifically, describes ageing as three-fold. First is the physical old age visible in beings as earlier described and which has the characteristic of maturing material instances. Its function is to lead on towards their termination. It is manifested as the loss of newness without the loss of individual essence, like oldness in paddy. Its proximate cause is matter that is maturing and is called visible ageing *(pakata-jarā)*. Second kind is that of immaterial states, which has no such visible alteration and is called hidden ageing *(paticchanna-jarā)*. And thirdly the ageing that is found in earth, water, rocks, the moon, the sun etc. and is called incessant ageing *(avīci-jarā: Vism.* XIV, section 68).

The impatient and the conflicting nature of the unenlightened average man's mind *(assutavā puthujjano)* when grown old in the state of "second childhood and mere oblivion" is briefly but comprehensively described in a discourse of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, 54) as follows: "he mourns *(socati)*, pines *(kilamati)*, weeps and wails *(paridevati)*, beats his breast *(uratale kandati)* and falls into bewilderment *(sammohaṃ āpajjati)*. Pierced by the poisoned dart of sorrow he just torments himself". The aversion that the human mind feels towards this unwelcome guest called old age is brought out here quite characteristically.[4] By developing this attitude of impatience he would find his food not pleasing, ugliness would come upon his body and the activities of his life would be neglected. But the intelligent man, without thinking in the aforesaid manner, overcomes this feeling of impatience with philosophic calm by reflecting that old age is not his individual and private lot but something common to all beings, for wheresoever there is coming *(āgati)* and going *(gati)*, passing out *(cuti)* and arising *(upapatti)* of creatures, to all ageing brings decrepitude *(jarādhammaṃ jīrati)*. Contemplation on the unavoidability and the universality of old age is also recommended as a means of overcoming the mental fetter of the pride of youth *(yobbanamada)* due to which many people misbehave (*A.* III, 71 ff.).

The degree to which a person may be able to develop this philosophic attitude towards old age would decide the degree of sorrow he experiences due to it. Ability to develop such an attitude can make life more cheerful till death and this ability cannot be had suddenly, for it is the individual's previous *kamma* that would decide it. It is owing to this fact that sometimes we come across men that exhibit varying degrees of wisdom, or grace and patience in their old age.[5]

However, in the ultimate analysis, even this cheerful acceptance of old age as the inevitable and universal lot of humanity is not the true solution that Buddhism offers for the problem of senility. It teaches that there is a state free from these sorrowful changes of birth, old age, disease and death in the changeless state called Nibbāna,[6] which is accordingly described as free from decay *(ajara)* and which state could be realised by following the Noble Eightfold Path as expounded in the fourth Noble Truth.[7] Old age itself is a disease and it is for the sake of convenience that a distinction is made between old age and disease.[8]

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

JĀTAKA is the technical name in Buddhist literature for a story purporting to tell one or other of the previous births of Gotama the Buddha before he attained final enlightenment. Such story is sometimes called a "Bodhisattva story," that is "a story in which the Bodhisatta (a being destined to become a Buddha) plays a part in one of his former existences, whether as the hero of the story or

4. *Jarā* along with disease and death is in fact called a visitor or a messenger of death in the *Devadūta Sutta A.* I, 138 .
5. Compare also this statement in the *Suttanipāta* (*v.* 581).
Since death and since
decay assail the world
The wise, who know
its laws, forbear to grieve.
(Lord Chalmer's translation). See also the *Jarā-vagga* of the *Dhammapada* (vv. 146–156) which has as its keynote the value of taking old age as a ground for urgency, for heedfulness.
6. It is significant and noteworthy how the Buddhist literary artist has brought together these four phenomena on his account of the conditions precedent to the renunciation of the Bodhisatta in the concept of the four portents *(pubbanimitta J.* I. 59).
7. *Ayameva ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo jarāmaraṇa-nirodhagāminī paṭipadā* (*D.* II. 305; *M.* I. 49). At *A.* V, 144 ff. the method of overcoming birth, decay and death is given as the purification of the mind of various defilements beginning from the three basic ones, passion *(rāga)*, hatred *(dosa)* and illusion *(moha)*. See also *A.* I, 51.
8. *Jarā* is called a disease at *Sn.* v. 311.

as a secondary character or as a spectator only."[1] The term is also used for the name of a collection of 547 such stories included in the Pali Buddhist Canon. In the Pali version these stories assume diverse forms. They may be simple tales or beast fables, stories of common life or narratives portraying the lives of kings and countries, usually told in prose with the climax or essential part in verse. With a very few exceptions, this verse or these verses, which as being utterances of the Buddha are regarded as canonical. Although the canonical book of the *Jātaka* contains only the verses, it is certain that from the earliest times, there must have been handed down an oral commentary, giving the stories in prose (together with the verses or verse). The *textus receptus* of the work represents a recension or commentary *(aṭṭhakathā, attha-vaṇṇanā)* which claims to have been translated from Sinhalese in the 5th century A.C. Much of the material, however, is demonstrably many centuries older. The *Jātaka* forms the tenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka*. In the Pali Canon it also forms one of the nine *"aṅgas"* (q.v.) or divisions of the Buddha's teachings, grouped according to the subject matter (*DA*. 1, 15, 24). Like the *Udāna* ("verses of uplift, fervent utterances") and *Itivuttaka* ("as it was said") of the same canonical collection, the *Jātaka* is the name of an actual work.

Some *Jātakas* have been included in a seperate compilation, the *Cariyā-piṭaka*[2] (verses on the Buddha-perfections), while there are others in various parts of the scriptures, not included in the work of that name.

It is not possible to say exactly when the *Jātakas* in their present form came into existence, nor how many of them were among the original number.[3] What can be definitely stated is that they must have come into being and continued to grow over a considerable time before they reached their final form. In the time of the *Culla-niddesa*, there appear to have been 500 *Jātakas*, for reference is made to *pañca-jātaka-satāni*.[4] Five hundred was the number seen by Ywang Chan too. One is not certain, however, if the reference made was to a round number or an exact one.

1. **Meaning of the Word.** The generally accepted derivation of *Jātaka* is from *Jāta*, in the sense of 'born', 'engendered', 'birth' + *ka*. Thus *jātakaṃ* (n.) would mean 'birth', 'nativity' or 'life' and in the Buddhist sense, a story of one of the former births of the Buddha.[5] In this sense, it occurs as one of the 9 categories *(navaṅga)* of library composition (*M*. I. 133, *A*. II, 103, 108, *Vin*. III, 8, *Pug*. 43). Also connected is the meaning of the word as referring to a story of a previous life of the Buddha especially as an animal, in which sense it is not found in the 4 *Nikāyas*, but is found in the Bharhut Tope and occurs frequently in the *Jātaka* book. Following from this, the word is used as the name of a book in the Pali Canon, containing the verses of 547 such stories, referred to above.[6] An alternative derivation of the word has been proposed and adopted in some quarters where *jāta* is taken to mean 'what has become', 'what has happened', and the word translated as "Geschichtchen, tale, story."[7] As a noun in the masculine *jātaka* 'belonging to what has been born' means a son (*J*. I. 239; IV. 138).

In the Buddhist sense of a story of a former birth of Gotama the Buddha, the word *Jātaka* occurs for the first time in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, in the text *Buddha-carita*.

In the last mentioned text in Sanskrit and especially in the *Avadāna* texts, the word occurs as a neuter noun identical in meaning with Pali: a story of the previous birth of the Buddha. This usage is found particularly in colophons to many stories in *Mahāvastu* e.g. I.282.13;[8] also as a name of work or class of literature, sometimes at least referring to a collection of such stories like the Pali *Jātaka*: as one of the nine (*Mvy*. twelve) *pravacana*, canonical texts (*Mvy. dharma-pravacana dharmas*.[9] Although the twelve-fold classification of texts came to be associated with the Buddhist religious literature, having become popular through the writings of later scholars, reference to nine-fold divisions of religious texts must be quite early, for, it is mentioned in the verse

1. Witernitz, M. *A History of Indian Literature* Calcutta, 1933, vol. II. p. 113.
2. Malalasekera, G. P. *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*. I. 951
3. Ibid
4. Ibid
5. Childers, R. C. *Dictionary of the Pali Language*. London, 1875, s.v.
6. *Pali-English Dictionary (PED)* PTS, London, 1921-25.
7. *Kern*, H. *Der Buddhinmus*, Leizig 1882-84, I. 329; Speyer, J.. *Jātakamālā*, London, 1895, (*SBB*), p. xxii, *ERE*, *Jātaka*.
8. *Mahāvastu Avadāna Le Mahavastu* ed. E. Senart Paris 1882, 1890, 1897. *"iti mahavastu -avadāne tri-sakuṇiyam nāma jātakaṃ samāptaṃ*.
9. *Mahāvyutpatti* ed. I. P. Minayeff, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 62. gives the list of *pravacana dharmas* as follows in this order: 1. *Sūtraṃ* 2. *geyaṃ* 3. *vyākaraṇaṃ* 4. *gāthā*. 5. *Udānaṃ* 6. *nidānaṃ* 7. *avadānaṃ* 8. *itivritakaṃ*. 9. *jātakaṃ* 10. *vaipulyaṃ* 11. *adbhūtadharmāḥ* 12. *upadeśaḥ*.

portion of the *Saddharma-pundarika.*[10] In an interesting reference in the *mahākarma-vibhaṅga*[11] the term occurs in a single phrase combining both meanings. The context is one in which the question is raised as to what kind of act *(karma)* leads to a definite rebirth, and the answer given as an act performed in a former birth of the Exalted One. The relevant quotation, in translation, runs: "as it is depicted in the *Jātaka* (collection), in the *Śyāmaka-jātaka* and such others beginning with it, the Exalted One's births *(upapatti* = rebirth) as (an act of) ardent desire. Such an act *(karma)* is one that leads to a definite birth." [12]

Another meaning for the word has been proposed, on the basis of an examination of certain statements where it occurs as a masculine plural.[13] The citations are taken from the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi.* [14] It has been suggested that the meaning, in those instances, is "experiences in past births", particularly of Bodhisattvas. The relevant passage translated runs: "by the knowledge consisting of remembrance of former births he reveals to creatures, in order to make them well-disposed to the Buddha, his experiences in past births etc." [15] where *jātakān* has been rendered by "experiences in past births." The expression may be more fully translated as "by the knowledge consisting of remembrance of former births, he proclaims to sentient beings, in order to inspire faith in the Buddha, *jātakas* (i.e. Jātaka stories), comprising the most marvellous conduct in his former career as Bodhisattva". The context does not elicit for certainty, the meaning of "experiences in past births for *jātakān.* It may well mean "birth story" or "jātaka story", the basic meaning of the term in Buddhist texts. The other passage cited is from the same work as the earlier one. Translated into English, it would read, "by the power of knowledge consisting of remembrance of former births, the Tathāgata recalling stories of past events and *jātakas* of the past.... preaches to those ready to be instructed."[16] Here too the word could well mean "*jātaka* stories" as translated above. There is no particular reason for it to be construed as "experiences in past births", as it has sometimes been.[17] The word occurs, in the present case along with *itivṛttaka* which is based on Pali *itivuttam* (=skt. *ityuktam),* but in Buddhist Sanskrit has through hyper-sanskritism, been formally blended with *itivṛtta(ka).* This latter term, it has been pointed out,[18] has been connected by Tibetan translaters with *-vṛtha* rather than *-ukta* and, as a neuter noun, was the name of a canonical work. And like *jātaka* again, it could mean "story of past events, story or history". In the light of the contexts in which the word appears, there is thus hardly any justification for *jātaka* to be taken as a secondary extension of its first meaning.

A third meaning of the word has been proposed on the basis of its occurrence in the *Mahāvastu*[19]. That is the meaning of 'birth' or 'nativity' in the sense of (astrologically determinable) personality and destiny, as in Skt.; or possibly "future birth." [20] Since it has been contended by the author of the *BHS.* that these passages, and especially the term, have been misunderstood by another well-known scholar[21] they deserve to be scrutinized more closely. Such a scrutiny will enable one to get a clearer view of the term's meaning in context.

The first of these quotations, as given in the *BHS* reads *(bodhisattvacaritaṃ....) jātaka-paramatesu kovidā (deśa-*

10. Ed. H. Kern & Bunyio Nanjio, St. Petersburg, 1912, 45. 7. The relevant stanza reads as follows:
"sutrāni bhāṣāmi tathaiva gāthā itivuttakaṃ jātakadbhūtaṃca
nidānamanpamyā-śataiśca citrair geyaṃ ca bhāṣāmi tathopadeśān"
11. Ed. S. Levi, Paris, 1932-50, 6-7
12. Ibid. *'yathā Bhagavato jātaka, syāmaka-jātaka prabhṛtiṣu praṇidhāna-vaśād upapattir varṇyate, idaṃ karmaniyatopapatti saṃvartanīyaṃ* "Levi adds a note here to say that the form Syāmaka as the name of the *jātaka* appears in *Avadāna-kalpalatā* (101). The name occurs everywhere else as *syāma* and *syāmaka.* But in none of the known recensions of the *jātaka* is there mention of a *praṇidhāna.*
13. *BHS.* Vol. II, 240
14. Ed. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930-36
15. *BHS.* ibid. The original passage has (*sa tena purve-) nivāsanānusmṛtijñanena jātakān pūrvāṃ bodhisattva-caryā-paramādbhuta-caryān sattvānāṃ Buddhe... prasādajananārthaṃ.... prakāśayati".*
16. *BHS., Bbh.* 397. 13 *'purvenivāsānusmṛtijñāna balena tathāgatah pūrvante itivṛttakamśca jātakamśca smṛtvā...... vineyanaṃ deśayati".*
17. *BHS.*
18. Ibid.
19. Vol. 1. 104. 13; 105. 5, 7; 192. 19
20. *BHS.*
21. Emile Senart

yanti.... īśvarā)[22] and is there translated "Lords (Buddhas) being skilled in nativities (indicating personality and destiny, or future births) and in the thoughts of others proclaim the *(future!)* course of Bodhisattvas.. where, it will be seen, the compound *Jātakā paramatesu* has been rendered as "in nativities and in the thouhgts of others". Two comments may be made regarding this rendering. One is that *"jātakā"* has been translated by "nativities", in the sense of "birth" astrologically considered, with a suggestion indicating personality and destiny together with a possible alternative meaning of future births. The other is that the compound itself has been taken as comprising the two elements *jātakā* and *paramatā,* both being construed as plurals and translated accordingly. With regard to the first, the question may be asked as to what the Lords (Iśvarā) who in this instance are the Buddhas, are skilled *(kovidā)* in. One possible answer is that which the translator gives, namely "nativities and the thoughts of others." Another possiblity is that it could be the *jātakas* (i.e. the *jātaka* tales) and the views of others. A third possibility is tied up with the analysis of the compound (could not the compound be analysed as *jātaka + aparamatesu?*) Let us consider each of these alternatives separately. The author of the *BHS* has evidently broken up the compound, as noted above, into the elements *jātakā + paramatesu,* translated the first element as "nativities" and the other as "the thoughts of others." The only other instance where the word *"paramata"* occurs in this sense is a little later in the same text where the expression *"sarvaparamataṃo"* is to be found[23] and that in the singular (though it has been translated in the plural). What the Lords proclaim or preach, that is the direct object of *"deśayati",* is *"bodhisattvacaritaṃ...... damadāna saṃvaraṃ"*: "the course of Bodhisattvas (exemplified by or consisting of) self-control, charity and restraint" or alternatively "self ontrol, charity and restraint... (exemplified or illustrated by) the course of Bodhisattvas." What they are skilled in is the *jātaka* and *paramata.* Here the interpretation of the author of the *BHS* - namely "nativities" or "births" cannot be ruled out completely, although it is more likely that the context elicits the meaning of "jātaka tales and the thoughts of others". This is taken as the second possible interpretation of the compound, referred to above. In fact, the translator of the *Mv.* quoted in the foot note earlier, translates the expression as *"Jātakas* and other lore", where *jātaka* has been taken in the sense of *jātaka* tales. Interesting also is his rendering of the second element of the compound as "other lore". (Could it be that he took the latter part of the compound as - *aparamateṣu* and translated accordingly, for "other lore" is certainly not the same as "the thought of others"?). It is noteworthy also that the translator here takes *"dama dāna saṃvaraṃ"* (= self-control, charity and restraint) as the direct object of *'deśayati'* grammatically and *"bodhisattvacaritaṃ mahāpākaṃ"*, which he translates as "the qualities that bring a Bodhisattva career to a great maturity",[24] as attributes of the three qualities mentioned and standing in apposition to them. The two compounds occuring in the verse may, of course, be interchanged without seriously impairing their meaning. *Paramata* has in classical Sanskrit the lexically attested meaning of "different opinion or doctrine, heterodoxy," while *"mata"* as a neuter noun means "a thought, idea, opinion sentiment, view, belief, doctrine" and more. Thus the meaning given it by the author of the *BHS* is not entirely unacceptable. That is admissable, however, only if the compound is divided into the two components as he had done.

This leads us to the third possible interpretation which derives from the analysis of the compound. The natural division into components would be, as has been suggested above, *jātaka aparamateṣu* (rather than *jātaka+ paramatesu).* The special attribute of the Lords *(iśvarā)* here is "skilled" or "learned" *(kovidā).* And skilled in what? In (the knowledge of) birth stories (*jātaka*) and other views *(aparamata),* the latter term being understood in the sense of divergent opinions or heterodox views, views that were not countenanced by the Buddhas. The

22. The complete quotation, which is in verse, is as follows:
"Bodhisattvacaritaṃ mahāpakaṃ
jātakāparamateṣu kovidā
deśayanti damadāna-saṃvaraṃ
bodhisattvapariṣāva iśvarā" //

J. J. Jones, *The Mahavastu translates* it thus: "The lords, learned in the *jātakas* and other lore, preach to the concourse of Bodhisattvas self-control, charity, and restraint, as the qualities that bring a Bodhisattva's career to a great maturity". He adds the following note to the interpretation of *mahāpakam:* "Literally, great maturity, *mahāpakam,* shortened metri causa for the meaningless *sahāyakam,* Or, should we not read *mahāphalaṃ,* 'great fruition"? (vol. I. 82. fn. 5).

23. *Mhvu.* i. 192. 18

24. Senart assumes rightly that *"mahāpakam"* here represents *"mahāpākaṃ"* and has been so altered for metrical reasons. He explains the word as "grande (c'est) dive difficulte, longue) a "murir", that is great in the sense of difficult, long to ripen. He further adds that such shortening of vowels, though indeed rare, are not altogether absent and gives *"parivara"* for *"parivāra"* as an example (idem. 459 note on l. 12 of text).

Mv. translator's rendering of *"paramateṣu"* or *"aparamateṣu"* as "(in) other lore" appears to be somewhat loose. In the light of the foregoing discussion, a fresh translation of the verse may be proposed: "The Lords (i.e. the Buddhas), learned in the *jātakas* and other views, preach to the concourse of Bodhisattvas self-control, charity, and restraint (exemplified by or embodied in) the conduct of the Bodhisattva that reaches great maturity" (i.e. a maturity that is great by reason of the fact that it is attained with difficulty over a long period of time).

The next quotation which is a brief prose passage from the same text, appears almost immediately after the verse referred to earlier and, like it forms part of a dialogue between the Elders Mahā Kaśyapa and Mahākātyāyana. It takes the form of a question put by the former to the latter and the answer given by him, as the *Mv.* translator puts it, the question reads: "O Son of the Conqueror, to what stage of his career as Bodhisattva are the events related by the Conqueror in the *Jātakas* to be assinged?" [25] The reply, in translation reads: "My pious friend, the *jātakas* related by the Conqueror go back to the eighth *bhūmi*".[26] It may be noted right away that the translator renders *"jātakāni jinabhāsitāni"* in the first instance, that is in the question, by "events related by the Conqueror in the *jātakas*", whereas it is rendered by *"jātakas* related by the Conqueror" in the second. What justification there is for identical expressions to be translated differently, and that too where the translation of a central term involves a change of meaning, is not clear. It is true that the expression *"kutaḥprabhṛtikaṃ"* occurring in the question and *"aṣṭamāṃ bhūmiṃ"* in the reply, raise certain difficulties but they do not permit two divergent interpretations of the same term, *"jātakāni"* in the present instance. The *BHS* author is right when he says that the meaning as Senart suggests, seems (from-*prabhṛtikāni)* to be that they *begin* with the 8th bhumi, but may not be so when he goes on to say "but as this passage occurs in a description of the 4th *bhūmi*, it is future births or destinies that are meant". For, in both question and answer, the reference is to *jātakāni jinabhāṣitāni"* (i.e. *jātakas* related by the Conqueror), and the variance resulting from the occurrence of these passages in a description of the fourth *bhūmi* and the assertion made that the *jātakas* go back to the eighth *bhūmi* does not warrant the interpretation of *"jātakāni"* as "future births or destinies".

The third and last quotation from the same text, where the word *"jātaka"* occurrs[27] presents a problem of a different sort. Here the grammatical form and therefore the meaning of *"jātaka"* are doubtful. The text appears to indicate that it is a plural (unless it be a case of the lengthening of the final vowel for metrical reasons) and it has been so construed by both the *BHS* author and the translator, with the difference that the former takes it as a direct object of the verb *"parīkṣanti"* and translates the second foot of the stanza in which it occurs as: "they perceive the disposition and the destinies (future births) of all living beings"[28] whereas the latter takes it as an attribute of "Sambuddha" occurring earlier in the stanza. It may be pointed out that the form of the word, if it is to be so construed, should be *"Jātaka"*, according to the norms of lexical Sanskrit usage. The translator reads the whole stanza into English thus: "The Buddhas, who understand good and bad conduct, know all the thoughts of others. In their various existences, they examine the disposition of all beings." [29] If indeed the reading adopted in the text is correct, the translator's interpretation of the word (i.e. as an attribute of the Buddha and therefore a nominative plural) is to be preferred to that of the *BHS* author. If *jātaka* here was intended to mean *jatakān* or originally had such a form, then the interpretation of the author of the *BHS* might hold. But there is no manuscript or other evidence in support of such a conjecture. If, however, the interpretation which the translator gives is to be accepted, namely to take the word as an attribute of *"sambuddhāh"* then *"jātakā"* could have a meaning, not encountered elsewhere, either in Sanskrit or in Pali, a meaning such as "in past lives, belonging to past lives". An interesting variant reading, appearing in a single verse cited by the editor of *Mv.*[30] seems indirectly to support this interpretation, although with a slightly altered meaning. Instead of *jātakā*, there occur the word *yānakā*, (which word is attested in purānic Sanskrit too) and bears the meaning of carriage or vehicle. In which case *"sambuddhāḥ...... yānakā"* would mean "the supreme Buddhas.... in their *(samsāric)* careers". In the light of these considerations, a fresh translation of the stanza

25. *Yānimāni bho jinaputra jātakāni jinabhāṣitāni kutaḥprabhṛtikāni vijñeyamiti Mhvu.* I. 105. 4–6
26. *yānimāni bho dhutadharmadharā jātakāni jinabhāṣitāni imāṃ aṣṭamām bhūmim prapadyantīti.* ibid. I. 105. 7–8
27. i. 192. 18–19. The original text in verse is as follows:
"nayānayajñāḥ Sambuddhāḥ sarvaparamatam viduḥ /
adhyāśayaṃ parīkṣanti jātakā sarvaprāṇināṃ //
28. Ibid.
29. Jones, op. cit. *The emphasis ours.* The word *Jātaka* which has been so translated into English shows that the phrase is attributively related to Sambuddhāh (they, the Buddhas) and is gramatically a masculine plural adjective.
30. Senart, op.cit. i. 192 fn. 19

may be offered: "The Supreme Buddhas who understand good and bad conduct know all views of others.[31] They, in their (different) lives perceive the intention of all beings." This interpretation, it will be seen, is based on the existing printed text.

Nonetheless, alternative interpretations are possible. Although textual evidence is not available to support the contention, it might well have been that *"jātakā"* here stood for the word *"jātakān"* (masc. acc. pl.) and what has been omitted is only the last letter-*n*, a minor scribal lapse. In keeping with regular Sanskrit usage, the text, in that case would have read *"jātakāṃs sarvaprāṇinam"*. If utterances of this nature took the form of prophesies, as many of them indeed were, and if the knowledge of the previous existences of all beings was considered a part of a Buddha's Supreme wisdom, then the word may have the meaning of "lives" or "past births." That meaning falls outside the two principal meanings of the word that we have noticed so far and will therefore have to be regarded as differing from them.

Certain other considerations relative to the text of the *Mhvu.* must also be borne in mind. It is not a composition of a single author written in a well-defined period of time, but rather a compilation which may have begun around the second century of the present era and was continued until the third or fourth century.[32] The language did not remain unaffected by the influence of the Pali texts and other Prakrits, not to speak of the influence of the Mahāyāna text with their more radical departure from the proto-canonical Prakrit.[33] The text is therefore not a homogeneous entity. These facts may, to some extent, account for the diversity of inflexional forms and other linguistic anomalies. Some allowance needs to be made also for the lapses of individual scribes.

From the foregoing discussion three distinct, though interrelated, meanings of the word *jātaka* emerge. They may be summed up as follows:

(1) a birth story or "life" of a previous birth of the Buddha, as found in the earlier books of the canon. As an extension of this, it may mean a birth story of the Bodhisattva in one or other of his numerous existences in his career on the way to enlightenment (i.e. Buddhahood), in the plural it could refer to the collection of such tales, usually 547 in number in the Pali text (see no. 3 below).

(2) the name of one of the nine categories (nine and sometimes twelve in the later Sanskrit literature) or varieties of literary composition. In the Pali, this refers to a collection of verses – the *Jātaka Pāli.*

(3) the name of a narrative work in the form of a voluminous prose commentary-the *Jātakaṭṭhakāthā,* also known as *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā,* in which the verses are embedded.

Besides the afore-mentioned principal meanings, it has been pointed out that in the Pali *Jātaka* collection the word has been in a very few instances, used to mean a son. Needless to say, this meaning of the word is exceptional. Likewise, there is the solitary instance in the *Mahāvastu* where the word may bear the meaning of 'previous existence' or 'past experience'. If the reading in the latter case is correct and the meaning properly understood, it may be compared with the first meaning in (1) above, here the reference is to past experiences of Buddhas.

2. Origins and development of the collection. Of the three principal meanings of the word *Jātaka* noted in section 1 above, those of the words as understood in (1) and (3) will be considered here. Of the two meanings given in (1), the extended meaning of the term to refer to a birth story of the Bodhisatta will be of primary importance, while that of a birth story of the Buddha as found in the early canonical works will be regarded as secondary and derivative. In the singular it would mean a single such story, generally included in the collection of such stories compiled later, while in the plural it would refer to the entire body of such stories. By collection is meant the voluminous prose commentary in which are included the verses *(gāthā)* referred to in (2).

The question of the origins and development of the *jātaka* collection will be discussed here under four heads viz. (i) Sources (ii) Purpose of *jātakas* (iii) the *jātakas* in the Pali *Tipiṭaka* and (iv) The *Jātaka* commentary.

i. Sources. It is generally agreed that the collection of stories popularly known as the *Jātakas,* and in scholarly circles referred to as the *Jātaka* commentary or *Jatakaṭṭhakathā,* – *atthavaṇṇnā,* is a compilation which assumed its final form about the 5th century of the present era. It is the evolution of this voluminous work from its early beginning composed and written down in the Pali language by the Buddhist editor-commentator of a later epoch, that forms the subject of the present inquiry. The assertion that the collection assumed its final shape about a millenium after the demise of the Buddha, a relatively late period in the history of the religion, implies that the work must have gone through a long process of growth

31. That is the totality or entire body of other views. It is interesting to note that the same ms. which bears the varient *'yānakā'* for *'jātakā'* has *"sarvaṃ paramataṃ"* for *"sarva-paramataṃ"* adopted in the text. Senart. ibid.
32. Jones, op.cit. xi.
33. Ibid.

and development before it was put into writing. It implies also that the collection or compilation is not the work of a single author but the product of various hands. This is confirmed by the fact that this extensive corpus of story displays an astonishing diversity, not only in respect of the form and content of the narratives, but also in respect of size, structure and literary quality, gravity or frivolousness of episodes recounted, language and style, mode of presentation and attitudes of individual writers. The problem of origins entails two further issues which may be put in the form of questions:

1. How ancient are the *jātaka* tales? In other words, how far back do they go in the literary and historical tradition to which they belong and within which they have evolved?
2. What relation do they bear to other such tales in other literatures of India, such as for instance Vedic and classical Sanskrit, Buddhist Sanskrit and Ardha-māgadhi (Jaina), on the one hand, and what is the relation between them and their western counterparts, especially Greek and Latin parallels of the European classical tradition, on the other?

In a discussion of origins, answers to such questions, however brief and rudimentary they may be, will have to be provided. An exhaustive investigation of those questions will be out of place here, as some aspects of the issues raised in them will be dealt with separately in other sections of he present article. A discussion on the lines indicated above will help to bring to light certain important facts and elucidate certain points in the complex and obscure region of origins.

The term 'compilation' may be an inadequate description of the formation of the work which is popularly known as the *Jātaka* commentary. For, the final product of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* was not the result of mere composition, collection and accumulation of materials in a single volume albeit by diverse hands but the outcome of a laborious process that involved translating, retranslating, editing and even recasting of materials drawn from the most diverse sources, through a considerable period of time.

To return to the first question raised above: how ancient are the tales? To raise another related question: What was their original character and what form did they take, or might they have taken, when they are first heard of and known in literature?

The sculptured representations of scenes from the *jātakas* on the stone railings around the stūpas of Bharhut and Sānchi are some of the earliest examples of monumental art. Those specimens bear witness to the existence and popularity of the tales as early as the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. though, of course, in a predominantly non-literary form. The Bharhut stūpa has preserved representations of a whole series of *jātakas*. On some of these sculptures are inscribed the names of the stories which they illustrate; in other cases, the inscriptions have been destroyed through the decay of the stone, and in certain others there have been no names at all. They include scenes not only from the *gāthās*, but also some that are related only in the prose commentary. These representations need not be taken as illustrations of texts of the Pali *Jātakas*. But these bas-reliefs provide incontestable proof that the tales were, in that early period, termed *jātakas* and considered sacred lore. (PLATES I, II & III).

There is literary evidence to show that the *jātakas* were known in a period anterior to that of the Bharhut and Sānchi sculptures. There are instances of such stories recorded in the canonical literature which make them contemporaneous with the Buddha himself. It has been observed that the *Jātaka* collection does not include all the *Jātaka* stories which existed in North India in the early days of Buddhism.[34] There are stories in the canon which are technically *jātakas* because they purport to tell of the Buddha in an earlier birth, and conclude with an identification of characters, and are yet not to be found in the commentary: The *Ghaṭīkāra Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*[35] where the Buddha himself says: "I was myself at the time the young Jotipāla,"[36] the *Kūṭadanta* and *Mahāsudassana* suttas of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and the *Makhādeva Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. The story of Dīghāvu is related in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, without the hero being identified with the Bodhisatta.

The question was raised quite early in the last decades of the 19th century when Buddhism and its voluminous literature began to draw the attention of western scholars, as to what form the *Jātakas* assumed when they first came into existence. The debate continued through the early decades of the present century. To put it in another way: were the verses *(gāthā)* earlier than the prose commentary? Or did the prose portions exist prior to the verses? Or, in the alternative was there, from the beginning, a mixture of verse and prose each component being of equal importance, or of one or other component having more weight than the other? It has been noted earlier that the *gāthā* portions are recognised as the canonical sections of the *jātakas* and are historically anterior to the commentary or prose portions. In a learned article, first

34. Norman, H.C., *Pali Literature*, Wierbden, 1983, p. 84
35. *M.* II. 54
36. *"ahaṃ tena samayena Jotipālo mānavo ahosiṃ".*

appearing in German[37] and later translated into English under the title "The Prose and Verse Type of Narrative and the *Jātakās*",[38] Hermann Oldenberg, following Windisch, supported the view that in ancient India a type of narrative was popular wherein inside a general framework of prose there appear verses in emphasized passages, especially in the more important speeches and replies. For 'the conventional tradition of such narratives, it sufficed to teach and learn the verses. In that *ākhyāna* type of narrative the prose was more liable to change in the course of being handed down, and that in its literary form rather than in meaning. The prose framework generally stood firm in relation to its sense and not to its narrative character. Poetic insertions could remain as part of established tradition, while the prose could be forgotten. Such verses remain unintelligble, in spite of the comments of the exegetes, and "will only perhaps, become, or begin to become, intelligible in proportion as our combinations succeed in restoring the forgotten framework of prose".[39] The writer considers the *Jātakas* of the Pali canon as supplying the most essential support to these views. Their structure has been explained by Rhys Davids, Senart and others. Although the consensus of scholarly opinion favoured such a view, it was nonetheless not shared in all quarters.[40]

In support of his theory, Oldenberg cites as an example *Jātaka* No. 212 *(Ucchiṭṭhabhatta Jat.)*. He adduces the following arguments to strengthen his claim.

(a) The verses taken alone are to a large extent, meaningless, the prose introduced makes them clear, "that the verses were intended to complete just that context indicated by the prose is self-evident." Sometimes the story is entirely in prose (as in certain instances outside the Pali *Jātaka)*. Sometimes it is recorded entirely in verse (e.g. *Cariyāpiṭaka)*, and sometimes first in prose entirely and then in purely metrical form, (No. 540, *Sāma J., Mahāvastu*, II, p. 209 ff).

(b) The type of mixed prose and verse narrative which is almost the only prevailing one, is the oldest or one of the oldest forms.

(c) But if prose additions, like those handed down in the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* (no. 212 above) belong necessarily, with a few exceptions, to the verses of our Pali *jātakas*, then we must also add that this form of prose cannot be the original one.

(d) ..... in prose - especially in the minor decorative details etc., yet at times in those also of greater importance - traces of a more recent authorship than the verse are evident.

(e) A very large portion of these verses, ... by its contents proves to have been composed just for the context - or for one more or less similar - in which we find the corresponding verses.

(f) The opening words of the first quotation *apaṇṇaka*, become the title for the whole *Jātaka*.

(g) The verses constitute an essential element in the form wielded by the compilers of these stories. These verses are not given to the listener as quotations, as for instance, in the *Pañcatantra*, where passages so often hear the stamps of having been taken from a thesaurus of popular philosophy.[41] The prose-poetic narrative of *Jātaka* 151 appears here in another prose-poetic version, the verses in the one corresponding almost literally to the verses in the other.

(h) ...... the prose-and-verse form which the *Jātaka* collection bears for the most part, was already in existence and popular, at the time when the Nikāyas and the great *Vinaya* texts originated that, for instance, the *Mahākaṇṭha Jātaka* (pp. 253) appears in the *Vinaya* (Vol. III, p. 145 ff.) with exactly the same three verses as in the *Jātaka* collection, and also with a prose framework as in the latter, only with archaic prose in place of conventional prose.

(i) That the prose-and-verse *Jātaka* form was firmly rooted in the literary consciousness of India, may be seen by the fact that the form decisively asserts itself in the nothern Buddhist Sanskrit literature too, and that at a time when purely metrical *jātakas* were actually to be found in it, yet co-existing quite distinctly beside them.[42]

37. *Nachrichter vou der Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Göttingen. Philol-hist. Klasse (NGGW)*, 1911, p. 447
38. *JPTS*. 1910-12, ff. 19-50
39. *JPTS*. ibid.
40. A.B. Keith was one who opposed this view: "The Vedic *Akhyāna* and the Indian Drama", *JRAS*, 1911, 979 ff., esp. 985 f.: Hertel, J. argued that even in the *Jātaka* there was originally a fixed prose text. *ZDMG*. 62
41. This was contrary to the view expressed by R.O. Franke and certain other scholars who saw the *Jātaka* verses as borrowings from external sources. See Franke: "Jātaka Mahābhārata Paralleler" *WZKM*. xx, 317 ff; Charpentier, *ZDMG*, xii, 745. Jat. 584 appears in *M.BL*. II. 41; Jat. 151 in *M.BL*. III. 194; Hertel, J., *ZDMG*. xiv. 1910, 58 ff. and *WZKM*, xxiv, 1910, 121 ff.
42. Oldenberg notes here (Von Oldenburg, *JRAS*, 1893, 302; Pischel "Die lid Literatur" in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, T.I. Abt., vii.-188 "that the different versions of the *Jātakas* generally agree in the verses, but are as a rule very different in the prose. This also testifies that the verses are at the base of the whole, (notice also the similarity in the *jātaka* verses and the difference in the *jātaka* prose, in this Jaina parallels, in the case which Charpentier discusses, *ZDMG*, lxii, 728.

In the light of these considerations, it is reasonable to hold that the earliest form of the *Jātakas* known to us was a narrative of mixed prose and verse or a prose-and-verse *ākhyāna* as Oldenberg described it. The exact relationship of the two constituents remains somewhat obscure. One should, however, not fail to recognise the relative priority of the verse as well as its importance in providing the base and essential ingredient of the narrative. While maintaining the view that the *jātaka*, in its original form, was a narrative in verse within a general framework of prose, Winternitz[43] goes on to explain the diversity of types that one encounters in the *jātaka* collection:

"Not one but several literary types", says Winternitz, "are represented in the *Jātaka* collection. There are some *jātakas* which were prose stories with only one or two or a few verses, containing either the moral or the gist of the tale. In these cases it is likely enough that the commentary has preserved more or less of the old prose stories. Another type of *jātaka* is that of *Campu* in which the story itself is related alternatively in prose and verse, in which case, the commentary is often an expression of the original prose text. But there are other *jātakas* which originally consisted of *gāthās* only. Some of them ballads in dialogue form, other ballads in a mixture of dialogue verses and narrative stanzas, others again epics or fragments, and some even mere strings of moral maxims on some topic. In all these the entire prose belongs to the commentary." [44]

These last comments take us trough almost the entire gamut of *Jātaka* stories from their early beginnings to the period of the commentarial collection. The view of the original form of the *Jātakas* put forward here agrees with that of an Indian scholar[45] who says "a *jātaka* originally consisted of a verse or verses embodying in a concise form a part episode generally with a moral understood with the help of a prose narration, which for the most part remained implicit rather than explicit..." [46] And further "The verses constituting the *Jātaka* proper, the story contained in them and narrated in prose was called *"vatthu"* and *atthuppatti"*, while its *"vitthāra"* or expansion was in the shape of either the identification of the past characters with the present ones or an extra moral made suitable for the occasion".[47] The opinion of other scholars, too, tend to support the view that the earliest form of the *jātaka* was a mixture of prose and verse, a form which is a favourite method in Indian literature. Reciters of tales who introduced their songs in alternating stanzas to correspond to the speeches of the dialogue, must have prefaced them by a prose introduction, sometimes inserting explanations in prose, if and when the occasion demanded it. "The conjunction of a text in itself brief and obscure with an indispensable commentary is, one might say, the prevailing one in all periods of Indian literature down the present. The figure of the poet who recites his verse in the middle of a prose narrative is still familiar in all parts of India, and may have been familiar to the earliest age".[48] "Some of the poems, and a few of the prose narratives may perhaps reach back to such great antiquity. Some of the sayings and legends may indeed belong to the pre-Buddhist ascetic poetry. For the great mass of the verses, however, no greater antiquity than the 3rd century B.C. can be conscientiously urged, certainly not proved, and much of the prose assuredly belongs to the Christian era".[49]

The second question raised here is what relationship these tales bear to other such tales in other literatures. While there are several *jātakas* scattered throughout the canonical Pali literature as well as the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature and even outside the literature of Buddhism, many of the stories of the *Jātaka* Book occur in the *Pañcatantra*, *Kathāsaritsāgara* and other Indian story books. Some stories have parallels in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Rāmāyana*, and still others in Jaina literature. There are also a large number of *jātaka* tales in the non-canonical Pali literature, notably in the *Milindapañha*.

Since the place of the *Jātakas* in non-canonical Pali Literature and in Buddhist Sanskrit literature will be discussed in some detail below, some remarks regarding their connection with literatures outside the Indian sub continent seem pertinent. In this respect, the literatures of the classical European languages, Greek and Latin are particularly significant, while to a smaller extent the languages of modern Europe are relevant. Arabic literature also contains a body of stories which have connections with the *Jātakas*. In all these cases, the *Jātaka* tales have parallels in the story collections of those lands.

43. *Indian Historical Quarterly (IHQ)* Vol. iv. No. 1, 1928 March
44. Ibid
45. De, G. *Significance and Importance of Jātakas*, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 26-45. The author, however, argues for a different origin of the *Jātakas* viz. their origin and development from non-Bodhisatta forms to later Bodhisatta forms. The Bodhisatta idea was not, according to him, an inherent feature of the original *jātakas*.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid. 46
48. Thomas, F.W., *JRAS*, 1903, p. 402 f.
49. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II. 121-122

Many *Jātakas* have parallels in the literatures of the West. The *Nacca Jātaka* (no. 32) where the peacock, dancing for joy at being selected as husband by the daughter of the king of birds, exposes himself, and is rejected, is an example. This fable (which is represented on the stūpa of Bharhut) was known to Herodotus (vi. 129) who narrates the storyof Hippokleides. Another tale of interest is the *Ucchaṅga Jātaka* (no. 67) which is an anecdote of a woman whose husband, brother and son are condemned to death. Being offered a choice by the king, which one she would save, she chooses her brother and gives the reason,[50] that she would easily obtain a husband and a son but never again a brother. The same story is told by Herodotus (iii. 118-120) of the wife of Intaphernes, and Sophocles lets Antigone argue in the same way.[51] The idea is to be met with in the *Rāmāyana* too in connection with an old Indian proverb which says that one can have everything in the world more easily than a brother. The story is thus very old both in India and Greece, but as Winternitz notes: "..... It is just as little characteristically Indian as specifically Greek, so that it can be hardly determined where its actual home is to be found."[52] The gratitude of animals and the ingratitude of man is a common theme in the *Jātaka* tales. Thus one come by several instances of grateful animals and the ungrateful man. The *Saccaṃkira Jātaka* (no. 73), which narrates the story depicting the base ingratitude of a prince, *Duṭṭha Kumāra* (Prince Wicked) by name and the gratitude of a snake, a rat and a parrot, is a good example. The *Rūrumiga Jātaka* (no. 482), a story of a rich spend-all who casts himself away on the Ganges, is another. The story goes on to say how a deer saved him, and he repaid the debt by betraying the deer to capture, but his aim was frustrated, and finally safety proclaimed for all deer. A further example is the *Mahākapi Jātaka* (no. 516), a charming story, recorded mostly in verse, of a husbandman who looking for his strayed oxen, looses himself in a forest, and falling into a deep pit, is rescued by a monkey. The man makes an attempt upon the life of his benefactor, and for his ingratitude is smitten with leprosy. Such stories as well as that of the ungrateful wife, the *Cullapaduma Jātaka*[53] (no. 193), relating the tale of a wicked wife who tried to murder her husband and finally was brought with her paramour for trial before her husband, then become king, and many others are widespread in Western literature. The *Mahā Ummagga Jātaka* (no. 546), a composite collection of stories in the form of a lengthy romance includes among its numerous anecdotes, riddles and narratives a version of the judgement of Solomon. It is of special interest also because it shows points of contact with the stories of the wise Ahiqār (Haikar or Heykar) in the *Arabian Nights* and with Planudes' *Life of Aesop.* Many *Jātakas* are well-known from their parallels of *Aesop's Fables*, as for example 'The Ass in the Lion's skin' in La Fontaine's *Fables*, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and elsewhere. Although in many instances it is possible that these stories migrated from India to the West, it is not impossible that in others Western movies were brought to India.

ii. Purpose of the Jātakas: The primary aim of the *Jātakas* is to instruct, to teach the people the value of a good life. They serve as instruments of preaching the doctrine. In addition to this didactic purpose, there is no doubt that these stories are meant to amuse and entertain.

The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra*[54] says that the Buddha teaches both by *sūtras* and stanzas and by legends and *jātakas*. Again it is mentioned in the same work[55] that the Tathāgata, knowing the differences in faculties of his numerous hearers, preaches in many different ways, "tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings not only become pleased with the law in this persent life, but also after death reach happy states....." There is no reason to doubt, that the Buddha himself made use of popular tales in preaching to the people. The *Mahāsudassana Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*[56] where the Buddha preaches the *Mahāsudassana Jātaka* (no. 95), is one of many such instances recorded in the Pali Canon. It

50. It is interesting to note here that although the reason given is that a brother can never be replaced, a different view is expressed in the verse of 'the story of the present'. There it is stated that a woman who lacks a male, even though having ten brothers is utterly helpless - "bare". The relevant verse runs:

naggā nadī anodikā, naggāhi raṭṭhaṃ arājikaṃ
itthī'pi vidhavā naggā yassāpi dasa bhātaro'ti

which Chalmers translates:

"Like kingless kingdoms, like a stream run dry,
So bare and naked is a woman seen,
Who having brothers ten, yet lacks a mate".

51. Antigone, 909-912
52. Winternitz, ibid, II, 135
53. Paralleled also in *Pañcatantra* iv. 5 ed. Beafay ii. p. 305
54. ii 44 (*SBE.* xxi. 44 f.)
55. v. (*SBE.* xxi. 120)
56. i. 17 see also Rhys Davids T.W. and C.A.F. *Dialogues of the Buddha* Part II (*SBB.* Vol. III. pp. 192 ff.)

is certain that monks and preachers also did so. This was, indeed, a widespread practice throughout the length and breadth of India. The preachers of all religious sects there always took advantage of the native passion for story-telling and story-hearing, and made extensive use of stories to preach. They ventured frequently to take fables, fairy tales and amusing anecdotes from the rich store house of popular tales or from secular literature, altering and adapting them wherever and whenever necessary to suit their aims.

In the words of the compiler of the *Nidāna-kathā* (Introduction to the *Jātaka)* "The *Apaṇṇaka* and other Births, which in times gone by were recounted on various occasions by the great illustrious Sage, and in which during a long period our teacher and leader, desirous of the salvation of mankind, fulfilled the vast conditions of Buddhahood." [57]

iii. Jātakas in the Pali Tipiṭaka: In the canonical Pali literature, especially in the *Vinaya Piṭaka,* there occur tales which subsequently became *Jātakas,* that is tales which in essence are *Jātakas* without the hero being identified with the Bodhisattva. *Cullavagga* VI, 3 may be compared with the *Tittira Jātaka* (no. 37) *Mahvagga* X, 2, 3 with the *Dīghītikosala Jātaka* (no. 371). On the other hand, there are some real *Jātakas* included in the *Suttas.* The *Kūṭadanta* and *Mahāsudassana Suttas* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Mahadeva Sutta* of the *Majjhima* have corresponding *Jātaka* analogues.

There is a well-known reference to the *Jātakas* as a book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* in the *Cullaniddesa* where a collection of 500 *jātakas* is mentioned. This collection, in the opinion of a reputed scholar, appears to be earlier than the scriptural basis of the Buddhist sculptures (at Bharhut and Sānchi) and hence earlier than the sculptures themselves, he goes on to say that "whatever the actual date of composition might be, it was certainly later than that of the *suttanta jātakas* scattered throughout the first four *nikāyas.* [58]

iv. The Jātaka Commentary: The extensive narrative work known as the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* from Fausboll's edition of the work and more often as *jatakaṭṭhakathā* in other editions is the work of an unknown Sinhalese monk. It is a commentary or compilation of the 5th century A.C. E. J. Thomas thought that the Sinhalese text itself, upon which it was based, "was probably a translation of an older Pali work, and as several of the tales have been preserved in other parts of the Canon in a more ancient style." [59] According to the *Gandhavaṃsa,* a late Pali work of Burmese origin[60] the *Jatakatthavaṇṇanā* is a composition of Buddhaghosa. Rhys Davids[61] quite early questions, on good grounds, the authorship of Buddhaghosa. E.W. Burlingame adds that both the language and style of the Jātaka Commentary differ from those of the authentic works of the great commentator.[62] This commentarial work or indeed the *aṭṭhakathā* in general, is said to have been written in Pali immediately after the canon, brought to Sri Lanka with the canon itself, there translated into the old Sinhalese *(Elu)* language, and then translated back into Pali by the compiler of the *Jatakattha-vaṇṇanā.* [63] Burlingame questions the validity of this and declares it to be unreliable and misleading on the grounds that Pali sources were used for the commentary. But as Winternitz suggests it may well be that it is only the prose which was translated into Sinhalese and then translated back again, the *gathās* were preserved unchanged in Pali. According to tradition, it is only the *gathās* which were included in the Canon. He observes further that "this tradition is probably correct in so far as both prose and verse originally came down orally; but the prose naturally had a less stable form than the stanzas so that when the canon was compiled, and later on, when it was written down, only the verses retained their original form whilst, in the case of the prose, the rendering of it was at first entrusted to the reciters, and it was only at a later period comitted to writing by commentators."

Fausboll referring to the statement of the *Gandha-vaṃsa* that Buddhaghosa is the author of the *Jātaka* commentary, argues that while it is certain that the latter is the author of the *Visuddhimagga,* the *Vinaya* commentary and the commentaries to the four greater *Nikāyas,* it is incredible that he should have written six others equally long, especially if he remained only three years in the island, and was not only a translator, but also an independent writer.[64]

Burlingame finds, as also does Winternitz, the arguments of Rhys Davids and Fausboll convincing. He adds that the strongest argument of all is, however, that the *Jātaka* commentary and the *Dhammapada* commentary, differ so widely in language and style from the genuine

57. Rhys Davids' translation, *Buddhist Birth Stories* London, 1880, p. 1
58. Law, B.C., *A History of Pali Literature,* 1, p. 39
59. *Life of Buddha,* London, 1927, xvii-xxi
60. *JPTS.* 1886, p. 59
61. *Buddhist Birth Stories,* pp. xiii, ff.
62. *Buddhist Legends, HOS,* Vol. 28, pp. 49, 59 ff.
63. Winternitz, op.cit. p. 117
64. Postscriptum to Fausboll's edition of the *Jātaka* Vol. V, pp. viii-ix; Burlingame. *op.cit.* pp. 58-59

works of Buddhaghosa as to make it in the highest degree improbable that he is the author of either of them. "Buddhaghosa is not the author of the *Jātaka* Commentary or of the *Dhammapada* commentary" he emphatically states. "Their authors are unknown".[65]

The *Jātaka* Commentary itself is a collection of 547 stories, each containing an account of the life of Gotama the Buddha during some incarnation in one of his previous existences as a Bodhisatta, a being destined to Enlightenment. That is the role he played before he became Buddha, the Enlightened One. The number of such "births" does not correspond to exactly 547 stories, since some of the tales occur more than once in a different setting, or in a variant version, and occasionally several stories are included in one birth. Each separate story is embedded in a framework, which forms the story of the present. This is generally an account of some incident in the life of the historic Buddha, such as an act of disobedience or folly among the brethren of the order, the discussion of a question of ethics, or an instance of eminent virtue. The Buddha then tells a story of the past, an event in one of his previous existences which explains the present incident as a repetition of the former one, or as parallel case and shows the moral consequences of the various acts performed. This is in most cases the real *jātaka*. When reference is made to a *jātaka* without any qualifying epithet it is that narrative that is generally meant. There is a third component of lesser importance the *gathā* or stanza forming as a rule, part of the story of the past, but sometimes also, of the story of the present. Another minor component is the grammatical and lexicographical comment known as *veyyākaraṇa*, on the *gathā*, and lastly the 'joining together' or *samodhāna* of the two stories by identifying the characters of the story of the past with those of their 'lives' in the time of the Buddha.

As to when exactly the commentary was composed, there is no means of deciding. There is no doubt that a Sinhalese commentary in all likelihood, included verses in the original Pali and was translated or rather recast and reworked into Pali, formed the basis of the Pali compilation.

3. **Literary Significance of the Jātakas:** The *Jātakas* achieve a high degree of literary excellence both severally and collectively. This statement, however, needs to be qualified in order to forestall some possible misconceptions regarding the stories. In as much as one single story differs from another in shape and size, so too does an individual tale differ from each of the others, in respect of literary quality. This assertion is equally valid for the verse portions of the canonical *jātakapāli (gathā)* as well as for the later prose narratives of the commentary, *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*.

This section dealing with the literary significance of the *Jātakas* will be concerned, as its title indicates, primarily with a discussion of the value of the stories as pieces of literature. It is divided broadly into 4 sub-sections as follows:

(1) The intellectual milieu in which the stories originated and flourished; this will include some general remarks on their content and form, followed by a brief description of the arrangement of the stories;
(2) Individual *jātakas* in the Pali Canon;
(3) The Longer *Jātakas* and
(4) Assessment of the stories as pieces of literary merit.

(1) The Intellectual Milieu

Although instances of claimed memories of previous lives, such as Pythagoras' claim to remember his past births as reported by Herodotus in his account of Aristeas of Proconnesus (iv. 14, 15) and Heracleides Ponticus' claim that he had once been born as Aethalides and had then obtained a boon from his father as mentioned by Diogenesia Laertius (viii. 1) are not entirely wanting in Greek literary history, such events have generally been considered isolated incidents.[66] The intellectual climate of India where the *jātakas* flourished and one may add, in Sri Lanka where they were edited and written down, has been very different. In these milieus the recollection of previous lives is not a mere dubious theory but a widely accepted belief. It is a common feature in the histories of the saints and heroes of sacred tradition. *Manu* (iv. 148) mentions it as the reward of a selfdenying and pious life. This, along with its corollary, the doctrine of rebirth *(punabbhava)*, has played, since the Vedic times, such an important role in the life and thought of the Indian people that it has been a part of their national character and ethos. Buddhist literature from the earliest times has always assumed the reality of past epochs "as an authentic background to the founder's historical life as Gautama".[67] *Jātaka* legends are found in the canonical literature, e.g. *Sukhavihāri Jātaka (J.* 10) and *Tittira Jātaka (J.* 27) in the *Cullavagga* (vii. 1 and vi. 6); likewise the *Khandavatha J.* (203) in *Cullavagga* (v. 6); there are several other examples. So, for instance, a minor book, *Cariyā-pitaka*, of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, consists of 35 *jātakas*, retold in verse. All these can be identified in the *jātaka* collections that have been published; which goes to show that the legends have always been recognized as an important constituent of Buddhist literature.

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65 Burlingame ibid.
66 Referred to by Cowell in *The Jataka* or stories of the Buddha's Former Births, *PTS*. 1895, Preface vii.
[illegible]

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that scenes from the *Jātaka* tales are found sculptured in the carvings on the railings round the relic-shrines of Sānchi, Amarāvatī, and especially at Bharhut where the titles of some stories are clearly inscribed over some of the carvings.[68] The legends were also continuously introduced to religious discourses[69] which were delivered by the various teachers in their wanderings, whether to magnify the glory of the Buddha or to illustrate Buddhist doctrines and precepts by appropriate examples.

Many scholars subscribe to the view that not all the stories contained in the *Jātaka* collection are "Buddhist" in a somewhat restricted view of the term, or even that they emanated from a Buddhist milieu. Some of these birth-stories are patently Buddhistic and depend for their point on some custom or idea peculiar to Buddhism, but many are said to be pieces gathered from folklore, "which have floated about the world for ages as the stray waif of literature and are liable everywhere to be appropriated by any casual claimant".[70] This is an interesting observation. It is however, worth noting that no proprietary rights have been claimed by Buddhists for these stories, apart from the claim that, by and large, they are tales with a Buddhist content and flavour and that Buddhist narrators and writers have invested them with a particular structure and form. Such appropriation of stories from a common stock by Buddhist *samaṇas* in the course of their wanderings is therefore quite possible and is only to be expected, when one considers the historical and cultural context in which the stories originated. Equally important is it to recognize the fact that *Jātaka* tales have been, over the centuries, appropriated by storytellers belonging to far-flung regions to which they had migrated. They have been used by different authors to achieve their special objectives. Thus some of them have been used by Boccacio or Poggio as merry tales whereas a Welsh bard has made use of them to embelish King Arthur's legendary glories. "Chaucer unwittingly puts a *jātaka* story into the mouth of his Pardonere when he tells his tale of "the ryotoures three", and another appears in Herodotus as the popular explanation of the sudden rise of the Alcmalonidae through Magcles' marriage with Cleisthenes' daughter and the rejection of his rival Hippocleides".[71]

It was remarked earlier that the compilers of the *jātaka* book have invested it with a special content, form and structure. The *jātakas* are preceded in the Pali Text by a lengthy introduction styled the *Nidāna-kathā* which gives the Buddha's previous history ("lives") both before his last birth and also during his last existence until he attained Enlightenment.[72]

Each birth-story proper (i.e. 'the story of the past' or *atītavatthu*) is always preceded by a 'story of the present' or *paccuppannavatthu* which usually takes the form of a quasi-introduction to the former. This linking of 'the story of the past' and 'the story of the present' is an essential part of the plan of the original work. The *jātaka* proper which is essentially a story of a by gone age is then always linked with some special incident in the Buddha's life or with an episode describing his relationship with members of the *saṅgha*. The question of the credibility of the historical data contained in "the story of the present" or the question whether such a story is a forced and laboured invention of the compiler or not, are irrelevant issues; for, the point is that each story is one element of a link which has already been made by the narrator.

Other indications of the compiler's hand in the tales may be noted. Into many of the *jātakas* there have been introduced grammatical or other explanations as, for example, in *Apaṇṇaka J.* (1) when a haunted and waterless desert is mentioned; the mention is followed by a short but needless *excursus* enumerating several kinds of desert, and ending "now among these kinds, this one was of the haunted and waterless sort". In other cases, still more pedantic notes are introduced. In the simple story of the peacock (*Nacca J.* 30) whose impudent strutting lost him his own future swan bride, the swan king *(haṃsa-rāja)* is made, in the heat of his own indignation, to draw a distinction between sense of propriety or conscience and sense of shame-sense of propriety which has its origin within the individual *(hiri)* and sense of shame which has regard to the opinion of others *(ottappa)*.

The *Tipallattha-miga J.* (16) concerns a deer which had learnt the ruses of deer, being caught in a snare and eventually effects its escape. The tale which illustrates the cleverness of a deer who finally escapes from a hunter's snare, is interpreted as a mere expansion of a popular rhyme that the deer has recourse to tricks by which he effects his escape, feigning to be dead. The relevant stanza translated runs as follows:

> "In all three postures – on his back or sides –
> Your son is versed; he 'strained to use light hoofs,
> And save at midnight never slakes his thirst;
> As he lies couched on earth, he lifeless seems;

68. Ibid. viii
69. See M.M. Kunte's paper in *JRAS* (CA) 1884, Vol. viii ff., 99–151, published 1886
70. Cowell op.cit. ix
71. Ibid
72. The incidents recorded in this latter portion are partly paralleled and partly elaborated in the *Lalitavistara.*

And only with his under-nostril breathes.
Six tricks my nephew knows to cheat his foes"[73]

The story merits quotation partly because it illustrates the point made with regard to the compiler's hand in the narrative and partly because it serves as an example of the direct and simple style of narrative.

"Once on a time a certain king of Magadha was reigning in Rajagaha; and in those days the Bodhisatta, having been born a stag, was living in the forest as the head of a herd of deer. Now his sister brought her son to him, saying "Brother, teach your nephew here the ruses of deer." "Certainly", said the Bodhisatta; "go away now, my boy, and come back at such and such a time to be taught". Punctually at the time his uncle mentioned, the young stag was there and received instruction in the ruses of deer.

One day as he was ranging the woods he was caught in a snare and uttered the plaintive cry of a captive. Away fled the deer and told the mother of the son's captive. She came to her brother and asked him whether his nephew had been taught the ruses of deer. "Fear not; your son is not at fault," said the Bodhisatta. "He has learnt throughout deer's ruses, and will come back straightaway to your rejoicing." And so saying he repeated this stanza (cited above).

Thus the Bodhisatta consoles his sister by showing her how thoroughly her son had mastered the ruses of deer. Meantime the young stag on being caught in the snare did not struggle, but lay down at full length on his side, with his legs stretched out taut and rigid. He pawed up the ground round his hoofs so as to shower the grass and earth about; relieved nature; let his head fall; tolled out his tongue; beslavered his body all over; swelled himself out by drawing in the wind; turned up his eyes; breathed only with the lower nostril, holding his breath with the upper one; and made himself generally so rigid and so stiff as to look like a corpse; even the blue beetles swarmed round him, and here and there crows settled.

The hunter came up and smacked the stag on the belly with his hand, remarking, "He must have been caught early this morning; he's going bad already". So saying the man loosed the stag from his bonds, saying to himself, "I'll eat him up here where he lies, and take the flesh home with me." But as the man guilelessly set to work to gather sticks and leaves (to make a fire with), the young stag rose to his feet, shook himself, stretched out his neck, and, like a little cloud scudding before a mighty wind, sped swiftly back to his mother.[74]

One may not entirely agree with Winternitz's view that "the stories of the present" are of little value being either very silly inventions of the commentator or borrowings from other texts, such as the *Vinayapiṭaka, Suttanipāta* or *Apadāna*, or from other commentaries *(ERE–Jātaka)*. There are many *jātakas* where 'the story of the present' has been well constructed and presented with elegance and lucidity of diction. But the classification of the tales proposed by him may still be helpful to the student interested in gaining an overall view of them. In respect of literary form, he recognizes 5 classes, which he proposes mainly for "the stories of the past" along with the canonical *gāthās*. He distinguishes the following:

(1) tales in prose in which are included just one or two or few verses containing the moral or gist of the tale
(2) ballads (a) dialogues
(b) mixture of narrative and dialogue
(3) long tales partly in prose partly in verse
(4) strings of moral maxims on some *one* topic
(5) regular epics or epic fragments.

In respect of content the tales are divided into the following groups:

(1) fables
(2) marchen (fairy tales, animal stories)
(3) anecdotes and comic tales
(4) tales of adventure and romance
(5) moral tales
(6) moral maxims
(7) legends

The *Jātaka* collection, in its present form as a compilation of prose narratives together with the occasional verse or verses, is thus seen to be a unified work with the tales neatly organized and systematically ordered. It reveals the hand of an orderly compiler who was bent on producing, with the raw material available to him, a well constructed corpus of stories presented in an elegant and attractive manner. A large number of stories must surely have had, since the time of its compilation to the present day, as they have even for the modern reader, a varied appeal. Some tales are amusing while some are gruesome; some are romantic episodes while there are others that appeal to readers (or listeners) by startling them. Some stories are starkly realistic while others are plain flights of imagination into the realm of fancy. There are also stories

73. Cowell ed. op.cit. 49. The translator (Chalmers) states in a note that the commentator explains "eight hoofs" mentioned in line 2 as two hoofs on each foot of the deer, referring to the cloven hoof in each foot. The "six tricks" mentioned in line 6 are the three mentioned in line 1 and the three mentioned in lines 2, 3 and 5 respectively.

74. Ibid. ff. 49–50

that exploit the readers' love of the miraculous while still others strike the heart cords of a near captive audience by their capacity to entertain as well as impart moral instruction. Some may draw the attention of the sophisticated reader as instances affording parallels to tales familiar from childhood.

There is no dearth of passages that display a happy blend of simplicity and ornament.

(2) Individual Jātaka Tales

As examples if stories having literary merit the "deer stories" may be cited. There are several *jātakas* where deer figure as characters in the story, playing either the principal role or a subordinate one. Some of them are simple short tales while there are a few longer ones. Such brief tales do not exhaust the number of stories which could claim literary excellence. *Lakkhana J., Nigrodhamiga J., Kandina J., Vātamiga J., Kharadiya J., Tipallatthamiga J.,* (Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 respectively) are examples.

A single example would suffice to illustrate the neat and well-ordered presentation of the story, the simplicity and charm of style, and the felicity of diction.

The story of the past of the *Vātamiga J.* (14 mentioned above) in Chalmer's English translation reads as follows:

> Once on a time when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares he had a gardener named Sanjaya. Now there came into the King's pleasance a Wind-antelope (*Vātamiga*), which fled away at the sight of Sanjaya, but the latter let it go without terrifying the little creature. After several visits the antelope used to roam about in the pleasance. Now the gardener was in the habit of gathering flowers and fruits and taking them day by day to the king. Said the king to him one day, "Have you noticed anything strange friend gardener, in the pleasance?" "Only, Sir, that a Wind-antelope has come about the grounds". "Could you catch it, do you think?" "Oh yes; if I had a little honey, I'll bring it right into your Majesty's Palace."
>
> The king ordered the honey to be given to the man and he went off with it to the pleasance, where he first anointed with the honey the grass at the spots frequented by the antelope, and then hid himself. When the antelope came and tasted the honied grass it was so snared by the lust of taste that it would go nowhere else but only to the pleasance. Marking the success of his snare, the gardener began gradually to show himself. The appearance of the man made the antelope take to flight for the first day or two, but growing familiar with the sight of him, it gathered confidence and gradually came to eat grass from the man's hand. He, noting that the creature's confidence had been won, first strewed the path as thick as a carpet with broken boughs, then tying a gourd full of honey on his shoulder and sticking a bunch of grass in his waist-cloth, he kept dropping wisps of the honied grass in front of the antelope till at last he got it right inside the palace. No sooner was the antelope inside than they shut the door. At sight of men the antelope, in fear and trembling for its life, dashed to and fro about the hall, and the king coming down from his chamber above and seeing the trembling creature, said, "So timid is the antelope that for a whole week it will not revisit a spot where it has so much as seen a man; and if it has once been frightened anywhere, it never goes back there again all its life long. Yet, ensnared by the lust of taste, this wild thing from the jungle has actually come to a place like this. Truly, my friends, there is nothing viler in the world than this lust of taste." And he put his teaching into this stanza:
>
> *na kiratthi rasehi pāpiyo*
> *āvāsehi vā santhavehi vā*
> *vātamigaṃ gehanissitaṃ*[75]
> *vāsamānesi rasehi Sañjayo 'ti*[76]
>
> There's nothing worse, men say, than taste to snare,
> At home or with one's friends. Lo! taste it was,
> That unto Sanjaya deliver'd up
> The jungle-haunting antelope so wild.
>
> And with these words he let the antelope go back to its forest again.

It is worth noting that the story of the present of this *Jātaka* is no less interesting than the narrative cited above, from the point of view of literary merit.

(3) The Longer Jātakas

Some of the better known, longer narratives of the *Jātaka* collection are incorporated in the *Mahānipāta* of the Pali *Jatakattha-vaṇṇanā*. That portion of the *Jātaka Book* contains the last ten stories (nos. 538–547). They are entitled *Mugapakkha, Mahājanaka, Sāma, Nimi, Khandahāla, Bhūridatta, mahānārada-kassapa, Vidhura-paṇḍita, Mahā-ummagga* and *Vessantara* are narrated in that order. Some of these stories like the *Sāma Jātaka* for instance, are prose romances, while others like the *Vidhura-pandita J.* and the *Vessantara J.* are veritable epics, with the difference, however, that they are composed basically in prose and the intervening stanzas occupying generally a minor place. Some like the

75. Variant reading: *gahananissitaṃ*
76. The Pali stanza is not quoted in the translation

Bhūridatta J. and the *Mahāummagga Jātaka* have features in common with the novel of more recent origin. Some are not even single stories but "story clusters".

It is to be noted also, that although the *Mahānipāta* contains relatively long stories, many other such naratives are to be found in other sections of the story collection. The *Kusa J.* (531), *Mahāhaṃsa J.* (534) and *Mahāsuta-soma J.* (537) are a few example. There are several more scattered elsewhere in the work.

Many of the longer legends are qualified by the adjective *mahā* prefixed to the title in the Pali Collection; thus e.g. *Mahābodhi J.* (528), *Mahā-dhammapāla J.* (447), *Mahāhaṃsa J.* (534), *Mahājanaka J.* (539), *Mahānārada-Kassapa J.* (544), *Mahāpaduma J.* (472) and so forth. Needless to say, not all stories which bear titles beginning with *mahā* are lengthy narratives, as, for example *Mahāsudassana J.* (95), *Mahākaṇha J.* (469), *Mahākapi J.* (407, 516), *Mahāpalobhana J.* (507), *Mahāpanāda J.* (264) and others will show; so, too, several stories which are not described as 'great' *(mahā)* such as *Campeyya J.* (506), *Chaddanta J.* (514), *Saṅkha-pāla J.* (524) and *Kusa J.* (531) already referred to are quite lengthy stories in their own right.

A good example of the longer story is the *Maha-bodhi-jātaka* (528) which like so many other long stories, fall outside the *Mahānipāta*. The importance of the story lies not merely in the fact that it has been told concerning the perfection *(pāramitā)* of wisdom; there are other such stories which are narrated both succinctly and at length among the *Jātakas*. Some of them are to be found in the *Mahāummagga J.* (story of the Tunnel). Such stories have an intellectual appeal. In the *Mahābodhi J.*, the Wise Bodhi refutes the doctrines of all disputants and vanquishes them. It illustrates his skill in debate, and insignificant also for the reason that it states the heretical views of the king's Counsellors who are identified with five (of the six) heretical teachers of the Buddha's day. It also gives an insight into the methods of disputation in learned circles, the statement of the different doctrines and of their refutation. The arguments of his adversaries, the replies of Bodhi and the presentation of his own views as alternatives to those of his rivals are significant in that they bring out clearly some of the fundamental teachings of Buddhism. And finally Bodhi's concluding sermon to the king expounding the Dhamma is a stirring exhortation embodying, among other things, the duties of a king *(rājadhamma)* towards his subjects.

Stories and discourses referring to heretics and heresies are not lacking in Buddhist literature. Such examples are to be found in the *Jātaka* collection. But instances where heretics are referred to, mentioned by name and identified as characters in a story and their views stated are certainly rare. The *Mahānārada Kassapa J.* (544), mentioned earlier, is one such example. Certain characters of the story, some of them in the role of the King's ministers are identified and the heresies they held are stated. Here the king comes under the influence of a naked ascetic *(acela)* who held wrong views and takes to a life of pleasure. He is finally converted and led back to the right path by the Bodhisatta. This tale has a parallel in the *Brahmajātaka* (no. 29 of the *Jātakamālā*). An instance where heresies are identified by name, explicitly stated in the form of answers to questions put, and finally refuted, besides providing an instance where those elements are central to the story, is rare indeed. In this respect the *Mahābodhi Jātaka* is unique.

So much for the content of the story. The literary form and narrative style are no less interesting. The story is recounted in a mixture of prose and verse. The manner in which literary devices like the *upamā* (= simile), the felicitous turns of phrase and the metrical form deserve closer attention. In the final discourse to the king the Bodhisatta *(Mahābodhi)* after having vanquished the Counsellors who had been rendered 'devoid of lusture' *(nippaṭibhāna)* [accordingg to one version who had become "like fireflies that had seen the spotless sun"] states: "Your Majesty, these fellows with whom you go about are five big thieves who plunder your realm. Oh! fool that you are! A man who consorts with wicked fellows such as these would meet with great misery, both in this world and that which is to come."

A well-known tale, the parable of the wolf disguised as a ram is introduced into the story here. The wolf in the *Jātaka* version, draws the unsuspecting herd towards itself, slays the creatures and scampers off. The English rendering of the Pali stanzas reads:

A wolf disguised as ram of old
Drew unsuspected nigh the fold
The panic-stricken flock it slew,
Then scampered off the pastures new.[77]

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77 Francis' translation of the Pali, *The Jataka* (tr.) V. p. 124. The Pali stanza is as follows:
Urabbharūpena bakāsu pubbe
asaṅkito ajayūtaṃ upeti
hantvā urāṇiṃ ajiyaṃ ajañca
citrāsayitvā yena kāmaṃ paleti
Jātakapāli. II. Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka series. Vol. 31 with Sinhalese translation by Madihe Paññāsiha Maha Nayaka thero, Government of Sri Lanka, 2526/1984. v. 3484

The other too is an ancient story, not unfamiliar to readers of the *Jātakas*, the parable of the ox leading a herd. The leader, along with the herd, comes to a stream which has to be crossed, takes a devious course, is followed by the rest of its members; and in the process of crossing they all perish. Another ox in similar circumstances takes a straight course, and all the animals cross in safety. Both stories are introduced in the form of similes, by way of illustration, to enlarge on the text of the sermon, and employed to expose the folly of the heresies held by the king's ministers, and to put the king on the right path. The first is intended to bare the evil of hypocrisy, especially hypocritical practices prevalent among certain religious groups. The English translation reads:

The bull through floods a devious course will take,
The herd of kine all straggling in his wake:
So if a leader fortuous paths pursue,
To base ends will he guide the vulgar crew,
And the whale realm an age of license rue.

But if the bull a course direct should steer,
The herd of kine straight follow in his rear.
So should their chiefs to righteous ways be true,
The common fold injustice will eschew,
And through the realm shall holy peace ensure.[78]

The narrator mentions, in particular, monks and brahmins who in the guise of wandering mendicants decieve the world. The other exposes the evil of crookedness, the wickedness of deceitful ways and extols the virtue of following the straight. Both ends are achieved with telling effect.

The *Nidānakathā* or introduction to the *Jātaka* commentary quotes in full the first two chapters of the *Buddhavaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Buddha). Chapter 2 of that work includes the story of Sumedha, a previous life of the Buddha Gotama, and the life of the Buddha Dipaṃkara, the first of the Buddhas of the present aeon *(kalpa)* and from whom the former first received his prophecy *(vivaraṇa)*. This narrative is not without literary excellence. It includes the story of the life and experiences of the Buddha Gotama in his earlier existences and describes how the characteristics of a Buddha were exhibited by him in patience, self-sacrifice and other virtues. As the time drew nigh for him to enter the world in this birth, the gods themselves prepared the way before him with celestial portents and signs:

"Earthquakes and miracles of howling took place; flowers bloomed and gentle rain fell, although out of season; heavenly music was heard; delicious scents filled the air and the very water of the ocean lost its saltness and became refreshing."

Before his birth also the prophecy was uttered concerning him that he would become either (1) a universal monarch *(cakravartin, cakkavatti)* or (2) a Buddha abandoning house and home, or who would put on the robe of a wandering mendicant and attain perfect enlightenment for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. He, himself in the Tusita Heaven consenting to undertake the office makes the "five great observations" *(pañca-mahā vilokana)* in order to determine:

(1) the right family in which to be born
(2) the right continent - Jambudīpa
(3) the appropriate district - Majjhadesa
(4) the proper time &
(5) the predestined mother.

The body at the time of birth bore the thirty-two auspicious marks *(dvattiṃsa-mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇāni)* and the eighty sub-characteristics *(asīti-anubyañjanāni)*. The chief of the divinities, Indra, was in attendance at birth, and the boy was received by the four guardian deities.

In many of the legends, the young prince Siddhartha performs marvellous feats of strength. His father also, mindful of the prophecy that his son would retire from the world, surrounded him with all manner of luxury and indulgence in order to retain his affection and prevent him from undertaking a vow of solitude and poverty. In particular, he tried to keep him away from the four signs,

78. The *Jātaka* (tr.) V. v. 125 cited also and translated in full in the *Rājovāda J.* (334) op. cit. III, p. 74. The corresponding Pali stanzas are:

Gāvañca taramānānaṃ jimhaṃ gacchati puṃgavo,
sabbā tā jimhaṃ gacchanti ānatte jimhaṃ gate sati

evameva manussesu yo hoti seṭṭhasammato,
so ce adhammaṃ carati pageva itarā pajā
sabbaṃ raṭṭhaṃ dukkhaṃ seti rājā ce hoti adhammiko

gāvañca taramānānaṃ ujuṃ gacchati puhgavo,
sabbā tā ujuṃ gacchanti nette ujugate sati.

evameva manussesu yo hoti seṭṭhasammato,
so ceva dhammaṃ carati pageva itarā pajā,
sabbaṃ raṭṭhaṃ sukhaṃ seti rājā ce hoti dhammiko (Ibid. No. 3493-3496)

the sight of which would impel him to take on the ascetic life.

Viewed from a literary point of view, the *Jātakamālā* of Āryasūra-pāda occupies a prominent place in Buddhist literature generally and the *Jātaka* literature in particular. Composed by a writer gifted with an innate poetic ability and literary craftsmanships, this work belongs to that *genre* of poetry which in Sanskrit literary theory is called *campu* i.e. a poem *(kāvya)* composed in a mixture of prose and verse. Judged by the standards of the literary criticism obtaining since the date of its composition, this collection represents a classic example of the *campu-kāvya.*

The *Jātakamālā* (Garland of Birth Stories) is a literary composition quite unlike the *Jātaka* collection in Pali. It is a Sanskrit rendering by Āryasūra,of only thirty four *jātaka* tales. This number is exactly the number of *Avadānas* in the *Bodhisattvāvadāna* (Rajendralal Mitra-*Sanskrit Buddhist Literature* p. 49). It claims to be a florilegium, a selection of *jātakas* with the avowed object of rousing and instilling a genuine faith in the minds of its readers, (or hearers) as the case may be. It is distinguished no less by the superiority of its style than by the loftiness of the writers thoughts and sentiments. The verses intermingling with the artful prose are composed in the choice Sanskrit, while the prose itself reveals the author's supreme command of the classical Sanskrit. Much skill is displayed in the handling of a great variety of metres.

(4) Literary Value of the Jātakas: From the foregoing analysis of the literary significance of the *Jātakas*, it would have become clear that the stories achieve a high degree of literary merit. The generality of the tales contained in the large Pali collection possess poetic features of structure, content, form, arrangement and language which would match away compilation of stories in any language or literature. The orderly structure of the stories may sometimes appear to be somewhat stilted and artificial, but it still is quite characteristic of the Pali Collection. The structure and form of such tales helps one to understand that particular feature marks it out from other similar collections. The smaller Sanskrit collection, the 'Garland of Birth Stories' mentioned above, appeals to the reader for quite other reasons. There are also other such collections in Sanskrit, the *Avadānas,* not referred to earlier, which could well lay claim to literary excellence. Likewise, such a claim could be made for some of the narratives in the Sinhalese *Jātaka Pota* (s.v.). Reference has been made to individual tales as well as to the collection as a whole. Attention has been focussed on the varying quality of their value as pieces of writing and narrative. In sum, it may be stated without risk of contradiction that the corpus of stories, that go by the name of *jātakas* have inspired, entertained an delighted generations of its readers and listeners in the past, as they continue to do at present and undoubtedly will do in the future.

4. The Jātakas in Popular Buddhism: The *jātakas* with their varied assortment of characters made up of kings and royal personages, merchants and princes, householders and peasants, sea-faring adventurers and wandering mendicants, birds and beasts and denizens of the woods, gods and demons and spirits inhabiting trees and lakes, embody universal truths and the wisdom of the ages, in a lively and often dramatic form. Exemplifying the "Reflections" *(pāramitā),* the Bodhisatta, by his thoughts, words and deeds, reveals the path to enlightenment and offers an insight into the nature of *bodhi* or enlightenment.

It has been remarked earlier that these stories originated, developed and spread in lands and among peoples where a belief in the notion of recurrent lives *(punabbhava)* was prevalent. They show that such a view of life, a belief that all beings had already had previous lives and would have them in the future as well, was an integral part of the psychological equipment of both narrators and hearers. They illustrate poignantly the operation of *karma (kamma),* the law of moral action, by demonstrating how the Bodhisatta shaped his destiny through unending efforts on behalf of, and for the welfare of, all beings. In the animated world of these stories, the relationship between action and its result *(kamma-vipāka, kamma phala)* can be clearly seen, increasing our awareness of how the actions of sentient beings shape their experience. Reflexion on the *jātakas* offers an opportunity to observe the workings of *karma* in everyday life and to appreciate more fully the moral choices open to individuals and society in the modern world.

This section is concerned with discussing briefly (a) the influence of the *jātakas* in the life of the people; (b) their sociological value under which reference will be made to the role of the story collection as an instrument for the propagation of the faith in addition to surviving as a vehicle of Buddhist propaganda. The stories have to be viewed and appreciated as they doubtless were in the days when they were first recounted, against the background of the notions of *kamma* i.e. the view that every action produces a reaction, a resultant effect, and that of *punabbhava* (rebirth). Both in the eyes of the narrators as well as the hearers, the Bodhisatta is an ideal being who, in all his previous existences, has demonstrated through precept and practice, one or more of the great virtues or 'Perfections *(pārami);* (c) a reference to some popular stories as standard texts for the Bodhisatta ideal; (d) the story collection as the common property of all Buddhist countries. In that sense, the stories are the chief witnesses of popular Buddhism; and (e) the role of the temple in the writing, transmission, preservation and propagation of the stories among the common people.

Let us take each of these in turn. In interpreting the expression "the *jātakas* in the life of the people", it is well to bear in mind that the term 'people' should be understood in a broad sense. People here does not mean the Buddhist population alone for the infuence of these stories, not to mention the stories themselves, spread well beyond the confines of the Buddhist community not only in India, but in other lands as well. They are of such a miscellaneous character that their very diversity could be a major factor in their spread. Not all of them have directly moral aim and there are not a few stories that cannot be classed as definitely Buddhistic. Some are fables aimed at teaching *nīti* (worldly wisdom), others are fairy stories, pure and simple. Most of the moral narratives, sayings and pious legends are the common property of Indian didactic poetry, it has been claimed and are only partly of Buddhist origin.[79] It has also been stated that there is nothing specifically Buddhistic in the short anecdotes, humorous tales and jokes[80] that frequently occur in the *jātakas*. They give also particulars of the life of people of all classes, about some of whom there is scarcely any other information in Indian literature.[81] The stories appeal to all strata of the population. They are understandable not only to the wise but even to the simple-minded. Only the all-too-clever will smile at them indulgently. They have not lost their human appeal and continue to exert a deep influence on the life of peoples.

It need hardly be mentioned that this unfluence is to be felt mostly in Buddhist lands like Sri Lanka, Burma, Siam and Cambodia where crowds of people would listen with rapt attention for hours when *bhikkhus*, during full-moon nights and on other religious occasions, recite the stories of the Buddha's former lives. It has been reported that even in Tibet, tears in the eyes of sturdy caravan men have been seen, when sitting around the camp fire, listening to tales of the Bodhisatta's suffering and sacrifices.[82] For ordinary people "the *jātakas* are not merely literature or folklore, but something that happens in their very presence and profoundly affects their own life, something that moves them to the core of their being, because it is present reality to them." [83] In the lands of South-east Asia, these stories were no less popular. Pierre Dupont in one of his later works[84] examines a modern version of the *Nārada jātaka* (doubtless the *Mahānārada jātaka*, No. 544), one of the 10 stories comprising the *Mahānipāta*. These stories appear to have become popular in Burma from about the 4th to the 13th centuries. Although it is to their sculptural and architectural representation that scholars have chiefly drawn attention, there are textual references to them in contemporary inscriptions. In Pagan, the 11th – 13th century capital of Burma, where most of the older traces of Buddhist Mon are to be found there are such stone inscriptions besides architectural and sculptural remains, terracotta and fresco.[85] About 1054–8 A.C. the Burmese king Anuruddha captured the Mon capital Thaton *(Yaksapura, Sudhammavatī)* and carried off to Pagan its king Makuta, together with copies of the Tripiṭaka and Buddhist monks and artists of all kinds. The earliest Mon description of the Great *jātakas* (i.e. those of the *Mahānipāta) occur in Makuta's pandit* inscription at the Schwezagon Pagoda, Thaton.

Prominent in several of these temples either in terracotta or fresco are whole series of the 560 *jātakas*. Among the *jatakas* depicted are *Apaṇṇaka* (1) and *Mātanga* (497) at the Ananda temple, Kyanzittha; *Velāma* and *Mātanga* in the West and East Petika Pagoda; *Rohantamiga* (501) in the Kurbyamkgqi temple, Myinpagan; *Devatāpañha* (350) in the Abeyadana temple; *Samiddhi* (167) and *Rādha* (198) in the Pyatsa Shwe temple and *Rohanta (miga)* at the Wingalazedi pagoda. These scupltural or pictorial representations are accompanied by descriptive texts. For example at the Pyatsa Shwe temple the *Samiddhi Jātaka* is referred to as one where "the Holy One was a hermit" and the *Rādha Jātaka* as one where "our Lord was a paroquet" and the *Rohanamiga Jātaka* at the Mingalazedi pagoda as one in which the Future Buddha was a golden deer.[86]

Another aspect of the influence of the *jātakas* on the broad masses of the people, which included a relatively small group of learners and a much larger group of hearers, concerns the problem of the transmission of texts. Several elements were involved in this process of transmission. The first group referred to above was drawn from the monastic community consisting of

79. See Majumdar, R.C. and Pusalkar, A.D., *The History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol. III; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1951, 1953, Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavān, p. 404 ff.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Quoted in Dharmasiri, Gunapala, *Fundamentals of Buddhist Ethics*. The Buddhist Research Society, Singapore, 1986, p. 113; Govinda, Anagarika, "Origins of the Bodhisattva Ideal" *Stepping Stones* Vol. II, January 1952, p. 244
83. Govinda, Anagarika op.cit.
84. *La version Mone du Nārada Jātaka*, Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient, Saigon, 1954
85. The glazed terracottas on the top terraces of the Ananda temple which illustrate the ten great *Jātakas* have been edited by the late C. Duroiselle in Vol. II (text and plates) of *Epigraphia Burmanica*, Rangoon, Government Press, 1919.
86. Luce, G.H., "The 500 jatakas in Old Burma", *Artibus Asiae* xix, 3/4, pp. 291–307

trainee monks, attached to individual temples, while the latter comprised the much larger community of lay persons, drawn from all walks of life. Then there was the preacher or reciter of the text, who was usually an erudite monk, and of course the book or the written text. There were two methods of transmission (1) oral transmission by preaching and/or the recitation of the text which in former times was a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Jātaka Pota* or more likely a few leaves from it selected for the occasion, which in modern times has been replaced by a printed book; this was an effective method of disseminating the stories among a vast concourse of people as well as a method of imparting instruction and propagating a knowledge of the doctrine. The venue for such a discourse was generally the village temple and the occasion involved the participation of the lay community and the community of monks, (2) the other method was one of a different order: the scriptural (textual) tradition of transmission. This was the method of writing on palm leaves the entire text of the stories, an elaborate process demanding deep devotion and dedication, a sense of commitment in addition to considerable labour and time. *Bhikkhus* have played a key role in both these methods of transmission.

The incidence of the availability in large numbers of *Jātaka* manuscripts, distributed in all parts of Sri Lanka, is an index to the popularity of the story collection. The copying of the text by temple scribes as well as the regular printing of the work in modern times have contributed to the development of the reading habit.

A collection of *Jātaka* tales entitled *Paññāsajataka* [87] has been one that has been particularly popular in Burma. These tales are not all paralleled in the Pali collection. Some of them bear a close resemblance to, and may be local adaptations of tales found in the *Avadāna* texts.

Among the Pali literary texts from Laos are to be found indegenous extra-canonical *jātakas* which have been seen as illustrations of the synthesis of Buddhism and folklore in South-east Asia.[88] The fact that these stories are largely apocryphal and therefore of doubtful authenticity when viewed in relation to the canonical *jātakas*, does not militate against the view that the stories formed an important part of the popular literature and played a vital role in the shaping of the attitude to life of those peoples and in the formation of their world-view. Among the stoies occuring in the post-canonical collection of the *Paññāsajātaka* are the *Sudhanajātaka*[89] occuring as the second story of that collection, the *Dukammajātaka* [90] which is an illustration of a popular saying which dissuades a man from marrying a woman who has already had three husbands; from striking up a friendship with a man who has taken the monastic robe thrice and left the monastic life; and from entering a town where the king imprisons people without preliminary hearings; the *Nandakumāra*,[91] also known by the title of *Mālika*, one of the protagonists of this history which begins like a *sutta* but is in reality a *jātaka* designed to illustrate the benefits of meritorious deeds *(puññakamma)* performed in previous births, the *Candagādhajātaka*,[92] an apocryphal *jātaka* popular in Laos, Thailand and Cambodia relates the adventures of the Bodhisatta when he assumed the person of Candagādha, the son of a poor man of Campānagara, the *Sambhamittajātaka* [93] also one of the fifty *jātakas*, appears more often under the title of *Subhamittajātaka*, *the Suvaṇṇahaṃsa* or *Dvesijātaka*,[94] the *Arindamigajātaka*[95] another post-canonical *jātaka*, the *Suvaṇṇajātaka*,[96] a story of the Bodhisatta in the life of Suvaṇṇa. Only a fragment of this text has survived which narrates the garbled story of a child having a head and no body, the *Bālasambhyajātaka* [97] which relates the story of the conversion of a proud monarch, similar to King Jambupati, the *Suriyavaṃsahaṃsa jātaka* [98] also known as the *Pavara Vanahaṃsa Jātaka*, but is not included in any of the apocryphal fifty jātakas, the story

87 This text has been noticed, edited and critically commented by scholars in the early part of the century but the most recent and up-to-date edition is by P.S. Jain in the *PTS.* series

88 See Saddhatissa, H. "Pali Literature from Laos" in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism* Jagdish Kashyap Commemoration volume edited by Narain, A.K., Delhi; 1979

89 Finot, L. *BEFEO,* XVII, 5. pp. 44–50, Hanoi, 1917

90 This is the 18th *Jātaka* of the Luang Prabhang recension of the *Paññāsajātaka.* Vide Finot op.cit. p. 45

91 Finot, op.cit. 50. No. 1

92 The Laotian version of this story and the Siamese printed text differ.

93 The 5th in the Laotian and Burmese recensions and the 4th in the Cambodian and Siamese *(BEFEO,* XVII, p. 45. A Siamese version was published in Vol. 4 of the *Paññāsajātaka* Bangkok 1933)

94 The 16th in the Luang Prabhang recension and the 32nd or 33rd in the Cambodian and Siamese recensions; Finot op.cit. p. 45 where it is wrongly called *Sorassa.* A translation of it was published in Vol. ix of the *Paññsajātaka.* Bangkok, 1925

95 The 41st in the Luang Prabhang edition and the 46th in the Cambodian and Siamese recensions. Its translation in Siamese was published in Vol. XIII of the *Paññāsajātaka,* Bangkok, 1927

96 The 48th in the Cambodian and Siamese recensions; vide Pinot, op.cit. p. 46.

97 Vide Finot, op. cit. pp. 49 and 178, No. 29

98 Vide Finot, op. cit. p. 209, No. 294.

of the prince with golden tongue *Suvannajivhā* which forms the subject of one of the most popular novels in Laos[99], the *Suvannamegha jātaka*[100] or *jātaka* of the Golden Cloud, the *Suvannahamsajātaka*[101] mentioned by Finot as being among the extra-canonical *jātakas* not included in the collection of the apocryphal fifty stories, the *Lohagona jātaka*[102] or *jātaka* of the ox (stag?) with Coppered Horns which bears a similarity to the aforementioned but is not to be found in any known list of the *Paññāsajātaka*, the *Gandhaghājātaka*[103] literally the *Jātaka* of the destroyer of the perfumes, which is really the story of a frog; the *Mūlakittiyajātaka*[104] which begins with a short invocation to the Triple Gem and, in the manner of the canonical *jātakas*, by indicating that it was told by the Buddha while he was dwelling in the Jetavana and concerns a monk who was very much attached to his parents, the *Lakkhanavuttipāsutta*[105] also known under the title *Lakkhanavutti jātaka* and the *Cundasūkarikasutta*[106] or *Dhammikapanditajātaka*.

As the common property of all Buddhist countries, the *Jātakas*, as mentioned earlier, have spread well beyond the confines of the Indian sub-continent, into other parts of Asia, through Tibet, Mongolia, and Central Asia to China, Korea and Japan in the Far East. They have been the chief vehicle of Buddhist propaganda, and the chief witnesses of popular Buddhism. The Buddhist texts (and they include the written texts of these stories, that found their way into those countries) belong to a later date, are relatively younger than the Indian texts, and therefore carry the doctrinal imprint of a time far separated from the original texts, which themselves were already separated by some four hundred years at least of oral tradition, from the time of the Buddha. The Tibetan and Chinese texts of the *Jātaka* stories, for example, reflect the dynamic unfolding of Buddhist stories, which necessarily underwent a process of modification and elaboration, in the course of transmission.

The growth of a network of temples and monasteries formed an effective base of support for the spread of the *jātaka* tales among the common people. These monastic establishments have played a key role in the conservation transmission and propagation of the stories in many lands. They have been, and continue to be, centres from which radiates a knowledge of the *jātakas*, they have contributed, in no small measure, towards the popularization of the stories. Temples and other monastic institutions have performed this function in several ways. Through the medium of the plastic arts of moulding and modelling, such as sculpture, pottery and ceramics, these nerve-centres of the body social have been able to transmit the life sustaining energy in the form of the stories to men and women in all ranks of society. Sculpture has played an important role in this process. Other art forms like architecture and painting, it would seem, have played no less significant part in the process of transmission. These stories have been represented in the construction of buildings too, especially in religious edifices. The art, architecture, sculpture and painting particularly in the Indian sub-continent and even in South and South-east Asia, not to mention, other countries where Buddhist civilization has spread, bear witness to the popularity of these tales. It is indeed, hard to come across a temple in an Asian Buddhist country, where representations of the *jātakas*, in one form or another, are not to be found. Temples in Sri Lanka afford abundant examples. Such sculptures and paintings have, in many cases, been executed by rural craftsmen and painters, under the inspiration and guidance of *bhikkhus*. There are notable instances where *Bhikkhus* themselves have played the role of artists. Devaragampola Silvat Tāna is one such member of the monastic community in Sri Lanka whose name is associated with the paintings of the Malvatu Vihāraya and Degaldoruwa in Kandy, Sri Lanka. (PLATES IV, V & VI).

Not only through the medium of the visual arts have the *jātaka* stories been thus brought within the reach of the people. They have been put into writing and thus transmitted as written texts in many lands. Sometimes they have been translated from the original Pali into many Asian languages. Many other translations are based upon and derive from Sanskrit originals. They too have found their way into several countries of Euracia, extending from Western Europe to Far Eastern Asia. These translations of the legends are written in a variety of scripts. In this large-scale cultural enterprise of translation, *bhikkhus* or members of the Buddhist Sangha

99. Finot, op. cit. pp. 117–21.
100. Mentioned by M. Meillier is his *Catalogue de la Bibliotheque Royal de Luang Prabhang*. Hanoi, 1918, as item Nos. 340 and 419 and the 8th in the local recenssion of the *Paññasajātaka* p. 24
101. Op.cit. pp. 50 and 210, No. 955. Only the name "Golden Swan' links it with the canonical *Jātaka* No. 136 ed. Fausboll.
102. Finot quotes it for the first time under the title, "The Ox with Golden Horns", offering no other explanation
103. This too is not mentioned in the collection of the fifty *Jātakas* under its Lantian title. Brya Gangak, it is mentioned by Finot, op. cit. pp. 49 and 199
104. Corresponds to the Müllaküt mentioned without explanation by Finot, op.cit. p. 193. No. 425
105. Corresponds to the Mullakut, mentioned without explanation by Finot op.cit. p. 193. No. 426.
106. Analysed by Finot op.cit. p. 74. Despite the title, The text of this narrative has no connection with the story contained in the *Dhammapadatthakathā*.

have played a dominant role. It has been a crucial one in the sense that members of the Saṅgha have acted as authours themselves, conservators of manuscript texts and sometimes functioned even as copyists. As authors, they have functioned not merely as writers but have sometimes engaged themselves as translators or compilers and served as scribes in copying and re-copying written texts. Certain monastic establishments of the past (as well as those of the present) have functioned as libraries where resident *bhikkhūs* have worked as librarians. In addition to such diverse roles, *bhikkhus* have made a significant contribution to the spread of the *Jātaka* stories through the channel of oral communication. *Bhikkhūs* have with or without the patronage of kings, ministers of state or ruling princes, helped to spread these stories by word of mouth. There are notable examples mentioned in historical records and other sources of eminent exponents of the *jātakas,* great teachers and renowned preachers. This tradition has come down to the present day. Thus it is that the temple and monastery have continued to be a powerful base of support for the propagation and popularization of the *jātakas.*

Ananda Salgadu Kulasuriya

JĀTAKABHĀṆAKA, 'reciter of *Jātaka.* 'Buddhist teachings, together with its literature, were handed down from generation to generation through word of mouth or orally until they were written down in books at Aluvihāra, Matale, in Sri Lanka in the 1st century A.C. (*Mhv.* ch. xxxiii). The stupendous task of preserving this massive literature was very successfully done through the process of division of labour and specialisation. This process commenced in the time of the Buddha himself. The whole literature was divided into several sections and each section was studied and specialised by a group of bhikkhus. Such groups of specialists were called *bhāṇakā* (reciters). Those who studied, specialised and recited the *Jātaka* or stories about previous births of the *bodhisatta* were called *jātakabhāṇakā.*

According to *Samantapāsādikā* or the commentary to the *Vinaya (VinA.* IV, 789) a *jātakabhāṇaka* should learn the whole *Jātaka* text with its commentary, but the *Mahāpaccari aṭṭhakathā,* as stated in the *Samantapāsādikā,* adds, *Dhammapada* and its commentary, too, to this group. Adikaram (E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon,* p. 31) opines that this connection was due to the similarity of *Jātaka* tales to the tales woven round *Dhammapada* verses.

The commentators have recorded differences of opinion regarding some matters among these *bhāṇakā.* Thus in the story of the ascetic Mātaṅga, Buddhaghosa says that Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā, whose pride and conceit was shattered by the piety of Mātaṅga, carried Mātaṅga in her arms and adds that *jātakabhāṇakā* held the view that Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā carried Mātaṅga on her back (*SnA.* I. 186).

In the commentary to the *Majjhima Nikāya (MA.* II, 305) Buddhaghosa refers to a *jātakabhāṇaka* thera who lived in the time of the Buddha, thereby giving the impression that *jātakabhāṇakā* formed one of the oldest groups of *bhānakā* (E.W. Adikaram, op.cit. p. 30).

Milindapañha, a compilation older than the commentaries of Buddhaghosa, too, mentions the name *jātakabhāṇakā,* in a list of *bhāṇakā* designated as citizens in the city of the Dhamma *(dhammanagara - Miln.* p. 341 f.).

Incidents relating to *jātakabhāṇakā* occur in several Pali texts. One of them - *Jātaka-bhāṇaka-vatthu* - deals with a *jātakabhāṇaka* thera who went to a certain house to beg for alms. The mistress of the house who was not inclined to making an offering told the thera that there was no cooked rice in the house. The *thera,* through a riddle, indicated to the woman that her statement revealed the availability of other food items in the house. The woman, realising that the ascetic *(muṇḍaka)* would not leave the premises unless an offering was made, gave him sweetmeat and rice cooked in ghee *(VinA.* p. 484).

The *Mahāvamsa (Mhv.* ch. xxxv. p. 30-2) makes reference to a *jātakabhāṇaka* thera by name Mahāpaduma who lived in the Tulādhara Vihāra in the south of Sri Lanka. King Ilanāga (33-43 A.C.) after listening to the *Kapijātaka* preached by this Thera, was greatly elated and restored the Nāgamahā Vihāra.

The *Manorathapūraṇī (AA.* II, 249) says that a young monk from the Tissamahārāma Vihāra in the south of Sri Lanka had travelled a long distance to Dīghavāpi, a village in the east of Sri Lanka, to listen to the *Mahāvessantara Jātaka* preached by a thera named Mahājātakabhāṇaka. Regarding the term Mahājātakabhāṇaka thera, Adikaram (*Adikaram E. W., op. cit.* p. 31) says that the name can be interpreted to give two meanings: (1) the reciter of great *jātakas (Mahājātaka+bhāṇaka)* and (2) the great reciter of *jātakas (Mahā+jātakabhāṇaka).* If the first rendering is accepted, it leads to the conclusion that there were two types of *jātakabhāṇakā,* those who specialised and recited the long *jātakas* and those who dealt with short *jātaka.* But, since the referencee is made regarding the recitation of a long *jātaka* which is held in high esteem by the devotees, the first meaning is more plausible. See BHĀṆAKA.

Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

JĀTAKAMĀLĀ 'Garland of *Jātaka* Tales', name of a class of writings of which there were several in the Northern Buddhist Canon, according to Speyer (*SBB*. I. Introduction p. xxiii). He quotes two stanzas from Somendra's introduction to his (Somendra's) father's *Avadānakalpalatā*, to substantiate his view. Hodgson mentions three *Jātaka* works in his collection of Buddhist Sanskrit works of Nepal, namely *Jātakāvadāna*. *Jātakamālā* and *Mahājātakamālā*. He describes the *Jātakamālā* as an account of the meritorious actions of Sākya in his five hundred and sixty-five births. Speyer (op.cit.) says that of these, only one is extant and that is the *Jātakamālā* with thirty-four *jātakas*, and that the *Mahājātakamālā*. may be the work containing five hundred and fifty or five hundred and sixty-five *jātakas*. Winternitz, too, thinks that the *Jātakamālā* is only a generic term and that various poets have written *Jātakamālā*, that is, they have produced free renderings of selected *jātaka* in ornate, poetical language *(History of Indian Literature*, II, 273).

The *Jātakamālā*, the 'garland of birth stories' or *Bodhisattvāvadānamālā*, the garland of edifying stories of the bodhisattva' is a work written in classical, chaste Sanskrit by the poet Āryasūra. It was translated into Chinese under the title *P'u-sa-pen-sheng-man-lun* between 960–1127 A.C. *(Nanjio*, 1213). The title of the Tibetan translation is *Skyes-pahi-rabs-kyi-rgyud*. This text is the only extant Sanskrit work consisting entirely of *jātakas*, and these *jātakas* are mostly poetical renderings of stories found in the Pali *Jātaka* book; twelve stories are identified with those found in the *Cariyā Piṭaka (HOS*. I. preface p. ix, x), another poetical rendering of thirty-five stories about the past lives of the Buddha (in Pali). No parallel is so far found in the Pali *Jātaka* or *Cariyāpiṭaka* to the *Vyāgrī Jātaka*, the first story of *Jātakamālā*, but it is a very popular story among the Mahāyanists and is found in the *Svarṇabhāsottama Sūtra*, as the *Vyāgrīparivarta*. H. Kern says that there are a few stories in the *Jātakamālā* having parallels in non-Buddhist literature. As instances he says that the *Vārtaka Jātaka* is related to the *Śarhga-kopāyana* in the *Mahābhārata* I, Adhy. 299 (Bombay ed.) and that the story of Unmādayanti is told three times over in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, where the heroine is called Unmādinī. The tale of Tārāvaloka in the same work agrees with the *Visvantara Jātaka (HOS*. I, preface p. x).

There is diversity of opinion regarding the original size of the work. H. Kern (op.cit.) and Winternitz (op.cit. p. 164 ft. note 4) opine that thirty-four was the original number of stories and that the work is complete with this number. Kern says that the official number of *jātaka* according to the Northern Buddhists is thirty-four. Both Winternitz and Kern refer to the epithet *Catuśtrimśajjātakajña*, 'knower of thirty-four *jātaka*' in Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna Cintāmani*(233), in support of this argument. But Dr. Serge d' Oldenburg (*JRAS*. 1893, pp. 306–9) believes that this work was meant to be completed with one hundred *jātaka* so that each perfection *(pāramitā)* be discussed in ten stories. He bases his opinion on the fact that after the 10th, 20th and 30th stories follows an *uddāna* or a table of contents. Further as support for his argument he quotes a tradition communicated by Tārānātha, namely, that Āryaśūra proposed to put down in writing the ten times ten rebirths of Buddha, which up to his time circulated only orally and which corresponded to the ten *pāramitā*, but when he had finished thirty-four, he died. In some legends it is related that pondering on the bodhisattva's gift of his own body to the tigress, he thought he could do the same, as it was not so very difficult. Once, as in the tale, he saw a tigress followed by her young, near starvation. At first he could not resolve on the self sacrifice, but, calling forth a stronger faith in the Buddha and writing with his own blood, a prayer of *ślokha* he first gave the tigress his blood to drink, and when their bodies had taken a little strength, offered himself. Dr. Oldenburg rejects Kern's argument that the epithet *Catuśtrimśajjātakajña*, too, indicate that the original contained only thirty-four stories, saying that this epithet could have been formed by looking at the extant *Jātakamālā* with only thirty-four stories.

The *Jātakamālā* consists of thirty-four *jātaka* or birth stories of the bodhisattva. Unlike in the *Jātaka* book the story of the present *(paccuppanna vatthu)* is not given. Speyer (op.cit.) says that it is really a collection of homilies, for the *jātaka* are not presented as in the *Jātaka* book. A simple sentence of ethical importance is given at the beginning which is followed by the words: 'Thus it is heard' *(tad yathānuśrūyate)*. Next follows a story from the Buddha's past lives, to illustrate the same. Sometimes the details given in the Pali *Jātaka* are curtailed, for instance in the second story the hideous particulars of the eye-operation dwelt upon in the Pali *Jātaka* are avoided. Some stories which are unwieldly on account of too many details are made more simple, for instance stories xvii, xviii, xxxi are much simpler and shorter than their Pali counterparts. The story is merely related. There are laudatory verses praising and pointing out the virtues of the hero; descriptive verses, containing pictures of fine scenery or of phenomena, are to be met with often; sometimes religious discourses of considerable length are put in the mouth of the bodhisattva, and frequently the verse narrative is interrupted by one or two sentences or sometimes by a whole passage of prose, which are meant to connect the various parts of the narrative.

The entire work, verses as well as the prose pieces, is written in the purest Sanskrit. Twenty-six metres are altogether employed (*BST*. 21, pp. 269–73), some of which are rarely met with elsewhere. The selection of metres to suit a particular situation is very cleverly done.

Speyer (op.cit.) commenting on the merits of the *Jātakamālā* says, "Above all, I admire his moderation. Unlike so many other Indian masters in the Art of literary composition, he does not allow himself the use of embellishing apparel and the whole luxuriant *mise en scene* of Sanskrit *alaṃkāra* beyond what is necessary for his subject" (Introduction p. xxiv). See also the short note on *Jātakamālā* in the article JĀTAKA.

W. G. Weeraratne

JĀTAKA NIDĀNA, the introductory chapter of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*.

JĀTAKAPOTA, the Sinhala version of the Pali *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. It is also called *Pansiyapanas Jātaka Potvahanse*. See the relevant section in the art. JĀTAKA for details.

JĀTAKAṬṬHAKATHĀ See JĀTAKA.

JĀTAKATTHAVAṆṆANĀ. Synonym for *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. See JĀTAKA.

JĀTI

1. Indian Ideas on Birth: Birth, as well as death, has been the most important matters of religious concern for Indians from ancient time. We find among Indians generally two noticeable tendencies of thinking on birth. Firstly birth is considered from the point of view of transmigration *(saṃsāra)*, i.e. it is regarded as the most concrete expression of transmigration in living beings. Secondly, it is thought that birth is caused ,by the mysterious forces of vital and generative functions, and from this point of view many myths and metaphysical doctrines were developed, in which these forces were deified or looked upon as philosophical principles.

With regard to the first tendency, Indians thought that all living things in the world transmigrate under the rule of retribution and their coming into existence is the result of the deeds of previous lives. They comprehended birth as meaning repeated formations of life *(punar-bhava)* in the process of transmigration.

The early theory of transmigration was taught in the older *Upanishads* which were completed before the rise of Buddhism. The *Aitareya-Upanishad,* in particular, mentions three kinds of birth with regard to the 'self' *(atman)*, which is the personal subject of transmigration. (1) When the *ātman,* which is brought forth as a sperm in man's body is poured into a woman, conception comes about. This is the first birth. (2) Thereafter, the *ātman,* as it is no less than the father's child, is nourished by its father before and after birth, and having grown up it succeeds to the father's place. Thus the world is continued. This is the second birth. (3) After it grows old and dies, the *ātman* leaves this world and comes to life again in a future world. This is the third birth.

Moreover, the *Aitareya Upanishad* mentions four kinds of birth in all living things, that is, those born from an egg *(aṇḍaja)* e.g. birds, etc.; those born from a womb *(jarāyuja)* e.g. man, mammal etc.; those born from moisture *(sveda-ja)* e.g. a mosquito, etc.; and those born from a sprout (Udbhij-ja) e.g. plants. But, on the other hand the *Chāndogya Upanishad* (VI, 3. 1) gives only three kinds of birth, i.e., those born from an egg, from a womb, and from a sprout. However, in orthodox Brahmanism the former theory of the four kinds of birth was accepted as a definite theory.

The *Aitareya-Upanishad* also mentions that a man who has understood the meaning of the above-mentioned kinds of birth in living things, by thus knowing the *ātman,* will leave this transitory world and reach the heavenly world which is immortal. Without doubt, the word 'immortal' means here a state of release *(mokṣa)*. According to Indian thinking a 'released' man becomes absolutely free from the bondage of transmigration, simultaneously with the disappearance of the body at his death and afterwards enters into the world of 'brahman' or of divinities, where he enjoys everlasting happiness and never returns into this world, to be born again. Accordingly, it was considered that there was neither birth nor death in a 'released' man, while, on the other hand, the phenomenon of birth, though it is physiological, was understood in the religious sense as a sign of transmigration.

The *Garbha-Upanishad* is an important scripture that explains the growth of an embryo and the phenomenon of birth. According to it, after fertilization is effected, a pulpy fluid *(Kalala)* is formed in one night; and in seven nights bubbles *(budbuda)* are formed; and in a fortnight a lump *(piṇḍa)*; in a month solid flesh *(kaṭhina)*; in two months a body; in three months limbs; in the fourth month the ankles, the stomach and the waist; in the fifth month the backbone; in the sixth month a mouth, a nose, eyes and ears; and in the seventh month the mind *(jīva)* combines with the above organs, and in the eighth month all the elements of an individual are completed. During this period the sex distinction of male and female is determined by the relative influence of semen between

man and woman. Thus, in the eighth month the embryo is capable of mental functions and enjoys the perception of odour, taste, etc., by completion of all mental organs in his body, so that his soul *(prāṇa)* is advanced. In the ninth month, the embryo possesses all the elements and senses of an individual, remembering former lives and discriminating between good and evil deeds. The pain that the embryo feels as it is born from the mother's womb is the result of good and evil deeds in previous existences. But as soon as it contacts the open air, it forgets the pain by the grace of the gods and loses the memories of past lives and of past deeds whether good or evil.

It would seem that the above mentioned exposition in the *Garbha-Upanishad* follows the medical knowledge and the religious ideas prevalent among Indians of the day.

Now let us take the second mode of thinking about birth. The ancient Indians concerned a mysterious force in the appearance of birth or in the generative function and thought that it was ruled by a divine principle. They worshiped the principle and prayed to it in order to be given the grace of the gods to gain various advantages, for example, the prosperity of progeny, the breeding of domestic animals and the increase yield of crops. They thought therefore that the highest divine principle was the one which produces all things. In Brahmanical texts, i.e. in the *Ṛg Veda* and later *Brāhmaṇas*, and the *Upanishads* etc., there are to be found numerous myths in which the existence of all things is frequently explained as having been born from the highest divinities. The representatives of the divinities are, for example, Prajāpati, Hiraṇya-garbha, and others. Prajāpati means 'The Lord who generates all things'. Hiraṇyagarbha means 'the golden womb'. In many myths dealing with the creation of the world we clearly find generative ideas, such as a sperm *(retas)*, and egg *(aṇḍa)*, sexual desire *(kāma)*, set out as the elements of the fundamental cause of the creation of the world. As the result of development of these myths, some abstract principles indicative of generative power, e.g. *śakti, prakriti,* etc., were established, so that a kind of metaphysics was developed. These principles are regarded as female principles.

11. Theories of birth in Buddhism: In Buddhism, as well as in general Indian thought, birth is considered from the standpoint of transmigration; the tendency is more remarkable in Buddhism, for Buddhists take a great interest in the problems of life, such as 'birth-and-death.' On the other hand, as they denied the mythology of the creation of the world, Buddhists did not evolve any philosophical theory that a particular metaphysical principle is to be found behind the phenomenon of birth.

In Buddhism birth is regarded as a concept relative to death. For instance, the *Suttanipāta (vv.* 574–576) says: 'Beings born (in this world) have no way of escaping death. As there is always the risk of dropping for the ripe fruit so is the fear of death present for beings born (in this world), who are subject to death.'

According to the Theory of Twelve Causes, which is the formal explanation of our illusive existence, our life is a transmigratory state depending upon the law of continuous causlity, and it is asserted that 'old age and death' *(jarā-maraṇa)* arises from 'Birth'. The word old age and death, is here understood as the conception of the most direct expression of our painful existence, and birth is considered from the theory of transmigration namely, as rebirth in the next world. Consequently it is further asserted that 'birth' *(jāti)* arises from 'transmigratory existence' *(bhava)*.

To attain to release *(mokṣa)* is to be free from the bondage of such 'birth-and-death'. A saint who has reached *mokṣa* stands above transmigration and is free from attachment to birth-and-death, so that he is as good as void of them. It is in his 'last birth' that he is born in this world and his body is the 'last body'. Therefore he will never be born into this world in the future by repeating birth-and-death. In early Buddhist texts, there are often predicated definite phrases which express the state of the Saint who has attained to *mokṣa*, i.e., 'Done away with is births...... I shall never be born again into such an existence', and 'This is the last birth.... Now there is no new birth'.

On the other hand for the common people, who are bound by transmigration, their state of existence is laid down by the law of Twelve Causes. Among the many interpretations concerning the theory of Twelve Causes, the most important is the explanation that the whole of these twelve causes expresses the process of the causal series of transmigration of living beings through the three periods of time, i.e., past, present and future. In it therefore, the birth of living beings is explained in full detail.

First, all living beings are classified into four kinds of birth, namely, those born from an egg, those born from a womb, those born from moisture and those born by spontaneous generation *(aupapāduka)*. This concept of four kinds of birth is a definite theory in Buddhism and 'spontaneous generation *(aupapāduka)* is accepted by Buddhists in place of 'birth from a sprout' *(udbhij-ja)* in Brāhmanism. It would seem that Buddhism recognized *('aupapāduka')* by adopting the popular opinion of the day.

Secondly, our existence, or *bhava*, is classified into four states, concerned with time, namely, *upapattibhava, pūrvakālabhava, maraṇabhava* and *antarābhava*. (1) *Upapattibhava* means the existence that is brought about into mother's womb at the moment of fertilization. (2)

Pūrvakālabhava means existence in the period when a living being grows as an embryo in the womb and after birth, advances through childhood, youth, manhood, old age and finally to the time of death. (3) *Maranabhava* means existence at the dying hour. (4) *Antarābhava* is existence in the interval between the dying hour and the moment of the next rebirth, or, the next *upapattibhava*. Some schools contradict the reality of *antarābhava* and the problem whether it exist or not was discussed among the schools.

The term 'from the moment of *upapattibhava* to the moment of birth' is divided into five portions, that is, the so-called five stages inside the womb. They are as follows: (1) ***Kalalam:*** it goes on for seven days after fertilization, and means something like a pulpy lump that exists before the shape of the embryo is formed, (2) *Arbudam:* for the second seven days after fertilization; this would mean a small polypus. (3) ***Peśi:*** exists for the third seven days, it means flesh and blood. (4) *Ghaṇam:* exists for the fourth term of seven days, and means solid flesh, (5) *Prasākhā:* exists for forty days from the fifth period of seven days to the time of birth. It means the one who has limbs.

In contrast to the above-mentioned five stages inside the womb, there are also explained the so-called five stages outside the womb. It is the five stages concerned with the five when after birth a man grows and passes his life to the dying hour. (1) infancy: from the time of birth to the sixth year; (2) boyhood: from the seventh to the fifteenth year; (3) youth: from the sixteenth year to the thirtieth year; (4) manhood: from the thirty first year to the fortieth year; (5) old age: after the forty-first year.

Buddhism teaches us that birth is effected by deed *(karma)*. Therefore, in the theory of Twelve Causes it is explained that the 'individual conciousness' *(vijñāna)*, or the third cause in the twelve, is suited to the moment of fertilization that is effected by former deeds *(saṃskāra)*, or the second cause in the twelve; and the other subsequent causes are interpreted from the theory of five stages inside and outside the womb. Therein the eleventh cause, birth *(jāti)*, is understood as rebirth in the next world.

Buddhism also teaches us that the deed *(karman)* springs from the instinctive desire for existence. In consequence, it is thought that the birth of the embryo is caused by desire and for this reason, a tendency to see birth as impure is strongly marked in Buddhism. For instance, the following explanation, while mythological, is predicated concerning the determination of male and female sex at the moment of fertilization. When a man and a woman have joined together in sexual intercourse, an *antarābhava*, however remote it is, being able to see their sexual union, by force of 'karman,' is disturbed in mind and flies in a moment into the woman's womb. Then conception takes place. In this case, if the *antarābhava* is attached to the mother and is averse to the father, a male embryo is formed, and on the other hand if it is attached to the father and averse to the mother a female embryo is formed. There are cases where the *antarābhava* is identified with the god Gandharva.

Certain chapters in the *Mahāratnakūṭadharmaparyāya-sūtra* (translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci vol. 55–57, chapter xiii, Buddha's teaching to Ananda on the fertilization and chapter xiv & xv, Buddha's teaching on the growth of the embryo) give detailed explanations of the physiological phenomenon of birth. The point emphasized is as follows. Birth is impure and full of pain, because it is produced by *'karman'*. Therefore, we have to comprehend that birth is abominable so that we have to escape the birth-and-death (i.e. the transmigration), and finally reach *mokṣa*.

Shingo Suguro

JĀTI, the phenomenon of birth or the coming into existence of beings.[1] In the Buddhist sense *jāti* does not merely mean the particular event of being born from the mother's womb but the universal phenomenon of coming into existence that continuously goes on in the process of life whether as human beings, as animals or in any other form. It is a characteristic or a stage in the process of evanescence generally designated as *saṃsāra*. The recurring definition of *jāti* found in the Pali canon runs as follows: *jāti*, the production *(sañjāti)*, the descent *(okkanti)*, the coming forth *(abhinibbatti)* of various classes of beings, the appearance of the groups of grasping *(khanda)*, the acquisition of the sense-bases *(āyatana)*, that is called birth (*S.* II, 3; *M.* I. 50; *D.* II. 305 etc.). The manifestation of the aggregates *(khandānaṃ pātubhava)* and the acquisition of the sensebases *(āyatanānaṃ paṭilābha)* means the embodiment of the individual in the form of a living being that finds conception in the mother's womb and his birth into the world. Lāma Anagārika Govinda's account of this phenomenon of *jāti* may be quoted here: 'Birth *(jāti)* in the Buddhist sense is not merely a particular single moment in each life, not only the physical process of being born *(sañjāti)* or conception *(okkanti)* in the physiological sense, but the 'conception', the 'conceiving' that is called forth continually through the senses, which effects the appearance or manifestation of the aggregates of existence *(khandhānaṃ pātubhāvo)*, the seizing of the sense-domains *(āyata-*

[1] Various meanings of the term *jāti* as used in Pali literature are discussed by Buddhaghosa in the *Visuddhimagga* (XVI, section 33.

nānaṃ paṭilābho), the continuous materialization and new karmic entanglement'.[2] The concept of momentary death *(khaṇika-maraṇa)* as understood in Buddhism also implies its corollary, the concept of momentary birth as clearly described in the above extract. This, in other words, means the universal and the super-individual nature of the phenomenon of birth, as a part of nature,[3] with its attendant forms of suffering *(dukkha).* This general concept of *dukkha* also includes the physical pains involved in the physical birth of the individual which are described by Buddhaghosa in the following words: "The pain that arises in him when the mother gives birth, through his being turned upsidedown by the *kamma*-produced mind's forces and flung into the most fearful passage from the womb, like an infernal chasm and hugged out through the extremely narrow mouth of the womb, like an elephant through a keyhole, like a denizen of hell being pounded to pulp by colliding rocks–this is the suffering rooted in parturition" *(vijāya-namūlakaṃ dukkham: Vism.* XVI, section 40).

According to the Buddhist analysis of life *jāti* is a condition preceding ageing, sickness and death *(jāti-paccayā jarāmaraṇaṃ* etc.) and hence fraught with sorrow, pain and disappointment.[4] *Jāti* is not the beginning of the individual nor death his end and all forms of pain and sorrow inherent in life cannot be overcome unless the cause of this painful journey is removed. This cause is ignorance *(avijjāyeva sā gati: Sn. v.* 729), the removal of which would certainly give the peace and happiness that the human mind yearns for.

The inherent tendency of one, subject to repeated birth, decay and death is to be reborn and therefore he normally does what is conducive to repeated birth *(ekacco attano jātidhammo samāno jātidhammaṃ eva pariyesati).* Therefore the true and noble search is to realise the dangers *(ādinava)* inherent in what is liable to be reborn *(jātidhamma)* and to seek the unborn *(ajāta),* the uttermost security from the bonds *(anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ),* the state of release called Nibbana.[5]

The fact that the phenomenon of birth is involved with pain should not make one disappointed and pessimistic about life, but instead, one should search for the state free from birth, decay, disease and death with an optimistic frame of mind as understood in the fourth Noble Truth, that teaches the way out of the entanglement *(dukkha-nirodhagāminī paṭipadā).* It is the practical realisation of this optimistic attitude that is beautifully expressed in the paeon of joy that is attributed to released saints and is frequently occuring in the *Nikāyas:* "Destroyed is birth, lived is the pure life, done is what was to be done, there is no more tendency for being such and such".[6]

The Buddha's advice is that one should give up speculating about philosophical problems like the state of the released saint after his physical death and to follow the path leading to the cessation of birth and death, so that pain could be annihilated. Speculation about this possible condition of freedom is an obstacle to its being practically realised. Consequently the state of the one who has overcome birth *(khīṇā jāti)* is left unexplained *(avyākata)* and has to be understood through expreience.[7] The conquest of *Jāti* is the conquest of sorrow and the one who has done so has conquered time as well, so that be does not worry either about the future or about the past (See *M.* III, 193). The burden of time is felt by the unintelligent man *(dīgho bālānaṃ saṃsāro-saddham-maṃ avijānataṃ: Dhp. v.* 60) who shuts his eyes to the facts of life. In the case of one who has conquered *jāti* both in theory and in practice *(vijjā* and *caraṇa)* "there is nothing by which he is to be reborn" *(natthi yena jāyetha: M.* III. 246), for in his case all substrata of rebirth *(upadhi)* are destroyed and with regard to whom it is said:

"With naught to bind thee thrall to
life thou art free
As forest lion from all fears of dread" (*Sn.v.* 572)
Lord Chalmers's trsl.

Buddhaghosa after giving various meanings of the term *jāti* explains its meaning in the sense of repeated birth in the following words: "it is the manifestation of any aggregates *(khandha)* that are manifested in living beings when they are born anywhere that is called birth.... Its characteristic is the first genesis in any sphere of becoming *(paṭhamābhinibbatti)* and it is manifested as an emerging here from a past becoming *(atītabhava).*" After explaining birth as suffering in its various aspects Buddhaghosa concludes, saying that, if not for birth all suffering would not be there and that therefore birth is

2. *The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy,* Rider and Co. 1961, p. 50
3. It is by regarding and realising that the suffering involved in birth, decay, death etc., is natural and universal, that it is the common lot of all living beings that the intelligent man overcomes them.
4. *Kicchaṃ loko āpanno jāyati ca mīyati ca cavati ca uppajjati ca. D.* II. 30.
5. This all important idea is fascinatingly discussed in the *Ariyapariyesana sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 161 ff.).
6. *Khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ katam karaṇīyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthattāyāti pajānāmi: S.* V, 224, *M.* I, 139, 279 etc.
7. A fascinating discussion on this interesting point is found in the dialogue between the Buddha and *Cūlamāluhkyaputta* occuring in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, 426 ff.).

fraught with sorrow *(Vism.* Sections 33 ff.).[8] It is by practically realising the state of release from birth that the saint can sing as do the Buddhas 'this is my last birth: I shall not be reborn'.[9]

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

JAṬILĀ, variantly referred to as *jaṭilakā,* were a class of ascetics mentioned in Buddhist texts as having been active in the religious field during the time of the Buddha. These ascetics were called *jaṭilā* and *jaṭilakā* because they wore their hair in braids in the form of a *jaṭā* and the term *jaṭilā* must have been coined and used by the contemporary rival religious groups such as the Buddhists and the Jains in a pejorative sense to denote this group of ascetics, just as the term *muṇḍakā* (shavelings) was used by other rival groups in referring to Buddhist bhikkhus. The commentary to *Udāna (UdA.* 74, 330) describes them thus: '*Jaṭilā* are ascetics. They are so named because they wore their hair in the form of a *jaṭā* (a matted top knot)'.

The *jaṭilā* do not seem to have had a well defined religious philosophy or a recognised single teacher or founder. Some of them lived in groups under leaders like the three Kassapa brothers (*Vin.* I, 24)who had independent large groups of *jaṭilā* under them, but many were the *jaṭilā* who practised asceticism individually.

The earliest mention of a *jaṭila* is found in the introduction to the *Nālaka sutta* where it is said that sage Asita (Kāladevala) paid a visit to king Suddhodhana on hearing of the birth of a son to the latter. Asita is depicted there as an ascetic wearing a *jaṭā (Sn. v.* 689). He is described as a person who had developed the ability to predict the future of persons. When the infant was shown to Asita he carefully studied the marks on the child's body and was convinced that the child would grow up to be a unique teacher of men. Asita was grief striken that he would not live to see the child blossom to be a great teacher due to his (Asita's) advanced age and so he admonished his nephew Nālaka to become a disciple of the future Great Being.

Ascetics with matted hair *(jaṭilā)* seem to have lived in India even prior to the appearance of the Buddha, as is evident from the many incidents connected with *jaṭilā* occuring in Buddhist texts. Asita, the *jaṭila,* was greatly advanced in age at the time Prince Siddhārtha was born. The three famous *jaṭila* leaders, the Kassapa brothers, were prominent fire-worshipping ascetics with substantial followers, when Siddhārtha Gotama attained Enlightenment. The Buddha in the *Pāyāsi sutta (D.* II. 339) relates a fable wherein reference is made to a *jaṭila* living in a leaf hut in the woods tending a ritualistic fire. The context assumes that the fable quoted was already an old and wellknown one, indicating that *jaṭilā* existed as a particular and distinctive type of hermit even prior to the Buddha's time.

The *Pārāyana Vagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta* relates the story of a brahamin teacher by name Bāvari who had a large group of pupils (*Sn.* pp. 190–197). Bāvari's pupils are described as having matted hair *(jaṭā)* and wearing antilope hide. B.C. Law opines that Bāvari was a *jaṭila* ascetic who had a large following of pupils (B.C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism.* Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1979, p. 17).

The existence of *jaṭilā* in significant numbers during the day of the Buddha is brought to light by two references to them in the *Saṃyutta* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas.* In one of them (*S.* I, 78) it is said that a group of contemporary religionists consisting of seven *jaṭilā,* seven *nigaṇṭhā,* seven *acelā,* seven *ekasāṭikā* and seven *paribbājakā* were hovering in the vicinity of Pubbārāma in Sāvatthi when the Buddha was once staying there. King Pasenadi Kosala who went to see the Buddha saw these ascetics on his way and asked the Buddha whether those ascetics were arahants or were on the path to arahantship. The Buddha explained to Pasenadi Kosala that the virtue of a person cannot be discerned by external appearance and that a person has to be associated closely for a long time to decide whether a person is virtuous or otherwise. The same list of ascetic groups occurs in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya (A.* III, 276) where *jaṭilā* are mentioned in the third place. In this context it is said that the ascetics named in the list who harm life, who rob others, who are not celibates, who utter falsehood, and who consume intoxicating drinks are destined to be born in hell after death. These and other references given earlier are sufficient proof to conclude that *jaṭila* groups and individual *jaṭilā* were a significant religious phenomenon during the day of the Buddha in India.

As is evident from references to *Jaṭilā* in Buddhist texts, the majority of *jaṭilā* were brahmins who had fallen apart from their customary brahmanic practices and rituals to follow ascetic practices. Tending the ritualistic fire or fire worshipping seems to have been a popular practice of these *jaṭilā* in addition to practising asceticism and wearing matted hair. Some of them wore antilope hide. They were not agnostics. They believed in *Karma* and rebirth and human initiative.

8. So in the formula of dependent origination *(paṭicca-samuppāda), jāti* precedes decay, death and other forms of suffering.
9. *Ayaṃ antimā jāti natthi dāni punabbhavo: M.* III, 123.

It was not very long after the Buddha's attainment of Enlightenment that he encountered the three well known Kassapa brothers, Uruvela Kassapa, Nadī Kassapa and Gayā Kassapa who were leading large groups of *jaṭilā*. The very fact that the Buddha decided to go to meet them in their own ascetic habitats to confront them and convince them about the futility of their religious beliefs and practices speaks for the prominent position these *jaṭila* leaders occupied in that society.

The Buddha did not receive a warm welcome at Uruvela Kassapa's hermitage. When the Buddha told Uruvela Kassapa that he wished to spend the night in Uruvela Kassapa's hermitage, he was bluntly told that there was no place in the hermitage, to be offered to him. Since the Buddha was insistent to stay the night there, Uruvela Kassapa agreed to accommodate the Buddha in his fire-chamber *(aggisālā)* where dwelt a ferocious and poisonous snake possessed of great magical power, hoping that the snake would attack the Buddha and kill him. When the serpent started to display its magical powers, the Buddha, too, performed similar psychic feats to subdue the serpent.

Early next morning Uruvela Kassapa went to the fire chamber to see what had taken place. To his dismay the Buddha was there alive and serene and the venomous snake was resting by a side near the Buddha.

Uruvela Kassapa did not accept the Buddha as an Arahant even after this incident and the text says that the Buddha performed 3500 miracles in all to convince Uruvela Kassapa, but the latter haughtily maintained that he (Uruvela Kassapa) was a worthier person than the Buddha.

Buddha, then, in a challenging tone declared that Uruvela Kassapa was neither an Arahant, nor was he one on the Path to Aranhantship. This surprised Uruvela Kassapa and being subdued expressed willingness to listen to the Buddha. Subsequently Uruvela Kassapa accepted the Buddha as a greater Arahant than him and expressed willingness to become a disciple of the Buddha.

Uruvela Kassapa and his five hundred disciples cut off their matted hair, discarded their ascetic garbs and all other paraphanalia used by them for their ascetic practices and became disciples of the Buddha. When Uruvela Kassapa's two brothers, Nadī Kassapa and Gayā Kassapa came to know about the conversion of their eldest brother along with his disciples as disciples of the Buddha, they too, along with their own disciples decided to follow the example of their eldest brother. Thus altogether one thousand and three *jaṭilā* became bhikkhus in the dispensation of the Buddha, almost at the outset of the Buddhist movement (*Vin.* 1, pp. 24–32).

The Buddha led these new converts to the peak of a hill at Gayā (Gayāsīsa) and there preached to them the *Ādittapariyāya sutta (Vin.* 1, p. 35). It is said that all the former *jaṭilā*, one thousand and three in number, attained arahantship at the conclusion of the sermon.

Continuing his sojourn the Buddha went to Rajagaha. Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha hearing about the arrival of the Buddha in Rajagaha went to see the Buddha with a multitude of Brāhmaṇa Magadhan house holders. When they saw the former *jaṭilā* in the company of the Buddhist bhikkhus, they were a little bewildered as they were not certain whether the *jaṭilā* had become the followers of the Buddha or *vice versa*. The Buddha, reading their thoughts and to dispel their doubts posed a question to the former *jaṭilā* Uruvela Kassapa as to why he gave up his fire sacrifice and asceticism. Uruvela Kassapa described the circumstances under which he abandoned fire sacrifice and asceticism, and paid obeisance at the feet of the Buddha to dispel the doubts of the brahamin house-holders. (*Vin.* I, p. 36).

The *Sela sutta (Sn.* p. 103) records the meeting of the Buddha with another *jaṭila* by name Keniya. According to the *Suttanipāta* commentary (*SnA.* 1, p. 295) Keniya was a *jaṭila* practising austerities while at the same time maintaining a wife and family, thus indicating that all the *jaṭilā* were not celibates and at least some of them maintained wife and children.

The *jaṭilā* who belonged to the wider group of religionists called the *śramaṇas* (recluses) had some affinity with Buddhists and the Jains, in that they, too, were opposed to the Vedic Brāhmaṇa tradition and believed in *karma* and rebirth, and they were not sceptics of the moral order like Pūraṇa Kassapa (*D.* I, 53; 115). The Buddha was critical about their ascetic practices and external appearance and said that such things would not help to cleanse and purify a being. In the *Dhammapada (Dhp.* 141) the Buddha states: 'not wandering naked, not matted hair, not dirt (mud), not fasting etc. purify a mortal who has not overcome doubt.'

The keenness shown by the Buddha to preach to the three Kassapa brothers and their disciples and to convert them, is indicative of the social prestige these *jaṭilā* enjoyed as religionists in the contemporary society. The maturity of the *jaṭilā* as religionists is evinced by their becoming Arahants on listening to the *Ādittapariyāya sutta* preached to them by the Buddha, not very long after their conversion (*Vin.* 1, p. 35). The Buddha permitted the bhikkhus to ordain *jaṭilā* and to give them the Higher Ordination *(Upasampadā)*, too, soon after the ordination, without a period of probation (*Vin.* 1, p. 11), a concession not given to many other converts.

Senarat Wijesundara

JAUGADA, a ruined fort in the village of Berhampur in Taluka of the Ganjam district in Madras. The site is located about 18 miles to the north-west of the Ganjam town, on the northern bank of the river Rishikulya. Duplicates of fourteen Asokan Edicts at Dhauli are found engraved on three vertical slabs of stone rising to different heights in a range of rocks in this ruined fort. The inscribed slabs are surrounded by the debris of a high wall. The range of rocks where these inscribed slabs are found covers a large extent of land (Graham, W.F., *Inscriptions of Asoka* (1872) Vol. I. p. 219).

The first slab contains five of these edicts (1 to 5), the second contains five more (6 to 10) and the third contains the last four (11 to 14) of these edicts. The edicts are partially erased due to the peeling of the rock surface (Cunningham, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f.). These edicts were copied in 1850 A.C. by Walter Elliot who was aware that these edicts are duplicates of Asokan edicts which have already been found at Shahbazgarhi, Girnar and Dhauli (R. Sewells, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. 1, p. 4). The rock is now protected by an iron roof and a railing.

The four edicts on the third slab at Jaugada were edited with those at Dhauli by Professor Kern. The first estampages of these were prepared by Burgess.

Two of the Jaugada edicts are directly addressed to Mahāmātras of the districts. The rest contain admonitions to people about moral behaviour.

In the first edict the emperor declares that no human being should be killed or sacrificed. Some festivals of an evil nature are also to be stopped, but festival gatherings of a religious character are to be allowed. Killing of animals and birds for food in the royal kitchen, too, was forbidden.

The second edict deals with the establishment of hospitals for men and cattle. They were established not only within his kingdom but also in the neighbouring countries such as Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra and the Yavana Kingdom of Antiyokus. In the same edict the emperor gives instructions to plant medicinal herbs and trees on either side of roads and to dig wells wherever necessary for the benefit of human beings and animals.

In the third edict instructions are given to high officers-Yuktas, Rājukas and Prādesikas to go on tour every five years to perform administrative duties and issue instructions on morality. The emperor instructs: 'obedience to father and mother should be observed; good relations with friends and relatives should be maintained; liberality towards recluses and brahmanas should be practised; moderation in expenditure and possession should be persued. The Council of Mahāmātras should order the Yuktas to supervise the implementation of these orders'.

In the fourth edict the emperor emphasises that no discourtesy should be shown to recluses and brāhmanas. It is also laid down there that living beings should not be harmed. Instead of the sound of war-drums, the sound of the drums of virtue has to be spread. In this edict the emperor expresses his desire to see his sons, grandsons and great grandsons following these instructions till the end of the world.

In the fifth edict the emperor says that those who neglect even a portion of these moral instructions would be performing evil deeds, "because, sin spreads fast". Further, the emperor says that no duty is more important to him than the welfare of the people. The edict says that the Mahāmātras were appointed in the thirteenth regnal year of the emperor to supervise the moral development of everyone including Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Latikas and Petunikas.

In the seventh edict the emperor says that members of religious sects bent on self-control are free to live anywhere in his kingdom. It is also said in the same edict that though one may practise great liberality, if he lacks in self-control and purity, he cannot be considered a magnanimous person.

The eighth edict says that emperor Asoka in his tenth regnal year went on a pilgrimage to the Great Bodhi tree *(Sambodhi)*.

In the ninth edict he says that servants have to be well treated and protected.

In the tenth edict the emperor says that all men (and women) are his children and as such they have to be provided with nourishment and protection, and their happiness has to be guranteed.

The four remaining edicts, too, contain admonitions similar to those detailed above.

T. Ariyadhamma

JAULIĀN, a Buddhist site within the ancient kingdom of Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila) where archaeological excavations carried out in the present century had brought to light a Buddhist monastic establishment. On grounds of masonry work and other evidences scholars have agreed to accept that this establishment was founded in the period of the early phase of Imperial Kuśans who ruled over the Gandhāra kingdom.

Although Cunningham has done preliminary excavations in the Taxila area as far back as the middle of the 19th century (*ASIAR*, Vol. II for 1871, Report for the year 1863-64, pp. 111 f., plate LVII), real large scale excavations were carried out only in the second decade of

the present century by Sir John Marshall, who explored the entire Taxila region including the Jauliān site.[1]

Jauliān is wellnigh related to the other Buddhist sites in Taxila like Mohra Morādu, Dharmarājika, Kunāla, Kalawān, Khāder Mohrā, Giri, Ghai, Bhamāla, Bhallur, Lālchak and Bādelpur as well as to other Gandhāra sites further towards the n.w. frontier.

The remains of the Jauliān Monastery stand on a hill about 300 feet high. The site is less than three miles away from the Taxila railway station. The ruins are remarkably in a good state of preservation showing traces of late repair and redecoration and later additions to the main structure, before they were overtaken by the catastrophe which resulted in their burial. (PLATE VII).

The ruins comprise a Sanghārāma (monastery) with two stūpa courts to the south and north and another smaller court adjoining them on the west.

The main stūpa stand in the upper court with a number of smaller stūpas closely arranged on its four sides and with lines of chapels for cult images ranged against the four walls of the court and facing, as usual, towards the stūpa.[2] The monastery contains an open quadrangle surrounded by cells, besides an ordination hall, refectory, kitchen, store-room, bath room, latrine and other chambers etc. (A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Histroy of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 72 f.; *Buddhism in Pakistan*, A. Govt. of Pakistan publication, Karachi 1963, pp. 36 f; *ASIMem*, 1921, No. 7, p. 3).

Much of the superstructure of the main stūpa, including the dome and all but the lowest course of the drum has now disappeared, but the lofty plinth is still standing almost to its full height and some portions of its stucco decoration have been preserved. Marshall says the main stūpa at Jauliān must have been very similar in appearance to that at Mohra-Morādu (also a site in Taxila) consisting like it of an oblong plinth approached from one end by a flight of steps and surmounted by a cylindrical drum and dome, the whole embelished with plaster reliefs and crowned by a *catrāvalī* (a pinnacle in the shape of a series of umbrellas).[3] The character of the figural decoration on the sides of the plinth of the main stūpa consists of a seated colossal Buddha in the *dhyāna mudrā* occupying the bay between each pair of pilasters, and of smaller Buddhas in a similar posture seated one above the other on the face of the pilasters.[4] These figural characters of the Buddha, bodhisattvas and other characters belong to two phases according to Marshall and Foucher, some to the early classical period of Gandhāra Art and others to a later decadent period. (PLATE VIII).

The smaller stūpas which lie on the four sides of the main stūpa are diminutive copies of the main edifice, but differ from it in the decoration and shape of their plinths which were square in plan instead of oblong and usually relieved with more elaborate ornaments. The scheme of decoration of their plinths are usually richer and more intricate than that of the main stūpa.

The square plinth of these subsidiary stūpas is divided into several horizontal tiers which are richly decorated with carvings of figures of the Buddha, bodhisattvas, attendants, and other human and animal figures like atlantes, heads of lions etc., along with interspersed stunted pilasters of the Corinthian and persepolitan order.

Marshall remarks that these reliefs are remarkable for the vigour and fidelity with which they are modelled and constitute an important addition to our knowledge of Buddhist art and iconography in the fourth and fifth centuries of the present era (*ASIMem.* op. cit. p. 8).

Among the other important finds at the Jauliān Sanghārāma were some relic caskets enshrined in the stūpas which contained ashes and bones removed from funeral piers, probably of Buddhist saints (arahants).

The inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhi script found in the pedastals of Buddha images of these miniature stūpas had enabled scholars to revise the earlier theory in regard to the date of disappearance of this script in N. India (see Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 18, ASIMem, op. cit., p. 10).

The chapels that enclose the stūpa edifice were planned in the form of a quadrangle sufficiently large to enclose the main stūpa and all the subsidiary stūpas as well. The quadrangular plan of the chapels at Jauliān is supposed to be a later improvement on the circular plan at earlier

1. This essay is based on the observations made by J. Marshall and M. Foucher on the Jauliān ruins which appeared in "*the Memoirs of the archaeological Survey of India*, 1921, No. 7"
2. This arrangement of enclosing the main stūpa with a line of chapels is quite common in other Gandhāra monasteries also, of the earliest date like at Takhti-Bahi, Jamalgarhi, Dharmarājika stūpa. It is believed that this type was an innovation to replace the earlier pattern of stūpa construction with a surrounding wall and *Toranas* at four sides as at Sānchi, Buddhagayā, Barhut (see Jamalgarhi, *Ency. Bsm.).*
3. The conjectural reconstruction of the Jauliān stūpa is based on several miniature stūpas discovered in well preserved state at Taxila, of which the miniature stūpa found at Mohrā Morādu is most remarkable (J. Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, Cambridge, 1960, p. 159, pl. XVII).
4. Marshall believes that all these figures are of a relatively late date and demonstrably more modern than the body of the stūpa.

sites like Jamalgarhi and Dharmarājika stūpa at Taxila, for certain advantageous reasons.

This novel architectural feature in stūpa buildings which was common in the north west India, was needed after the introduction of the cult image of the Buddha, which the scholars believe had been originated in the Gandhāra field, after the first century of our era (ASIMem. op. cit., p. 11; see also M. Foucher, *(L'Art Gre'co Bouddhique 'due Gandhāra).*

Of the images which stood within the chapels only faint traces survive now, but it is possible to surmise that they housed only cult images of the Buddha and occasionally of bodhisattvas.

The primary monastery of the Jauliān saṅghārāma, which includes the court of cells for monks' residence affords a good illustration of the luxury and wealth of the Buddhist community of the period during which these institutions flourished (2nd to 5th centuries A.C. probably). It consists of an assembly hall, refectory, kitchen, store-room, bath-room and latrine indicating that the monks no longer depended upon the begging bowl for their daily food in accordance with the earlier established rule,[5] (A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.* p. 72; *Buddhism in Pakistan,* p. 36 f; *ASIMem,* p. 15 f.). On grounds of masonry work Marshall believes that the original structure at Jauliān embraced only the court of cells and the assembly hall and all other chambers being later additions. "It was only in the 3rd or the 4th century A.C. that the bhikkhus developed the idea of possessing store-rooms and kitchens of their own and of embarking on a more luxurious mode of life" (ASIMem. op. cit. p. 15).

Jauliān monastery founded in the early centuries of the present era had reached its final stage of development with additional compartments, renovations and enlargements, before it was destroyed by a fire probably a result of a conquering army of the white Huns (Ephthalites) who devastated the entire area of North-west India from the second half of the 5th century onwards.

When the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-tsang arrived in Taxila in the latter half of the seventh century he found most of the Buddhist monasteries there in ruins and desolate. (S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India from Hiuen Thsiang,* Indian Edition, Calcutta, 1958, p. 179).

Foucher remarks that the plastic works of stucco and terracotta at Jauliān are the last manifestations of the Gandhāra school (*ASIMem.* op. cit., p. 38).

Most of the Jauliān stucco and terracotta heads of Buddha and bodhisattva figures show stereotyped features which are not uncommon elsewhere in the Gandhāra field. It is believed that these large number of heads, discovered in well preserved condition, were produced on a mass scale at a certain repertory or so, to meet the great demand from the vast number of monasteries within Gandhāra and outside as well (*ASIMem.* op. cit., p. 23 for Foucher's remarks).

Jauliān provides material for the study of the last phase of Gandhāra Buddhist art as well as the cultural history of Buddhist monastic life from the beginings of the present era up to the Hun invasions in the fifth century.

A. D. T. E. Perera

JAVANA. The term "Javana" is used in Pali, in the sense of 'apperception', 'alacrity', 'readiness', 'impulse' and 'swift' (*PTS* Dictionary). In the Abhidhamma, the term, *javana* is used in a purely technical sense.

When the mind is fully unoccupied as in the state of dreamless sleep, its thoughtless state is termed *bhavaṅga* (life continuum). Whenever the mind does not receive a fresh external object (such as a visible object) one experiences the *bhavaṅga* consciousness. When a visual object enters the stream of being, the object begins to assert its influence by impeding the *bhavaṅga* stream, with the result that the latter begins to vibrate for two moments. First of these two moments is called *bhavaṅga-calana* (vibrating of the stream of being). The second is termed *(bhavaṅgupaccheda* (arrest of the flow), because at the end of the latter the stream is 'cut off' by five-door cognition. This vibration lasts for two moments after which the stream ceases to flow because it is now 'arrested' by the 'Five-door-turning-towards' of cognition on occasion of sense *(pañcadvārāvajjana)* in which attention is more active than its concomitant mental properties. At this stage the subject merely *turns* for one thought-moment to something that arouses its attention after having produced a disturbance in the stream of being, but knows no more about it. If the object is a mental one, there appears the mind door-cognition i.e. mind proper-*manodvārāvajjana* instead of *Pañcadvārāvajjana (Compendium of Philosophy - PTS* - 1979, p. 27, 28). Then visual sensation *(cakkhuviññāṇa)* reacts when the subject sees a certain object as to the nature of which it does not as yet know anything. This stage is followed by a moment of reception of the object *(sampatic-*

5. In the age to which the Jauliān Monastery belong, the essential parts of a Buddhist Saṅghārāma were a court of cells where the monks resided, a hall of assembly (upasthāna śālā), refectory (upahāraśālā), a kitchen (agniśālā), a store-room, (koṣṭhaka), a bathroom (jantāgāra), a latrine (varchah-kuṭi), (see M. Foucher, *L'Art Greco Bouddhique 'du Gandhāra,,* Vol. I, pp. 158 f.).

cana) so seen. There may be two modes of recipient reactions – reception of agreeable or of a disagreeable object.

Next comes the investigation faculty or a momentary examination of the visual object (very agreeable, moderately agreeable, or disagreeable). This is termed *'santīraṇa'*. Then the object is accomplished by the thought-moment of determining. This is a stage of representative cognition termed *'votthapana'*. *Votthapana* arranges the investigated material in such a manner as to constitute it into a definite object. It is done by differentiation and limitation by discrimination and definition. Up to the *votthapana* stage the mind is not yet intelligently aware of the nature and character of the object.

Then comes the apperceptive or the full cognitive stage *(javana)* wherein the object determined or integrated by the above activity is apperceived or properly cognized. This is held to occupy ordinarily seven thought moments or none at all, except in the cases of death, stupefaction, performance of 'Twin Psychic Phenomena' *(yamaka pātihāriya)* and other special cases when a less number of moments than seven obtains. At this stage of apperception the being interprets the sensory impression and fully appreciates the objective significance of his experience. These thought moments are called *'Javana'*.

At this stage of apperception the being interprets the sensory impression and fully apreciates the objective significance of his experience.

The *javana* stage is the most important from the ethical standpoint, as it is the psychological stage in which good or evil is actually done. Whether the object presented to the mind is desirable or not, a person can make the *javana*- process good or bad. For instance a wise person might harbour a thought of friendliness, without allowing to arise in his mind thoughts of hatred, when he sees an enemy. There is the possibility to overcome the external forces such as circumstances, habitual tendencies, environment etc., exercising one's own freewill and generate either good or bad thoughts at this stage.

After the Javana stage there follows two moments of registering or identifying *(tadārammaṇa)*. Then the consciousness re-absorbs itself in the stream of being *(bhavaṅga)*.

The simile of the man and the mango-tree is presented in the *Compendium of Philosophy* (*PTS*. - 1979, p. 30). 'A man in deep sleep is lying at the foot of a mango-tree, with his head fully covered. A wind stirs the branches, and a fruit falls beside the sleeping man. He is, in consequence, aroused from dreamless slumbers. He removes his head-covering in order to ascertain what has awakened him. He sees the newly fallen fruit, picks it up, and examines it. Apprehending it to be a fruit with certain constitutive attributes observed in a previous stage of investigation, he eats and relishes it and then putting back his head-covering once more resigns himself to sleep.

The dreamless sleep corresponds to the unperturbed current of the stream of being *(bhavaṅga)*. The striking of the wind against the tree is like the 'past' life-moment, during which the object enters the stream and passes down with it, without perturbing it. The swaying of the branches in the wind represents the vibration of the stream of being. The falling of the fruit corresponds to the arrest or interruption of being, the moment at which the stream is 'cut off' by thought; the waking of the man to the awakening of attention in the act of cognition on occasion of sense; the removal of the head-covering to the sense reaction of sight. The picking up of the fruit is comparable to the operation of receiving; inspection of it recalls the examining function. The simple apprehension of the fruit as such, with certain constitutive attributes of its own, corresponds to the discriminative or determining stage; the eating of the fruit resembles the act of apperception. Finally the swallowing of the last morsels that are left in the mouth corresponds to the operation of retention, after which the mind subsides into the mere vital process, even as the man once more falls asleep'.

For *kamma*, volition is involved in reflective or representative apperception *(manodvārika-javana)*. Thus the seven moments of volition involved in each reflective process *(manodvāra)* first *javana* lacks any cumulative conditionedness yielded by the preceding state of consciousness. Hence it is the weakest. *Kamma* effect of this *javana* may operate in the same existence in which it is exercised. This is termed "*kamma* to be experienced in this life" *(diṭṭhadhammavedaniya kamma)*. If not, it becomes inoperative *(ahosi)* for ever as it is devoid of reproductive power *(janaka-satti)*. The last of the seven volitional moments *(javana)* is the second weakest and a little stronger than the initial, because it stands in the relation called 'succession' or recurrence *(āsevana paccaya)*. If sufficiently strong its kammic effect would operate in the next existence through its reproductive function *(janaka-kicca)*. "This is termed as *kamma* to be experienced in the next birth" *(Upapajjavedaniya kamma)*. But if this *javana* moment is weak it would fail to effect the next rebirth and would be inoperative for ever *(ahosi)*. The remaining five *javana* moments are termed *'kamma* to be experienced in after lives' *(aparāpariya vedaniya kamma)* as they are capable of operating (whenever circumstances are favourable) from the second birth onwards till the doer attains *parinibbāna*.

Maraṇāsanna Javana (volition of apperception before death) is too weak to effect a rebirth. It's action is merely regulative of the next existence. *Kiriyā Javana* (inoperative apperception) are characteristic of the Buddha and

the arahants, whose acts of thought consist merely in the exercise of such, without their being transformed into *kamma*, as their volition is now subject only to good *hetus* and is free from evil tendencies *(anusaya)*. The remarks on the ethical aspect of apperception mentioned in the above paragraphs do not apply to inopertive apperceptions *(kriyā javana)*.

The apperception of fruitation is of a double character. As fruit *(phala)*, it is merely the resultant of each stage of the Path *(magga)*. But as *javana* (apperception) it partakes of the character of a *kriyā* (inoperative thought).*

D. Saddhasena

JAYATILLEKE, DON BARON was born on 13th of February 1868 in the village of Warāgoda in Kelaniya in the Colombo District of Sri Lanka. A descendant of two respectable and influential Sinhala families, he was the eldest son of Wickramāracchi Imiyā Rājakarunā Liyana Atukoralage Don Daniel Jayatilleke Senanayaka Liyanāracchi of Pattalagedera in Veyangoda, and Liyanage Dona Alisiana (Alisa) Perera Weerasinghe of Warāgoda. Jayatilleke had an elder sister by name Susāna and two younger brothers by name Don Simon and Simon Abraham. Jayatilleke's upbringing and subsequent career was very much influenced by the social conditions of that period.



The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the regeneration of nationalism and a revival of Buddhist activities in Sri Lanka as a reaction against colonialism and proselytization activated by the Christian missionaries who were backed by the colonial rulers at that time. The missionaries of the Roman Catholic and Baptist denominations wielded considerable power and influence and were very active in many areas. They established churches and schools and attracted to them many Buddhists some of whom became converts to Christianity. The Buddhist parents were aware of the value of education and the advantage of learning the English language, but they did not have schools of their own to send their children for education and circumatances prevailed upon them to send their children for education to Christian missionary schools.

The passing away of Venerable Walāne Siddhārtha Thera on 13th of February 1868 was a tremendous loss to the Buddhists. The establishment of Paramadhammacetiya Pirivena in Ratmalana in 1841, the first Pirivena to be established under British rule, was a pioneering project of this erudite prelate. However, the Waragoda religious debate which took place in August 1865 and the Udanvita religious debate which took place on 1st February 1866 helped to keep high the spirit of the Buddhist revivalists. Jayatilleke was a child of three years at the time of the Gampola religious debate and was preparing to commence primary education at the time of the renowned Panadura debate which took place on 26th and 28th of August 1873. The establishment of Vidyodaya Pirivena by Venerable Hikkaduwe Sri Sumaṅgala Thera on 18th December 1873 and the Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena on 1st November 1875 by Venerable Ratmalane Sri Dharmaloka Thera strengthened the Buddhist revivalist movement greatly. These two Buddhist educational institutions produced many erudite scholars, both lay and cleric, who subsequently worked for the advancement of oriental languages education and research in Buddhist culture.

Young Jayatilleke was initiated to learning by Ven. Ratmalane Dharmaloka Thera, the founder of the Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena. He spent his formative years as a student of Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena thereby gaining a thorough knowledge of Oriental languages, Oriental literature and Oriental culture. Subsequently he received a thorough grounding in English and its culture under Weslyan fathers at Wesley College in Colombo.

Jayatilleke gained the Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) degree from the Calcutta University in India and the Master of Arts (M.A.) degree and Bachelor of Law (LL.B) degrees from the Oxford University in the United Kingdom. Later he was enrolled as a Barrister at Grey's Inn in the United Kingdom. He married Mallika Baṭuvantudāwe, daughter of Andreas de Silva Baṭuvantudāwe of

*This note on *javana* has been prepared in consultation with the description of *javana* in the *Compendium of Philosophy*.
Editor-in-Chief

Warāhena, another erudite Oriental scholar of the time, popularly known as Royal Pundit.

Jayatilleke's Contribution to Education: Jayatilleke had a natural inclination for teaching and his first assignment was the Principalship of the Buddhist High School in Kandy (which later changed its name to Dharmarāja College) in the year 1890. Incidentally, this school was one of several schools that came into being as a result of the Buddhist revivalist movement which sprang up in the second half of the nineteenth century. Colonel Henry Steele Olcott, an American educationist who was attracted to Sri Lanka on reading the reports of the Panadura religious debate, inspired and persuaded the local Buddhist leaders, bhikkhus as well as laymen, to set up schools for the education of Buddhist children. For this purpose Olcott himself set up the Buddhist Theosophical Society (BTS) under which organisation several schools were started in important towns such as Colombo, Galle and Kandy.

During the few years Jayatilleke was in charge of Dharmaraja College, he was able to raise the standard of that school in all fields, academic and extra curricular, and he was able to put up the necessary buildings for the school with the support of the general public. The suavity, enthusiasm and sincerity of purpose he displayed in all his social dealings won for him popular acclaim and co-operation of parents as well as well-wishers of the school.

In 1898 he was appointed as Vice principal of Ananda College and with the retirement of the Principal Mr. A E. Bultjens two years afterwards, Jayatilleke was elevated to the position of Principal of Ananda College.

Jayatilleke's period of stewardship of Ananda College marked a remarkable progress and advancement in all activities in the school. The very good results of the school candidates in public examinations during this period attracted to the school more and more children from Buddhist families as well as from non-Buddhist families and the school expanded rapidly. A building programme, too, was launched by Jayatilleke to provide sufficient accommodation and other facilities to the children.

Jayatilleke was subsequently entrusted with a bigger task of assisting and directing the development of Buddhist schools under the management of the Buddhist Theosophical society as the General Manager of BTS schools and subsequently as the Secretary of the BTS., and this he did with tremendous success. By this time he had gained fame as a far-sighted educationist, versatile Buddhist leader, skillful manager and efficient organiser.

Jayatilleke played a key role in the founding of a Buddhist Girls College in 1917, and this college subsequently developed into the present leading Buddhist Girls school in Colombo - the Visākhā Vidyālaya. Jayatilleke was the first manager of this leading educational institute.

Contribution to Buddhism: Jayatilleke grew up during a period which was marked by enthusiastic Buddhist resurgent activities. As a person born and bred in an environment with strong Buddhist religious fervour he was sensitive to the pathetic plight of Sri Lankan Buddhists under foreign domination. Further his knowledge and conviction in Buddhism were strengthened by the erudite bhikkhus who were in the fore-front of the revivalist movement at the time. When Jayatilleke was in the United Kingdom pursuing legal studies he got the opportunity of meeting young intellectuals from other countries with whom he discussed many aspects of the Buddha's teachings and he could convince many of them regarding its rationality and applicability in day to day living. He gained fame as a Buddhist scholar during the World Congress for free Christianity held in Berlin on 5th August 1910 where he very eloquently placed before that audience the essence of Buddhism.

Jayatilleke realised the importance of re-vitalising and strengthening the Buddhist revivalist movement launched by Buddhist leaders like Colonel H. S. Olcott, Venerable Hikkaduwe Sri Sumaṅgala Thera and Venerable Migettuwatte Gunānanda Thera to inspire the Buddhist population. He started the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) in Colombo on the 1st of March 1898 to cater to the needs of the Buddhist youth. He was the first President of the Organisation and continued to be elected annually to the post until 1944. With the assistance of other Buddhist leaders and well-wishers of the time he managed to procure a spacious building in Borella to set up the Office and Centre of the YMBA. This centre in Borella consisted of an auditorism, a library, a recreation room and a hostel for Buddhist Office workers from outstations. Jayatilleke also provided leadership to Buddhist enthusiasts all over the country to start YMBA Organisations in their own areas. A common constitution for such organisations was provided by the Colombo YMBA and the newly formed YMBAs were affiliated to the Colombo YMBA. To Publicize the activities of the Colombo YMBA and to publish educative articles on Buddhism 'The Buddhist' journal was restarted and Jayatilleke functioned as its editor for many years.

As President of the Colombo YMBA, Jayatilleke encouraged and helped bhikkhus in remote villages to start Sunday Dhamma Schools in their temples for Buddhist children and the Colombo YMBA provided a common syllabus, text books etc. for those schools. The

Colombo YMBA also conducted annual examinations to evaluate the Dhamma knowledge of the children in these schools and issued certificates to those who passed in the examinations.

Jayatilleke's Literary Activities: Jayatilleke was a prolific reader and writer. His mastery of English, Sinhalese, Pali and Sanskrit languages opened for him the doors of an extensive literature written in those languages. He gained membership in several prestigious literary organisations like the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) and the Prācīnabhāṣopakāra Samitiya and contributed much to their activities. In addition he contributed many learned articles on literature and Buddhist Philosophy to newspapers as well as to local and foreign journals.

Jayatilleke was invited by the government of Ceylon in 1929 to pioneer a project to compile and etymological dictionary for the Sinhala language. As its pioneer Editor-in-Chief the first thing he did was to scientifically edit several classical Sinhala texts like *Dampiya Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya, Katikāvat Sangarāva, Buduguṇa Alaṅkāraya, Saddharmālaṅkāraya, Tisarasandesaya, Pärakumbāsirita* and *Sikavalandavinisa*

Contribution to National Independence and Political Activities: The revival of Budhist activities in Sri Lanka coincided and promoted the campaign for national independence. By this time Jayatilleke had won a name for himself as a versatile organiser, persuasive orator and Buddhist scholar and leader and naturally he became involved in the National Independence movement, too. He took leadership in the temperance movement and campaigned against the excise policies of the British colonial government. The riot that took place in 1915 was mis-interpreted by the colonial rulers as an attempt by the national leadership to overthrow colonial domination of the country and the Buddhist leaders who actively campaigned in the temperance movement were arrested by the British regime as instigators of the riot. Jayatilleke was arrested and imprisoned on the 21st June 1915 with the charge that his speeches and writings were seditious. He was released in August the same year and soon afterwards he proceeded to England to press for an impartial Royal Commission on the riots, and with this, his political career commenced. In England he made a strong plea to the Secretary of State against the inhuman handling of the Buddhist leaders by the colonial rulers in Ceylon. When the National Congress was formed by the Ceylonese leaders to fight for independence, Jayatilleke functioned as its spokesman in England to agitate for reforms.

When some constitutional reforms were granted in 1924 Jayatilleke contested the Colombo West seat and became a member of the Legislative Council with a view of fighting for full independence for Sri Lanka. When Sir James Peiris died on 5th May 1930 Jayatilleke was elected as the Vice-President of the Legislative Council.

In 1931 Jayatilleke was elected uncontested to represent Kelaniya seat in the State Council, where he functioned as the Minister of Home Affairs, Leader of the House and Vice President of the Board of Ministers. During this period too, he, along with other leaders, kept on pressing the colonial office for full independence.

In 1942 Jayatilleke assumed duties as High Commissioner for Ceylon in India. He received the title of K.B.E. in 1943. He died on 31st of May 1944.

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K. D. G. Wimalaratne

JAYATILLEKE, KULATISSA NANDA. (1921-1970), besides being a professionally qualified teacher of philosophy, was one of the leading interpreters of Buddhism in modern times. He was himself a philosopher with a distinctive outlook shaped mainly by the teachings of early Buddhism and contemporary (British) empiricism, the key factors behind his intellectual development.

K. N. Jayatilleke (KNJ) had his early education at Royal College, Colombo, one of the leading schools in Sri Lanka. He entered the Ceylon University College in 1939 where he read for an Honours degree in Indo-Aryan Studies and obtained the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of London in 1943 being placed first in order of merit. Subsequently (1945-47) he followed the Moral Science Tripos course at the University of Cambridge and obtained his second first degree. He also obtained an Honours Degree in Philosophy at the

University of London. It was during his stay in Cambridge that KNJ had the opportunity to attend for two years (1945–47) Wittgenstein's lectures delivered in his private quarters in Whewell's Court, Trinity College, Cambridge. Later in 1961 he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of London for his thesis which was later published under the title *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1963).



KNJ began his academic career as an Assistant lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Ceylon and reached the peak where he was elevated to the position of Professor of Philosophy in the same University.

KNJ was exposed to the western intellectual tradition from the very outset of his entry to higher education. The philosophical milieu in England during 1940's and 1950's which was marked by the rise of Logical Positivism exercised a great influence on KNJ's intellectual development. The logical positivist movement was started in Europe by a group of scientifically minded philosophers called the 'Vienna Circle'. They maintained that science represented the paradigm of knowledge, and they held in high esteem the scientific method which emphasized empirical evidence and verification of such evidence. The movement was highly influenced by Ludwig Wittgenstein's ideas expressed in the *Tractatus* although Wittgenstein himself was not a member of this group nor had any direct association with it.

By 1940's when KNJ attended his lectures, Wittgenstein was revising the views he held during what has now come to be known as 'the early Wittgenstein', a stage of philosophical thinking which had influenced the program of Logical Positivism to a great extent. Nevertheless, this philosophical school with its antipathy towards metaphysics and emphasis on verification was still very much in vogue. KNJ was highly influenced by this view of philosophy. In particular, he seems to have inherited his demand for verifiability in matters of religion and his dislike for metaphysics (with some reservations, in this particular case) from Logical positivists. The major evidence for the Logical Positivist influence in KNJ's thinking can be seen in his *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge.*

KNJ's major intellectual work is *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (hereafter abbreviated as *EBTK).* The purpose of this monumental work is to establish that the foundation of early Buddhist theory of knowledge is not reationalist as scholars upto that time had believed, but empiricist. In order to establish this thesis KNJ begins with a thorough study of the history of Indian thought upto the time of the Buddha and identifies three broader categories under which he could accommodate all schools of Indian religious and philosophical thought. The three categories are: the 'Traditionalists', the 'Rationalists' and the 'Experientialists'. In order to support his thesis that the Buddha was an experientialist he makes use of the Buddha's admonition to the Kālāmas in which the Buddha asks them not to accept any proposition just because it is sought to be based on some ten grounds. Among them six have been identified by KNJ as different forms of authority and the other four as pertaining to a rationalist approach. According to KNJ, by rejecting these two major means of knowledge accepted by a large number of religious teachers of his day the Buddha sought an alternative way which is the experientialist position.

The position that KNJ attributes to early Buddhism is not a denial of the other two traditions *in toto.* According to him, the authority of the Buddha as well as logical reasoning play an important role in the path of liberation advocated in early Buddhism. Nevertheless, their scope is limited; therefore they fail to produce the ultimate religious experience aimed at by Buddhism. Even the method adopted in early Buddhism, namely, expereince, has its limits. For example, early Buddhism on KNJ's interpratation does not believe in a kind of omniscience, as accepted in the Jaina or any other religious tradition of the day. Insofar as the alleged ominscience of the Buddha is concerned KNJ refers to *sūtra* evidence to show that the early Buddhist tradition did not attribute to the Buddha such knowledge. In other words, in the Buddhist view, there are limits to knowledge and furthermore, knowledge is only a means according to Buddhism. It is not concerned with knowledge for its own sake;

knowledge *(ñāṇa)* is only a means to emancipation *(vimutti).*

The analytical outlook, in KNJ's view, is an outstanding feature of the thought of the Pali Canon. The tendency towards classification, definition and the delimitation of the meanings of the terms, encountered in the Pali Abhidhamma often owes much to this outlook. A major use of the analysis of linguistic concepts in the early Buddhist tradition was to eliminate certain metaphysical ideas, the concept of *ātman* being formost among such ideas.

After T.R.V. Murti's initial treatment *(The Central Philosophy of Buddhism,* George Allen and Unwin, London, 1955), it is KNJ who made a comprehensive philosophical discussion for the first time of the reasons behind the Buddha's not answering the so called *avyākṛta* (undetermined) questions. In his discussion KNJ suggested that besides pragmatic reasons there must be philosophically valid arguments as to why they are left undetermind. Discussing the four questions on the after-death existence of the Arahant, KNJ draws our attention to the *Aggivacchagottasutta* where the Buddha shows that the question 'in which direction has the fire gone' cannot be answered owing to the very misleading nature of the question 'in which direction has the fire gone' cannot be *The Blue and Brown Books* (1958, p. 108) where the latter uses the identical simile ('where does the flame of a candle go when it's blown out') to highlight the error of the analogy involved here. Thus in KNJ's view there is a close resemblance between the approaches adopted by the early Buddhists and the Logical Positivists in dealing with certain types of questions.

The most significant distinction between the two systems, in KNJ's view, is seen in their attitude to the concept of the transcendent religious reality. Both Buddhism and Logical Positivism, as KNJ had shown earlier (in the cases of the Buddha's response to the questions regarding the after-death status of the Arahant and Wittgenstein's remarks on questions on where light of a candle goes when it is extinguished), make similar critiques about questions founded on mistaken logic of language. Nevertheless, according to KNJ, early Buddhism accepts the possibility of such a state (*EBTK* p. 475).

KNJ outlines how early Buddhism differs from Logical Positivism in some important respects. This shows that KNJ was not concerned with a superficial search for similarities. He was a critical scholar who knew both philosophical traditions well. His appreciation of Logical Positivism seems to originate from his acceptance of empiricism as the more reliable means of knowledge and the method of analysis as the key tool in philosophy. He went along with Logical Positivism insofar as these two important methodological principles were concerned. However it did not amount to his accepting the Logical Positivist ideology *in toto*, for he did not accept the Logical Positivist critique of ethical and spiritual propositions. As is clear from the writings of A.J. Ayer and others, the Logical Positivist critique of religion was levelled mainly and solely against the god-centred religion of the West. However this is not to say that Buddhism or any other religion may be spared from this critique altogether. Nevertheless, it may be argued that it does not amount to a full-fledged critique of a religion like Buddhism in which some of the key metaphysical notions such as God and Soul are rejected.

The history of religion in India shows that Buddhism rejected the two most important concepts in theistic religion (which is the religion in many cases) and still continues to be 'religious'. It was due to this Buddhist stand that some of the contemporaries of the Buddha branded him a nihilist. This line of criticism results from the assumption that religion is impossible without God and Soul. Not only during the time of the Buddha but even today the term 'atheism' carries the connotation of immorality and irreligiousness. Nevertheless, the Buddha rejected these two concepts and still maintained survival and moral responsibility. In a sense, KNJ's situation was similar: he maintained his Logical Positivist stand without rejecting the validity of propositions dealing with such matters as ethics, religion, spirituality and causality.

KNJ's analysis of the epistemology in early Buddhism constitutes a significant part of his contribution to Buddhist and Indian philosophy in particular and philosophy in general. In particular KNJ's analysis showed that the most recent trends in Western Philosophy, particularly those of linguistic philosophy and philosophy of language, were not quite new to Indian philosophical thinking. The line of thinking initiated by KNJ has more comprehensively been carried out (with regard to Nyāya and other Indian Philosophical schools) by philosophers like Daniel Ingalls, Bimal K. Motilal, J.N. Mohanty and D.J. Kalupahana, to name a few. Another distinctive contribution made by KNJ to Buddhist Philosophy in particular and philosophy in general lies in his reinterpretation of Buddhist Social Philosophy on the epistemological grounds he had established in *EBTK*. KNJ was convinced that a viable social philosophy could be developed from the teachings of early Buddhism. From *EBTK* he showed convincingly that early Buddhism had epistemological tools necessary for this task. His next task was to show that a comprehensive social philosophy could be built on early Buddhist teachings. It is primarily in this task that KNJ occupied himself till his death at the age of 49.

The two most significant landmarks in this direction are his *Buddhism and the Race Question* and his lectures

in the Hague on international law and Buddhist *vinaya*. The former was written in collaboration with the late Professor G.P. Malalasekera and was published by the UNESCO (1958). In this monograph, the authors identify the major Buddhist arguments for the oneness of humanity, and thereby they provide us with the rationale behind the Buddhist disapproval of discrimination based on one's skin colour, caste, race etc. The actual Buddhist criticism was levelled against the caste system prevalent in India by the time of the Buddha. KNJ (and Malalasekera) show that the caste system in India was very much similar in practice to discrimination based on skin colour experienced in the contemporary world. The Buddhist arguments aim at establishing the unity of humankind which is the rationale for the rejection of discrimination based on colour.

One of the key Buddhist arguments is based on the fact that humankind, unlike in the case of the plant and animal life, constitutes one single species. The Buddha articulates this fact in the *Vāseṭṭhasutta* of the *Suttanipāta*. Having outlined the argument KNJ observes that "this view accords remarkably with the findings of modern biological science". In addition to this, KNJ presents Buddhist arguments against caste and for the oneness of the humanity based on anthropological, sociological, legal, moral, ethical and religious or spiritual considerations.

Having outlined these arguments KNJ was keen on elaborating on the Buddhist way of solving similar problems. He did not stop at the usual point common to many of this kind of discussion, namely, addressing the need for changing one's heart.

One could argue that a philosopher need not worry about the social application or implementation of what he says. This would be quite true for a pure theoretician. However for KNJ who wrote these words at a very early stage of his career as a philosopher, the practical aspect of what he said was equally important. This emphasis in his outlook may be understood as influenced by Buddhist philosophy which lays an equal emphasis on theory and practice or knowledge and conduct. Towards the end of his relatively short life, KNJ was very much motivated towards the implementation of what he said. As a result he became an active participant of the opposition to the then existing government which KNJ thought was not guided by a proper policital philosophy.

The Principles of International Law in Buddhist Doctrine (published in 1967 by A.M. Sijthoff, Leyden as a part of "receueil des Cours" Vol. II) is a major contribution by KNJ to what may be called a Buddhist Philosophy of Law or Buddhist Jurisprudence. In this series of lectures, KNJ reconstructs, through doctrinal and philosophical, historical and practical evidence from Buddhist Literature, a Buddhist Philosophy of law and tries to show that it is not merely an ideal but something that has been and could be put into practice.

Through the arguments and assertions outlined by him KNJ reinterprets the theoretical and practical aspects of Buddhism as constituting a quite valuable contribution towards building a more meaningful conception of law and international law. This effort too is based on the epistemological foundations KNJ had established in his *magnum opus, EBTK*. This also testifies to his life-long interest in interpreting the doctrine of the Buddha as providing the most solid and meaningful foundation for an ideology for the contemporary society.

A good amount of KNJ's work falls in the areas of comparative philosophy and comparative religion. Although KNJ did not discuss the methodological concerns of either of these fields of study, his writings remain text-book examples of studying philosophy and religion comparatively. The cardinal feature in KNJ's comparative methodology is that he was not a mere seeker of similarities, nor was he of the opinion that comparative philosophy or religion must engage only in comparisons, although this task was not excluded by him. Without being exclusivist or particularist, KNJ has shown that Buddhism, as any other system of religion, has its own unique message to humanity.

A difficult point in KNJ's analysis of early Buddhism is his interpretation of *nirvāṇa* as 'a state beyond space, time and causation *(Na paṭicca-samuppanna)* and therefore strictly beyond description' *(Principles of International Law in Buddhist Doctrine* Ch. III). This is in fact the conclusion of his *EBTK* in which KNJ's burden was to establish that early Buddhism is empiricist.

However, this difficult point in KNJ's interpretation of Buddhism does not directly affect his overall assessment of the teaching of the Buddha. Nor does it affect the applicability of Buddhism to the problems of contemporary society, as envisaged by KNJ. In concluding the Buddha Jayanti lecture delivered in India in 1969 KNJ remarked:

> "In my opinion, the philosophy of the Buddha presents a challenge to the modern mind and it should be a primary function and duty of modern philosophers to examine its solutions to basic questions."

In the same manner, we may say that KNJ's views on Buddhism present a challenge for the modern mind and that it should be a primary function of students of Buddhism to examine his interpretation of Buddhism and his version of applied Buddhism. Such an excercise will result in furthering the process of developing some viable solutions to the problems of contemporary society through the teachings of the Buddha.

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Asangha Tillekeratne

JAYENDRA VIHĀRA, a Buddhist monastery in Kaśmīr supposed to have been built by a noble, named Jayendra, who was the maternal uncle of king Pravarasena II (between the third and the sixth century A.C.). According to the famous Kaśmīri historian Kalhāna, the noble Jayendra had also installed a collossal image of the Buddha in this *vihāra* (*Rājataraṅganī,* III, 368).

In the 7th century A.C. the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang mentions this monastery as the place where he resided for two years, studying various *sūtras* and *śāstras* and visiting other neighbouring Buddhist sacred places (A.K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education,* London, 1951, p. 510; Watters' edition of *Hiuen Tsang's Life and Travels,* pp. 258 f.; *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India,* edited by S.M. Sastri, Calcutta, 1924, p. 112).

So far no archaeological excavations have been made to find the exact location of the ancient Jayendra vihāra site. But it is believed that the monastery was constructed within the precints of Srīnagara which was also the capital of King Pravarasena II (M. S. Sastri, op. cit. p. III).

A. D. T. E. Perera

JELĀLĀBĀD, (var. Jalalabād), a town in the Swat valley in Afghanistan. The district, too, goes by the same name. The present town was built by Akbar in 1570.[1]

Jelālābād is situated on the southern bank of the river Kābul at the confluence of the river Kunar.[2] Excavations, carried out in the previous century by archaeologists like Messon, W. Simpson, L. Vivien de Saint Martin and others, have revealed that the site is an early centre of Buddhist art and architecture. They have found that almost the entire area, and stretching further beyond, was covered with the ruins of Buddhist stūpas and monasteries belonging to the Gandhāra period.

Several scholars have now identified the district as ancient Udyāna (Chinese, U-chang-na) and the city as the ancient Nagarahāra (Chinese, Na-kie-lo-ho) of the Imperial Kuṣāns.[3]

In the time of Hsuan-tsang, Nagarahāra signified both the district and the city as well, and was a vassal province of Kapila. According to Hsuan-tsang, the district of Nagarahāra extended to about 600 li (about 100 miles) in length from east to west and 250 li (about 40 miles) in breadth from north to south.[4] At Nagarahāra, Hsuan-tsang had found many *saṅghārāmas* and *stūpas,* but all were desolate and ruined, with only a handful of priests living in them. This was, however the general picture of the entire Gandhāra area, during the 7th century A.C., when Hsuan-tsang visited it, which had been devastated by the white Huns (Ephthalites) who did not spare any religious monument that stood in their way.

Hsuan-tsang attributes the construction of many of the *stūpas* at Nagarahāra to emperor Asoka. According to

1. N.L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India,* London, 1927, See Nagarahāra.
2. See *JRAS.* XIII, 1880-81, pp. 185 ff.
3. W. Simpson, 'Identification of Nagarahāra', *JRAS* XIII, 1880-81, pp. 183-207; A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India,* Calcutta, 1924, pp. 51 ff.; N. L. Dey, op. cit., See under Nagarahāra; McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy,* pp. 113 ff.; L. V. de St. Martin *'Memoire Sur La Carte de L'Asie Centrale'* appendix to M. Julien's translation of Hsuan-tsang.
4. S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India* (Indian edition, Vol. II, p. 145); A. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 51

him the famous Dīpaṅkara episode of the *Jātaka Nidānakathā* had taken place in this locality. The General observations made by Hsuan-tsang have to be taken as trustworthy on the grounds of evidence from the archaeological excavations carried out at these sites by scholars since the latter half of the 19th century. One such scholar W. Simpson, says: "On the north side of the Kabul river just opposite to the site of the town (Jalālābād) are rocky cliffs along which for nearly three miles there are remains of caves in the rock, and mounds left by topes and *vihāras;* this is to close to the site that the structures must have formed part of the ancient city. I found the remains of painted decorations and even vestiges of gliding".[5]

Simpson describes thus the wealth and glory of the area: "the multitude of remains which I have described are in themselves quite sufficient to tell us that there must have been in the past far greater food supply than at present. The costly monuments tell us of wealth which is not to be found in our day in any part of the country". As if to confirm Simpson's inference Hsuan-tsang has recorded that "the country is rich in cereals and produces a great quantity of flowers and fruits. The climate is moist and warm".[6]

The *stūpas* examined and described by Masson as existing around Jelālābād are thirty-seven in number, viz. eighteen distinguished as the Darunta group, six at Chahar Bagh and thirteen at Hidda. Of these about one-half yielded coins and relics of more or less importance, which proved the dates of their erection to extend from the Christian era, or it may be a few years before it, to be the seventh or eighth century.[7] Fergusson believes that the caves and tumuli in the immediate vicinity of all these *stūpas* to have been residences of Buddhist monks.

All these accounts bespeak the past splendour and wealth of the area, being a part of the once powerful Kuṣāna empire of Gandhāra. Benjamin Rowland says that along the river Kabul by Jelālābād rise the ruined cores of *stūpas* built in the same shape and of the same mixture of boulders and small stones used at Taxilā and observe that the types of these *stūpas* are no different from what may be seen in Gandhāra proper and were brilliantly decorated with polychromed stucco originally.[8] Hsuan-tsang, too, says that these *stūpas* were brilliantly adorned and carved and some of them rise to heights of 200 to 300 feet.

Despite the efforts of antiquarians and archaeologists, nothing that has been excavated in this area has escaped the iconoclasm of the local Musalmans.[9]

It was at the same site that the Greek satraps founded their city Dionysopolis signifying the city of Dionysus, the god of wine.[10] It was also the city Nyasa of Alexander's historian.[11]

A. D. T. E. Perera

JETA, a wealthy prince who lived in Sāvatthi in India during the time of the Buddha, from whom Anāthapiṇḍika (q.v.) purchased the Jetavana park to build the monastery called Anāthapiṇḍikārāma for the Buddha and his retinue of bhikkhus. (See JETAVANA). According to Malalasekera (*DPPN)* he was the son of King Pasenadi by the *kṣatriya* princes Vārṣikā. He was killed by his half-brother Viḍūḍabha for refusing to join him in his campaign against the Sākyans. There are several explanations given about his name: He was so-called (1) because he conquered his enemies, or (2) because he was born at a time when the king had overcome his enemies, or (3) because such a name was considered auspicious for him *(maṅgalakāmyatāya).*

Jeta first refused to sell his park to Anāthapiṇḍika when the latter made the proposal, saying: "Even if you agree to cover the whole park with gold coins, I shall not part with my park," and Anāthapiṇḍka took up the challenge to cover the park with gold coins. He ordered his men to bring the gold in carts and before long the entire park, except a long stretch at the entrance, was covered with gold coins. When Jeta saw this he was inspired by Anāthapiṇḍika's devotion to the Buddha and volunteered to put up a magnificent gateway to the monastery by spending all the gold coins brought by Anāthapiṇḍika to cover the land.

JETAVANA (1). Jetavana, or Jetavānārāma, the first ever monastery built for the Buddha and his disciple monks in India was mostly referred to in early Buddhist sources by its full name Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍika Ārāma, the "Monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika in Jeta's Park". It was built by the great Buddhist devotee and philanthropist Anāthapiṇḍika (Skt. Anāthapiṇḍada), a very rich

5. W. Simpson, Identification of Nagarahāra, *JRAS,* XIII, 1880-81, pp. 183-207
6. S. Beal, op. cit. p. 145
7. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian Architecture,* pp. 77, 79
8. B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India,* pp. 94 f.
9. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* p. 53
10. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 113
11. McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great,* p. 338.

merchant from the kingdom of Kosala. As the first ever monastery built for the Buddha and the one single place where the Buddha had, according to legend, spent the most number of rains retreats *(vassa)* it has always been regarded by all Buddhists as the foremost monastic centre built in the name of the Buddha and the Saṅgha. The story of the building of this great monastery by Anāthapiṇḍika is recorded in the Cullavagga of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* in the Pali Canon[1] and also in the *Vinaya* texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school.[2]

Anāthapiṇḍika, whose personal name was Sudatta was foremost among all the lay benefactors of Buddhism in the earliest stage of its existence. His caravans laden with merchandise plied the great trade rootes of the sub-continent bringing great wealth to him and his native state of Kosala. Even before his conversion to Buddhism he had become well known as a benefactor of destitutes and was therefore bestowed the honorific title Anāthapiṇḍika 'Giver of rice-balls to the destitute', better seen in the Buddhist Sanskrit title ending with *-piṇḍada*. It was by the same honorific title and rarely by his personal name that he came to be known among Buddhists after his conversion.

It was on one of his visits to Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha, at his brother-in-law's residence that he heard of the Buddha. The very word Buddha thrilled him so much that he wanted to visit him immediaely but was advised to postpone it for the following day. He was so restless on account of his impending meeting with the Buddha that he awoke several times in the night thinking it to be daybreak. Ultimately he set out to Sītavana even before daybreak and, assisted by a spirit, was able to reach the Buddha who was in his early morning ambulatory.

At this very first meeting with the Buddha Anāthapiṇḍika became a Stream-winner, for 'the dhamma-eye' is said to have arisen in him on listening to the Buddha's sermon. Immediately he declared his confidence in the Buddha and requested the Buddha to accept him as a lay devotee. At the conclusion of the forenoon meal the next day, offered by the new convert to the Buddha and the Saṅgha, he invited the Buddha to spend the next rains-retreat along with the monks at Sāvatthi, the capital city of Kosala. At this the Buddha said "Tathāgatas, O householder, take delight in houses devoid of people". Anāthapiṇḍika indicated that he understood the Buddha's wish. As the subsequent events show he apparently took the Buddha's words to mean that he would construct a monastery for him and the Sangha.

The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya says here that the Buddha directly told Anāthapiṇḍika that monks should visit and live only in places where there are monastaries. But this is highly unlikely because apparently there was no Buddhist monastery even in Rājagaha at that time. The king Bimbisāra who gifted the Veḷuvana near Rājagaha, the first ever such gift to the Buddha by any one, had not constructed any buildings in it.[3] If the Buddha made any such statement then the Pali version seems to be more reliable. Yet it is very doubtful that the Buddha would have given even an indirect indication with the hope of any material gain. However, Anāthapiṇḍika who was keen to see the Buddha spend the rains-retreat in his native city was determined to provide him with suitable accommodation.

The Mūlasarvādativāda Vinaya adds a further detail here. The Buddha accepted the invitation when Anāthapiṇḍada told him that there will be a monastery in Srāvasti. Before leaving Rājagaha he visited the Buddha once again and requested him (the Buddha) to allow one monk to go to Srāvasti with him and assist him in his project. The Buddha selected Sāriputra as the most suited person to 'pay attention to Anāthapiṇḍada, his retinue and the people' and asked him to accompany him to Srāvasti. The elder was of great service in winning over people to the new project.

Once back in Sāvatthi Anāthapiṇḍika surveyed the area around the city for a suitable spot for a monastery. He started this even before entering the city says the Mulasarvāstivāda Vinaya. It shows that the monastery was to be outside the city limits and not within. At the end a park belonging to a prince named Jeta was selected as the place satisfying all the conditions for a dwelling place for a group of monks who had renounced worldly-life. These conditions enumerated in the *Cullavagga* are: "not too far from the village and not too near, accessible, approachable by those who wish, not crowded by day, of little noise by night, having an atmosphere of seclusion from people and suitable for meditation". He offered to buy it from Prince Jeta.

Anāthapiṇḍika, however, had an initial setback when Jeta said it was not for sale even if covered with gold coins laid edge to dege *(koṭisanthārena)*. Undaunted Anāthapiṇḍika said, "then it is bought", but Jeta would not agree. Ultimately the ministers of justice settled the case in favour of the merchant because Jeta had quoted its value. Thus Jeta agreeing reluctantly to part with his property, Anāthapiṇḍika got down gold coins in carts and started to cover the park with them. The first load of

1 *Vin.* II. 158 ff.

2 *Gilgit manuscripts,* Ed. Nalinaksha Dutt (Sri Nagar, 1943), Vol. III, pt. 3. 133 ff.

3 *Vin.* I. 39

gold coins was found not enough to cover the entire park and a small portion of land near the entrance was left to be covered and the buyer ordered more gold coins to be brought. Jeta who was watching all this with more and more curiosity was by now convinced of the noble aim of the merchant. He offered to donate that portion of land as his gift. Anāthapiṇḍika who saw the value of having such a well-recognized person as Jeta on the side of Buddhism readily agreed to the offer. The prince later built a gate-house on the land gifted by him, by utilising all the gold coins brought by Anāthapiṇḍika.

Anāthapiṇḍika himself built the monastery with all its necessary appendages. They included dwelling places, cells, gate-houses, attendance-halls, refectories, store houses for allowable articles, privies, ambulatories with halls, wells, bathing halls, ponds and pavilions. The *Cullavagga* account of the construction of the Jetavana monastery ends here. Unfortunately it does not even speak of the dedication of the newly built monastery. One has to go to the commentaries to get an idea of the ceremony of dedication. According to the *Jātaka* commentary[4] the whole family of Anāthapiṇḍika participated in the ceremony. The great merchant was attended by five hundred other rich merchants, and his wife by five hundred noble women. His son similarly had a retinue of five hundred youths and the two daughters also had the same number of maidens in attendance. The celebration lasted for nine months. A sculpture at Barhut[5] depicts the laying of gold coins in the park and the dedication performed by pouring water by the donor. This shows that the story was well-recognised in Buddhist circles in the 1st century B.C. (PLATE IX).

The discourses in the *Sutta Piṭaka* do not refer to any of these details found in the *Vinaya* texts. Since the *Cullavagga* is generally regarded as a comparatively late canonical text one can even suspect that the detailed story and all the buildings described as comprizing the Jetavana Complex could be a description of the monastery as it stood at a somewhat later period. What we can gather for certainty from the discourses is that many of Buddha's sermons have been delivered at the Monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika in Jeta's grove situated near Sāvatthi.

This is very significant when we consider the statement attributed to King Pasenadi Kosala that the Buddha, like himself, was a Kosalan,[6] and the two statements attributed to the Buddha that the Sakyans lived among the Kosalans[7] and that they regarded the king of Kosala as their overlord.[8] Therefore living near Sāvatthi, in fact, for the Buddha was to live among his own kith and kin and very close to his own native Sakyan country. Of all the kings who had close association with the Buddha, Pasenadi Kosala seems to have been the closest. The *nikāyas* contain quite a large number of discourses delivered by the Buddha to Pasenadi Kosala. Therefore it is not surprising that the Buddha spent the greater part of his ministry in Kosala and Jetavana must have been the most important centre of his missionary activities.

The commentaries add a few more interesting details about the Jetavana complex not found in the *vinaya* texts. Anāthapiṇḍika spent eighteen crores each for buying the land, construction of the monastery and the ceremony of dedication. Hence it came to be called the Monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika. The park itself was planted, developed and administered by Prince Jeta, and was therefore called Jetavana. Another reason for this designation was that the park was beautiful to look at with its flowering and fruitbearing trees, was endowed with the five qualities as not too near and not too far, enjoyed by people who came from various places and never boring to the occupants.[9]

According to the same source Jeta expended all the eighteen crores he got from the sale of the land to construct the gate-house and gifted many crores worth of valuable trees as timber for the buildings. But the *Jātaka* Commentary[10] says that Jeta spent only half that amount for his building. Yet it was such an imposing building that once a non-believer mistook it to be the real dwelling place of the Buddha, and was surprised to hear that it was only a gate-house.

The *Sumangalavilāsinī*[11] refers to four large houses *(cattāri mahāgehāni)* within the Jetavana premises viz. Karerikuṭi, Kosambakuṭi, Gandhakuṭi and Salaḷaghara. But the *Suttanipāta* Commentary[12] names them Mahāgandhakuṭi, Karerimaṇḍalamāla, Kosambakuṭi and Candanamāla. Possibly the last one was the same as Salaḷaghara, which is also sometimes called Salaḷāgāra.[13] Of these the first three according to the *Suttanipāta* Commentary were built by Anāthapiṇḍika at a cost of a

4. *J.* I. 92 f.
5. Benimadhab Barua, *Bharhut,* (Indological Book Corporation, 1979) Book I, p. 57.
6. *M.* II, 124
7. *Sn.* 422
8. *D.* III. 83 f.
9. *UdA.* 56 f.
10. *J.* II. 216
11. *DA.* II. 407
12. *SnA.* II. 403
13. *D.* II. 270

hundred thousand each. Saḷaḷaghara was built by King Pasenadi Kosala. The Karerikuṭi was constructed on pillars and resembled a celestial mansion. It was so named because a *Kareri* or *Varuṇa* tree refered to as Kareri-maṇḍapa, stood at its entrance. Similarly a *Kosamba* tree stood at the entrance to the Kosambakuṭi. Saḷaḷaghara is defined as a house made of saḷaḷa wood *(saḷaḷamaya)* or of saḷaḷa trees *(saḷaḷarukkhamaya)* or else a house with a saḷaḷa tree at its entrance.[14] There was also a seating-hall *(nisīdana-sālā)* called Kareri-maṇḍala-māla near the Kareri-maṇḍapa. The latter stood, it is said, between the seating-hall and the Gandhakuṭi. Therefore the Gandhakuṭi the Karerikuṭi and the seating-hall were all together designated the Kareri-maṇḍala-māla.[15] Dhammapāla[16] however held that the Kareri-maṇḍapa and the seating-hall comprised the Kareri-maṇḍala-māla. He also explains the term maṇḍala-māla as an area, possibly a hall, protected from rain with a covering of grass and leaves *(tiṇapaṇṇacchādanaṃ anovassakaṃ)* or, for some, an arbour of creepers like *atimuttaka*. The *Jātaka* Commentary[17] adds that the Gandhakuṭi was built in the centre with cells for the eighty Great Elders surrounding it. There were also ponds, ambulatories and dwelling places for day and night.

The Gandhakuṭi, rendered into English as the 'Perfumed Chamber was the place where the Buddha himself lived and it is called the first of its type. Chambers by the same name seem to have been later constructed at other monasteries for the Buddha. The Gandhakuṭi at the Jetavana became such an important place for later Buddhists that the area covered within the four posts of the Buddha's bed in his cell in Jetavanārāma came to be classed among the "spots never abandoned" *(avijahitaṭṭhānāni)*[18] by the Buddhas. All the Buddhas have their beds located at the same spot.

There was a mango grove by the side *(paccante)* of the Jetavana. It may have been outside the boundary of the monastic premises. A road running by the park often brought various characters passing by into the monastic grounds. Some came there to quench their thirst and others, as in the story of Kāḷi-yakkhinī, sought protection in the hallowed premises.

Whatever it is the picture of the Jeta's Park preserved for us by the Buddhists was a place abounding in beauty left intact by those who constructed various buildings in the complex. Possibly this was done with the forest-hermitage concept in view. The idea may have been to build a 'forest-dwelling' *araññа-vāsa*, in the vicinity of a big city. Many of the main buildings with a shady tree at the entrance, and the sitting-halls with thatched roofs or arbours also must have helped to preserve the ecology and the cool atmosphere conducive to a quiet contemplative life of the monastery. Even the sculptures of the dedication of the Jetavana monastery at Bharhut[19] have preserved this picture of a forest hermitage surrounded by mango trees.

The two Chinese pilgrim monks Fa-hien and Hsien-Tsang[20] who came to India in the 5th and the 7th centuries A.C. respectively visited Srāvasti. However they were able to speak more about the legends connected with the origin of the monastery and the other legendary events believed to have taken place in and around it than of the actual state of things at the monastery itself. But in this matter Fa-hien is more helpful than Hsien-Tsang to visualise a picture of the Jetavana as it stood in their respective periods.

According to Fa-hien the Jetavana monastery was at first, of seven stages (probably storeys) but was apparently made into a two storeyed building after it was burnt down by an accidental fire caused by a mouse. It is said that the mouse carried away in its mouth a lighted wick from an oil lamp, causing a great fire. Speaking more of the past than of contemporary affairs Fa-hien says that kings and people of surrounding countries vied with one another in making gifts to this place. They decked the place with flags and silken canopies, offered flowers and burnt incense while lamps shone with equal splendour throughout the night.

The monastic building as it then stood had its main entrance to the east. The principal door was flanked by two side chambers in front of which stood two stone pillars. The pillar on the left had a wheel on it while the one on the right was surmounted by the figure of an ox. These two pillars, probably Asokan, were also noted by Hsien-Tsang. The pilgrim monk also speaks of the clear water in the ponds, the luxuriant groves and numerous flowers of variegated hues which combined to produce the picture of what is called a Jetavana vihāra. The image evoked in one's mind from this brief description is not much different from the picture given by the Pali sources.

14. *DA.* II. 270
15. *Ibid.* 407
16. *UdA.* 203
17. *J.* I. 92 f.
18. *BuA.* 247
19. Benimadhab Barua, ibid. Book II (A), Plate XLV.
20. *Chinese Accounts of India,* Tr. Samuel Beal (Calcutta, 1963 p. 25 ff. p. 259 ff.

By the time Hsüen-Tsang came to Srāvasti Jetavana appears to have been in total ruin. So he could speak only of the legends preserved in the region about its foundation etc. But both pilgrims speak of the red sandalwood statue of the Buddha said to have been commissioned by King Prasenajit (Pasenadi). According to Fa-hien this was the first ever statue of the Buddha and was carved during the lifetime of the Buddha himself. In the Buddha's own words it was to be the model for all his future images. Curiously this tradition is preserved still in Sri Lanka. But according to Hsüen-Tsang, Prasenajit caused it to be carved after the one King Udayana, probably of Kauśāmbi, had caused to be made.

Sir Alexander Cunningham[21] who identified the ancient city of Śrāvasti in the ruins of Sahet Mahet he discovered on the south bank of Rapti also could locate the ruins of the Jetavana monastery outside the city limits at a distance of about half a mile from its southern gate. It was the pedestal inscription of a Bodhisattva statue he discovered that helped him to conclude that he had definitely discovered the ruins of Śrāvasti. The inscription says that the colossal statue was a gift of a monk named Bala, an expert in the three *pitakas*, to the Sarvāstivādin teachers of the Kosambakuṭi where the Buddha stayed in Srāvasti.[22] It is interesting to note that the reference to the Kosambakuṭi in this inscription has proved the historicity of some of the details regarding the monastery given in the Pali sources.

But Cunningham who has tried to identify the various buildings mentioned in the accounts of the two Chinese pilgrims among the ruins he found around the main monastic centre outside its boundary wall has thrown some doubts about the veracity of the extent of Jeta's Park and the exorbitant price said to have been paid by Anāthapiṇḍika to buy it from Prince Jeta. An extent of land one thousand cubits square, as shown in Sri Lankan sources, he thinks, could not have been covered even with the extravagant eighteen crores said to have been paid by Anāthapiṇḍika. Instead he proposes to exclude all the ruins outside the boundary wall of the Jetavana identified by him with the central mound locally known as Jogini-baria in trying to locate the real plot of land bought by the merchant. The area covered by Jogini-baria is only seven hundred feet by one thousand feet and curiously, he says, could have been covered by 180 million ancient Indian silver coins each measuring a little more than half an inch in length and breadth. The figures given in ancient accounts, he thought, are mere examples of Indian exaggeration.

C. Witanachchi

JETAVANA (2) or Jetavanārāma, the large scale *stūpa* with its monastery complex is situated to the north-east of the ancient city of Anuradhapura. The boundaries of this large monastery complex, which flourished as the centre of the Sāgaliya sect, one of the three Buddhist fraternities, from the third century to the 12th century A.C. are demarcated by the Malvatu Oya to the south and the east, Hālpan Ä̈la to the west and the main road to the north.

Jetavanārāma is situated in an area which was a park known as Nandanavana in the third century B.C.

The confines of Jetavanārāma was known in the 3rd century B.C. as the garden of Nandana. Later it became known as Jotivana. The name Jotivana did not evolve into Jetavana, but the Jetavanārāma built in the Jotivana was often referred to as the Jetavana in short. Therefore, it is necessary to understand that while Jotivana was the name of a particular garden, Jetavana was the name given to an ārāma (monastery). It is believed that the construction of the Jetavanārāma in Anuradhapura was an attempt to re-create the beauty of ancient Jetavanārāma of Srāvasti in North India where the Buddha spent most of his days. In Polonnaruwa, too, there is a Jetavanārāma although it does not bear witness to a Jotivana.

Jetavanārāma erected by King Mahasena (276-303 A.C.) in the garden of Jotivana in Anuradhapura was later offered to a bhikkhu named Tissa of the Sāgaliya sect who lived in the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra (Southern Monastery). The king disregarded the protest of the Mahāvihāra bhikkhus over the fact that a monastery was being built within their precincts for a bhikkhu belonging to a different sect. Tissa thera was later disrobed as he was found guilty of a *pārājikā* offence at an inquiry held by the Minister of Justice, despite the King's displeasure expressed at the disrobing. But this event does not seem to have hindered the Jetavana from becoming the centre of the Sāgaliya sect.

It is difficult to believe that all the buildings now remaining in Jetavanārāma in Anuradhapura were built by King Mahāsena alone. Out of them, he may have built the principle buildings necessary for the monastery complex. The *Mahavamsa* records that Mahasena was unable to complete the construction of these buildings, and that they were later renovated and completed by his son Sirimeghavaṇṇa who succeeded him as king.

The *Mahāvamsa* as well as a few rock inscriptions record that some buildings at Jetavanārāma were constructed subsequently by kings who reigned after Mahasena. According to these records, King Aggabodi

21. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India* (Simla, 1871) Vol. I, p. 330 ff.
22. *Epigraphia Indica* (1905-06), Vol. 8, Ed. E. Hultsch, p. 181.

(604–614 A.C.) had erected a building with a pinnacle *(kota)* which consisted of a *Vajira-cumbata* (diamond hoop). Aggabodhi VI (733–772 A.C.) added yet another ***prāsāda*** to the Ratnamā Pirivena believed to have been constructed by Mahasena. This was reconstructed by King Sena I (803–853 A.C.) after it was destroyed by a fire. In the inscription discovered near the monument called the "Buddhist Railings" was a Jalamaṇḍapa (water pavilion) of the doorway of the Ratnamā Pirivena. The inscription belongs to the period of king Mahinda VI (956–972 A.C.). There is a similar Jalamaṇḍapa in the doorway of the Senevirad Pirivena of the Denā Raja Mahā Vihāra (Jetavanārāma). An inscription belonging to the period of King Dappula V (924–935 A.C.) mentions the Sirisañgabo Rad pirivena of Denā Vihāra. It had been built by a Tamil General during the reign of Aggabodi IV. While king Dappula II (815–831 A.C.) placed a golden Buddha statue at the *bodhighara* of this vihāra, Sena I offered yet another golden Buddha statue after constructing the Minimeula Prāsādaya or Minipāya. Bodhisattva statues were added later during the reign of Sena II (853–887 AC). This *pilimage* (image house) was reconstructed by King Mahinda IV after it was destroyed by the Colas. (PLATE X)

Kassapasena-vihāra was constructed by a General of King Kassapa VI. Diyasen Uposathāgāra (Chapter House) renovated by Mahinda IV may have been constructed by King Mahāsena. It is also believed that the four pirivenas built separately by four officers during the reign of Mahinda IV are four Saṅghāvāsas (dwelling houses).

The *Mahāvamsa* records that the relics belonging to the three different sects were destroyed by the Colas. It is mentioned that the Buddhist clergy of the three sects lived in Ruhuna during the reign of King Parakramabahu I. Therefore it is evident that there were branches of Jetavanārāma even in Ruhuna. The Dāthakondañña Ārāma in Sīgiriya which was constructed during the reign of Moggallāna I (495–512 A.C.) has been associated with Jetavanārāma.

The location of Veluvanārāma, yet another Sanghārāma linked to Jetavanārāma and built by Aggabodhi II (608–618 A.C.) has not been found.

Apart from the ārāmas mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* and in stone inscriptions, there may have been other monasteries elsewhere in the island which had direct access to Jetavanārāma in Anuradhapura.

The Stūpa of Jetavanārāma: The central monument of Jetavanārāma is its large *stūpa* spread over an extensive area of eight acres which was equal in status to the Ruvanväli and Abhayagiri *stūpas.* Archaeological evidence suggests that this was the site where the remains of Mahinda Thera, who is responsible for the introduction of Buddhism to the Island, were cremated. A layer of ash and charcoal was discovered in close proximity to the one-metre-thick wall of the Salapathala Maluva (stone terrace) to the east of the *stūpa*. A scientific study of the bricks reveals that they belong to the third century B.C. It is according to this that Dr. Hema Ratnayaka states that this was the site of Mahinda Thera's cremation. He further points out that this place was known as the Theranambandhamālaka in the third century B.C. King Uttiya enshrined the ashes and also built a *stūpa* here. It is possible that the present Jetavana *stūpa* is a renovation of the original Mahinda *stūpa*. (PLATE XI)

According to the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, the fourteenth century Sinhala work, the relics enshrined in the Denā Vehera (Jetavanārāma) are a part of the girdle of the Buddha. This is contrary to the idea that this site is identified with Mahinda Thera. However, this cannot be proved until the relic chamber is opened and its contents studied.

Scholars such as C.W. Nicholas and R.A.L.H. Gunawardena believe that the *stūpa* was first built by King Mahāsena. Except for the reference made in the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* there is no other evidence to prove that the *stūpa* was built by Mahāsena. If he did indeed build such a huge *stūpa*, it is surprising that it has not been recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*. However, the *Mahāvamsa* does say that King Mahāsena built a *stūpa* to the east of the city at the spot where the Devale (shrine) of Kālavela existed. It is possible that this is the Mahāyāna style *stūpa* presently known as Nakhā vehera.

Second Phase of Jetavana Stūpa: Still it is not clear that a huge *stūpa* was built at Jetavanārāma by a king who ruled before Mittasena. The *Mahāvamsa* records that while king Mittasena executed pandals at the entrance to the elephant rampart, Dhātusena (459–477 A.C.) constructed the parasol and gilded it. The Hatthivedi was constructed by King Mahānāga who also restored the crystalline circle, the plaster and the paintings. A parasol brushed with gold and embedded with precious stones was secured on the *stūpa* by king Aggabodhi I (569–571 A.D.). It was first renovated by Moggallāna III (614–619 A.C.) and later by King Parākramabāhu I.

Art and Sculpture: Not only the *vāhalkadas* (frontispieces) and the parasols, even the interiors of the ancient *stūpas* were adorned with paintings. This is evident from the remains unearthed in archaeological excavations. Stone slabs with paintings have been uncovered at the eastern *vāhalkaḍa* of the Jetavana *stūpa*. Therefore it is highly probable that the *vāhalkaḍa* itself was originally decorated with paintings.

Although a large number of monuments and engravings have been found, no other paintings have been unearthed there.

Almost all the Buddha statues in Jetavanārāma have been destroyed. People ignorant of their cultural value may have demolished these monuments in order to obtain the stones to construct their buildings. A fragment of a statue of a seated Buddha without the head and the upper torso has been unearthed in recent excavations. It has a close resemblance to the statues of the Mathurā tradition of the Gupta period. It is hard to find another equal to its beauty in Sri Lanka. The head of a Buddha statue displayed today in the gallery of the Archaeological Museum in Anuradhapura may belong to this particular statue. But to come to a definite conclusion of this supposition the dimensions of the head and the torso in Jetavana have to be compared with each other.

Discovered recently on the *pesāva* of the Jetavana *stūpa* were several small granite statues of the Buddha. Stylistically they differ from local Buddha statues found in Sri Lanka.

As in the buildings of the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra, those of the Jetavana, too, have beautiful entrances. The moonstones, guardstones and balustrades are vital in importance in relation to Buddhist art where architecture is concerned. Special attention should be paid to the systematic evolution of the various sections of the doorway to its symbolism and to its aesthetic value. The doorways of Jetavana are of great importance when compiling data about the history of doorways in places of worship in Sri Lanka.

The Centre of the Sāgaliya Sect: The Sāgaliya sect is named after Sāgala Thera who formed the sect with about 300 other monks when they broke away from the Abhayagirivihāra of the Dhammaruci sect. The separation took place during the reign of King Goṭhābaya (255-266 A.C.) as these monks associated with the Vaitulya (Mahāyana) monks, and as the expulsion of sixty Vaitulya monks by the king indicated that whoever associated with them may come to harm in the future. Doubtless these monks felt that it would be dangerous to associate with the Vaitulya monks whom the King was against. He was paying patronage to the Mahāvihāra which was very powerful at the time. Apart from this, there is no proof to believe that there was enmity between the two sects that led to the separation.

The *Vaṃsattappakāsini* records that the Sāgaliya sect was formed 558 years after Buddhism was established in Sri Lanka. R.A.L.H. Gunawardene has taken this year to be 249 A.C.

The monks of the new sect first regarded as their centre the Dakkhiṇavihāra, (southern monastery) which was built by a minister of King Vaṭṭagāmini Abhaya in the first century B.C. We can assume that as he was the first patron of the Dhammaruci sect he also donated the Dakkhiṇavihāra to the monks of the sect. But there is no record of opposition shown by the monks of the Dhammaruci sect against it being used as the centre of the Sāgaliya sect.

The first king who embraced Mahāyanism in Sri Lanka was Mahāsena (276-303 A.C.). Impressed by a monk named Tissa who lived in the Dakkhiṇavihāra, he built the Jetavanārāma within the premises of the Jotivana and donated it to him. It is recorded that the King even disregarded the opposition of the Mahāvihāra monks against this. Thus, the Jetavanavihāra became the centre of the monks of the Sāgaliya sect who earlier lived in the Dakkhiṇavihāra.

Tissa Thera's expulsion despite the objections of the king, did not prevent the development of the new sect.

According to Gunawardene, although at first the Sāgaliya sect did not associate much with the monks of the Dhammaruci sect, during the reign of King Silākāla (518-531 A.C.), being encouraged by the Abhayagiri monks, the sacred relics were taken annually to the Jetavanārāma and rituals were performed. If there was no friendship between the Dhammaruci sect and the Sāgaliya sect, the Dakkhiṇavihāra of the Dhammaruci monks could not have become the centre of the Sāgaliya monks. By the time of King Silākāla the Sāgaliya monks were ready to be guided by the Dhammaruci monks. Thus a re-examination of Gunawardena's views is necessary.

During the reign of King Aggabodhi I (517-604 A.C), an Indian monk named Jotipāla argued and defeated the Mahāyana monks. It is recorded that the defeated monks had lodged a complaint with the King through the *viyatnā*. However, after the death of the *viyatnā*, the monks of Jetavanārāma lived in harmony with the Mahāvihāra monks. These facts reveal that the Sāgaliya sect existed merely as a 'floating sect' between the Dhammaruci sect and the Mahāvihāra. Otherwise the Sāgaliya monks could not have been partial to the Dhammaruci monks during King Silākāla's reign and to the Mahāvihāra during King Aggabodhi's reign.

The Sāgaliya sect did not show any progress until the latter part of the seventh century. During the reign of Dāṭhopatissa II (659-667 A.C.) the Sāgaliya sect prepared a special edition of *vinaya* rules for themselves. It was formed by taking the *Vibhaṅga* section *(Pārājikā Pali* and *Pācittiya Pali)* from the Dhammaruci sect and the *Khandhaka* and *Parivāra* from the Sāgaliya sect. They also produced a series of new interpretations for this. Through this it is evident that in the beginning there was a *Vibhaṅga* unique to the Dhammaruci sect and a

Khandhaka and *Parivāra* unique to the Sāgaliya sect. *Vinaya Piṭaka* consists of three main components: *Vibhaṅga, Khandhaka* and *Parivāra.* The *Vamsattappakāsini* states that the *Khandhaka* and the *Parivāra* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* had been changed to suit the needs of the Dhammaruci monks. Since there is no change in the *Vibhaṅga* section, it remains the same as in the *Vinaya* section of the Mahāvihāra. So it shows that the Sāgaliya sect maintained a *Vibhaṅga* section in accordance with the Mahāvihāra and the Dhammaruci sect. However, the *Khandhaka* and *Parivāra* sections were formulated in three different ways by the three sects. Therefore the difference between the Sāgaliya sect and the other two sects rests on the difference in the *Vinaya piṭaka* as well as the system of interpretation of the *Vinaya piṭaka.*

The *Vinaya* of the Sāgaliya sect was compiled by a monk of the Kurundacūlika Pirivena with another monk from the Colambahālaka Pirivena near the Abhayagiri vihāra.

The *Sutra* and *Abhidhamma Piṭakas* were shared alike by the Mahāvihāra, the Dhammaruci and the Sāgaliya sects. Accordingly, all three can be regarded as belonging to the Theravāda tradition.

The Dhammaruci sect respected Mahāyanism although there was considerable opposition from the Mahāvihāra towards it. Even the Sagaliya sect which was apprehensive of Mahāyānism later grew to respect it as much as the Dhammaruci sect. Taking into consideration the evidence that the *Ranpota* (Golden Book) that contains a section of the *Sūtra Pañcavinsati Sāhaśrikā Pragñāpāramitā,* the Mahāyana Bodhisattva statues and the Buddhābhṣeka (anointing of Buddha image) existed, it is clear that both Sāgaliya and Dhammaruci sects had a similar attitude towards Buddhist sects, their beliefs and their literature. Since the influence of the Sāgaliya sect was much less than the other two, it was forced to be subordinate to the mightier sect in order to survive.

The monks of all three sects left for Burma during the reign of the Colas as they did not get royal patronage. King Vijayabāhu I who defeated the Colas and re-established the higher ordination by bringing back the monks belonging to all three sects from Burma as there was a shortage of monks for ordination in Sri Lanka. From this time up to the reign of Parākramabāhu I the Sāgaliya sect flourished. This king performed a complete revision of Saṅgha by bringing in monks from many parts of the country including Ruhuna. The King disbanded the Dhammaruci and Sāgaliya sects and gave the monks two options: either join the Mahāvihāra or disrobe and be employed in the government services. Thus he strengthened the Mahāvihāra as the only Buddhist sect in the island.

Literature belonging to the Sāgaliya sect was completely destroyed. Thus there is nothing more that can be said of their religious views.

During the Anuradhapura period there were Buddhist nuns associated with the three sects. But details of Bhikṣuṇīs belonging to the Sāgaliya sect are extremely rare. We only find an account in the *Mahāvamsa* about the establishment of a Rājini Meheṇivara for the Sāgaliya Bhikṣuṇīs during the reign of King Moggallāna. If not for this piece of evidence historians may not be able to say that there was an order of Buddhist nuns belonging to the Sāgaliya sect.

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Chandra Wickramagamage

JETAVANA (3) A monastery complex founded by King Parākramabahu I (1153 A.C.-1186 A.C.) in the ancient city of Polonnaruwa. A large group of ruins around the platform of the *Tivaṅka* image house has been identified as part of the ruins of this extensive monastery complex. The *Cūlavaṃsa* (Chapter 78, *vv.* 31-47) gives a graphic description of this monastery complex in the following words: "The King, having cleansed the *sāsana* by disrobing the heretics, caused a monastery complex by name Jetavana to be built which resembled in glory the Jetavanārāma (in India) of the Buddha's day, for the use of the numerous pious bhikkhus. In this grand monastery complex there were eight three-storeyed mansions *(pāsāda)* for the use of elderly virtuous bhikkhus; a special mansion complete with all essentials was put up for the residence of the Venerable Sāriputta Thera of great learning and piety. There were seventy-five *parivenas* (*parivenas* are temples or dwelling houses for bhikkhus; the word *parivena* here does not mean a seat of learning as the *parivena* connote today)."

The most important structures in this monastery complex were: (1) the three-storeyed image house that contained in it the colossal standing Buddha image posed in three bends *(tivaṅka),* the walls of this image house were elaborately adorned with paintings; (2) a circular

mansion, entirely built with granite, that housed the Tooth Relic of the Buddha; (3) eight bathing ponds built with granite. Of these bathing ponds one was outstanding in its beauty and grandeur. It was constructed in the form of a full blown lotus of eight petals and was called *Padumanahāna Koṭṭha* (The lotus bathing pond).

In addition to the above mentioned structures there were many other units that were of utility to the resident bhikkhus such as libraries, dining halls, preaching halls, refectories *(aggisālā)* and cloisters *(caṅkama)*. The *Cūlavaṃsa* account concludes by saying that the Jetavana complex consisted of 520 building units in all.

T. Ariyadhamma

JHĀNA, a Pali technical term - its Sanskrit equivalent being *dhyāna* implying a particular religious consciousness that flashes in the course of meditation. *Jhāna* as a term is of pre-Buddhistic origin and it was adopted by the Buddha to describe the state of ecstacy reached in meditation. Basically, the Buddhist meditative process in itself has to be identified with *jhāna* which is closely related to concentration of the mind *(samādhi*, q.v.). The relationship between *jhāna samādhi*, according to the *Nettippakaraṇa*, is that *samādhi* obtains in the four *jhānas (samādhindriyaṃ catusu jhānesu daṭṭhabbaṃ, Netti.* p. 19) which is the proximate cause of *samādhi (ekaggatālakkhaṇo samādhi, tassa jhānaṃ padaṭṭhānaṃ,* ibid. p. 28). *Jhāna* thus represents serenity or tranquillity of the mind *(Vbh.* 258) and it is accompanied by *sampasādana (Vism.* 156).

In an attempt to define the term according to the commentarial system of etymology two functions are assigned to *jhāna*, namely, that it burns up (Skt. root *kṣi* not *dhyāi)* what is hostile to, or stands in opposition to, the path of religious progress *(paccanīka jhāpanato)* and it sets the mind of a yogin on a theme for meditation *(arammaṇūpanijjhānato, Vism.* 150; *VinA.* I. 145 f. cf. *Ps.* I, 49). In other words, *jhāna* is said to burn up or destroy elements hostile to religious progress while meditating on a theme. As this meditative process implies both a purge of the disruptive tendencies and viewpoints of human mind and a gradual attainment to higher grades of intuitive awareness, convenient points of reckoning have been established, and these different stages in turn have come to be called severally the first, the second, the third and the fourth *jhāna*. The first *jhāna* or the initial stage of the *jhāna* process is associated with five mental factors collectively termed the constituents of *jhāna* or *jhānaṅga*, namely, *vitakka, vicāra, pīti, sukha* and *cittassekaggatā*, the last constituent signifying concentration of the mind *(samādhi, M.* I. p. 294, III, p. 25; *Dhs.* 26; *Vbh.* 25); they are called *Jhānaṅga* because *jhāna* first arises when these five factors arise only *(Vism.* 146)

Thus, *jhāna* brings about *samādhi* and *samādhi* forms the basis for the acquisition of *paññā (D.* I, p. 76 ff). *Jhāna* therefore embraces not only the system of meditation but also the process of transmitting the lower state of conciousness to a higher state, to the summit of progress in mental training. There is no suggestion of trance, but rather of an enhanced vitality and efficency of the mind, for it is *samādhi* which is attained through *jhāna* that enables one to intute the truth which leads to the realisation of freedom *(vimutti... paññāya c'assa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti), M.* I, p. 160.

As regards the practice that sets one firmly on the path of jhānic-development, the four preliminaries are given in the suttas, namely, (1) morality (*sīla*, q.v.), (2) restraint as regards sense faculties *(indriya-saṃvara*, q.v.), (3) mindfulness and self-possession *(satisampajañña*, q.v.), and (4) contentment *(santuṭṭhi*, q.v., *D.* I. pp. 70-71). Possessed of these qualities, says the sutta, the bhikkhu gets to a place of solitude and starts on an introspective self-examination. In the process he gets rid of the five hindrances *(nīvaraṇa*, q.v.) which impair the efficency of the mind, and thus qualifies him to embark on the path of *jhānic* development (ibid. 71). The mind that hankers after sense-stimuli *(kāma, kāmacchanda, kāmarāga)* is not and cannot be concentrated on an object of a salutory nature. It does not enter upon the path of progress which leads to release from sensory emotions. The mind that is harassed by ill-will *(vyāpāda)* cannot proceed at once towards one-pointedness *(ekaggatā)*. The mind that is submerged in sloth and torpor *(thīnamiddha)* is not fit for intensive mental activity. Obsessed with worry and flurry, distraction and agitation *(uddhaccakukkucca)* the mind does not repose but wonders. Struck by perplexity and doubt *(vicikicchā)* it does not even approach the path that leads to the attainment of the jhānic state. Thus, these five factors are inimical to *jhāna* and are therefore called hindranses *(nīvarana)*. Such hindrances must be eliminated by a systematic practice of the contemplative exercises. Thus we find: 'putting away covetousness for worldly things, he abides with his thoughts free from covetousness' etc. (*D.* I, p. 75).

When these five hindrances have been put away he looks upon himself as being freed from debt, rid of disease, released from jail, a free man and secure. Gladness *(pāmujja)* springs up within him on his realising this freedom and joy *(pīti)* arises in him, thus gladdened and so rejoicing his whole frame becomes serene *(passaddha)*, and being thus serene he is filled with

happiness *(sukha)* and the mind of the happy one becomes concentrated *(sukhino cittaṃ samādhiyati).*

This concentration of the mind is the basic requirement for the realisation of truth and consequently the attainment of arahantship. The *Vatthūpama-sutta* says that the monk who has attained this concentration of mind, after perfecting such qualities as *mettā, karuṇā, muditā* and *upekkhā*, attains arahantship, without embarking on the jhānic process. He has to realise that there is a state higher than these qualities and that that stage is nothing other than release *(nissaraṇa)* brought about by realising the truth *(M.* I, pp. 38–39).

Thus we see that the religious training branches off at this point of *samādhi*, and the trainee may or may not follow the *jhānic* process as a means to arahantship and that he is in a position to engage his mind in a practice which directly leads him to arahantship by the total destruction of all influxes *(āsavakkhayā)* as is stated in the *Vatthūpama-sutta*, or else he can direct his mind towards *jhāna* as is explained in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (*D.* I. pp. 73 ff.) and elsewhere.

Those who take the former step are described in the commentarial literature as *sukkhavipassaka* (q.v.) or *vipassanāyānika* or *suddhavipassanāyānika* while those who follow the latter path are called the *samathayānika* (*Vism.* II, 587–88; *DhpA.* I, 9; *KhpA.* 178, 183). Those who opt to follow the latter course enter the state of *jhāna* (D. I, p. 73).

The jhānic process commences with the five factors *vitakka, vicāra, pīti, sukha* and *ekaggatā* mentioned above which elevate the consciousness of the *yogin* from normal sensory experience to a higher form of purity, and it is this consciousness which becomes associated with these five factors on the eradication of the five hindrances and dissociates oneself from sense pleasures and evil ways that is termed *jhāna* (*D.* I. pp. 73f. *M.* I, p. 294; *Vbh.* 257). In the ordinary state of mind too, the five psychological factors, *vitakka* etc. appear as common elements of the psychological process, but then they arise as the conditions of the complex state of sensory emotion and hence do not correspond to *jhāna*, which is to be attained, as the formula emphasises, by the attenuation of sense desires and evil thoughts as referred to above.

The first *jhānic* thought, as is stated above, has five constituent factors *(jhānaṅga)*, and these constituents correspond to the five hindrances *(nīvaraṇa)* as their opposite numbers and the arising of the former coincides with the elimination of the latter. The first factor, i.e. *vitakka*, by applying the mind and its concomitants to the theme of meditation *(ārammaṇa, kammaṭṭhāna,* q.v.) eliminates sloth-and-torpor *(thīnamidda,* q.v.), one of the five hindrances. *Vicāra*, the second factor, means sustained mental application upon the same object or theme with a view to investigating and keep the mind continually engaged in the exercise; and thereby perplexity and doubt *(vicikicchā)*, another hindrance, is dispelled. *Pīti* arising in opposition to illwill *(vyāpāda)*, another hindrance, brings about by degrees an expansion of interest in the same object or theme. It is intensive rapture or zest which arises infusing the whole being of mind and body. *Sukha* is a feeling of ease which invariably arises consequent on this diffused zest; it dispels another hindrance, namely, distraction and agitation *(uddhacca-kukkucca)* and leads the mind to concentration. The mind of him who is happy becomes concentrated *(sukhino cittaṃ samādhiyati, D.* I, 75; *Vism.* 141 f; *DhsA.* 114 f.). Concentration thus leads to one-pointedness of mind.

When these five factors thus arise in the mind simultaneously eliminating the five hindrances from it, the first stage of *jhāna* is attained. This attainment, being the transition of consciousness from the sensuous plane *(kāmāvacara)*, is said to be the escape from sense desires *(kāma-saññā, D.* III, p. 275), for when this *jhāna* is attained, the consciousness passes beyond all lower impulses and emotions caused by external objects and is opposed to sense desires. The mind becomes self-possessed since it is established in inward serenity and unshaken by external stimuli. The *jhāyin*, i.e., the person in this state, experiences a new life, a new vision unlike anything he has ever before experienced. His whole being is suffused with indescribable joy and happiness; there is no part of his body that is untouched by zest and happiness born of inward solitude (*D.* I, 73; *DA.* III, 217).

This is the first stage reached in the *jhānic* process and is, therefore, termed the first *jhāna (paṭhamajjhāna)*. The process does not end here; it has other, and higher stages that may be attained if the *jhāyin* is prepared to continue. The systematic elimination of the constituent factors of the first *jhāna* itself produces the higher stages of *jhāna* intensfying it at each stage and culminating in the fourth stage, which is the zenith of the material plane *(rūpāvacara)*, in which consciousness of the *jhāyin* becomes associated with perfect mindfulness and equanimity *(upekkhā)* free from all attachment to the earlier sensuous plane *(kāmāvacara)* and to the three lower stages of *jhāna* itself.

The *jhāyin* who has attained the first *jhāna*, explains the *Visuddhimagga*, by continuous practice, fixes his attention upon the same theme and practises this repeatedly in order to make it habitual in his psychological process. He gains mastery *(vasitā)* over this practice; i.e. he acquires the ability to reflect upon the first *jhāna* just attained or upon one of its five factors, wherever he

pleases, whenever he pleases and for so long as he pleases without sluggishness in reflecting. When he becomes able to direct the mind immediately to the five factors of the *jhāna*, then the habit of reflection is established. In the same way the ability to enter into the state of *jhāna* to remain in it as long as he wishes, to rise from it whenever he wishes, to review or recollect it must be acquired (*Vism.* 153 f.).

He who is conversant with this practice rises from the first *jhāna* after his practice of it has been perfected and realises the weakness inherent therein, thus: "this *jhāna* has the service of *vitakka* and *vicāra* which have a rare enemy in the hindrances. It is not entirely calm, for it still has the waves of attentive sustained thinking. He sees that their absence would result in greater calm." Then giving up his attachment to the first *jhāna* he strives to dispel *vittakka* and *vicāra*. In the course of the practice his mind becomes rid of them, rises in zest, happiness and one-pointedness which constitute the second *jhāna* which is born of concentration, tranquillity and developed exaltation of mind. Although the first *jhāna* is said to be associated with concentration of the mind, it is the second *jhāna* which is really worthy of being associated with concentration because of its being born of concentration and its freedom from disturbing qualities which include *vitakka* and *vicāra*. Without them, *jhāna* becomes firm and well established (*D.* I, 74; *Vism.* 156 f.).

When the second *jhāna* is thus attained he must gain proficiency in and mastery over it, as he did in the case of the first *jhāna* referred to above. And rising from the second *jhāna* he perceives the shortcomings therein. "This *jhāna* has a near enemy in *Vitakka* and *Vicāra*. It is weakened by the emotion of zest (pīti) which is a perturbed condition of mind." Then he repeats his meditation, as he has done before; now the third *jhāna* arises devoid of zest but accompanied by happiness (*sukha*) and concentration (*ekaggatā*). He abides therein with equanimity (*upekhako*) and mindfulness (*satimā*), maintaining a process of mental flux in a well-blanced state. This is the most blissful state of happiness, for it is free from all disturbances. A person who has attained this state of *jhāna* is said to be truly happy by the *'Aryan'* standards. When he has become thoroughly acquainted with this *jhāna*, the *jhāyin* perceives that even this state has its weaknesses; for it has a near enemy in zest and owing to the gross nature of happiness, it is unstable. So he continues to concentrate upon the same theme in order to put away the gross factors and attain perfect calm. Then the fourth *jhāna* arises accompanied by equanimity a neutral state of feeling (*upekkhā*) in regard to his body and mind and by pure mindfulness born of this equanimity. In this fourth *jhāna* there ensues that mental emancipation which is a neutral feeling (*adukkhamasukhā cetovimutti M.* I, 296). In this state the *jhāyin* experiences neither pain nor happiness, physical or mental (*D.* I, 74 f.; *Vism.* 156 f.).

In this process we notice even the elimination of four of the five factors which constitute the first *jhāna*. *Vitakka* and *Vicāra* one got rid of in the second *jhāna*; and *pīti* in the third *jhāna*. *Upekkha* has taken the place of *sukha* in the fourth *jhāna*. Only *ekaggatā* persists which is the common factor.

In the fourth *jhāna*, the consciousness of the *jhāyin* is associated with perfect mindfulness and unmodified equanimity free from all attachment to the world of senses. All the activities of the lower mind are completely arrested and the person in this state is not by any means in a state of hypnotic trance or subconscious state produced by auto-suggestion, or as it were, in a cataleptic condition. On the contrary, he is intensely conscious and mindful of the theme whereon his mind is fixed, free from all mental disturbances, having eliminated every kind of activity, both physical and mental. As is stated in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, the person in the first *jhāna* is free from speech, for the innermost silence is manifested after the five hindrances are gone; in the second *jhāna*, he is free from *Vitakka* and *Vicāra* which are called *Vacīsaṅkhāra*, concomitant with the spoken word. In the third he is free from the emotion of zest and in the fourth, from breathing in and out (*assāsapassāsa*) which is called *kāya-saṃkhāra*, or the vital current of the body (*S.* IV, 217; cf. *M.* I, 201; *S.* IV, 293). Thus, with perfect stillness of body and mind, he lives visualising the condition within himself. (*A.* V, 209).

The four stages of *jhāna* have been rearranged in the Abhidhamma in a scheme in which one more state is given in between the first and the second *jhāna* described above, as given in the suttas. In the Abhidhamma system, *vitakka* and *vicāra* are eliminated in two successive stages, instead of simultaneously. While, according to the sutta tradition, the second *jhāna* is attained by the elimination of *vitakka* and *vicāra*, thus retaining the other three factors, i.e. *pīti*, *sukha* and *ekaggatā*, in the Abhidhamma tradition, the elimination of *vitakka* alone produces the second *jhāna* thus retaining four factors including *vicāra* (*Dhs.* pp. 33 ff.).

Buddhaghosa explains that the Abidhamma system of five *jhāna* stages is an optional teaching, depending on the particular mental disposition of the disciple. To some, when reviewing the first *jhāna vitakka* is the first factor to appear gross while the other four seem subtle? To such a one, the teacher formulated a second *jhāna* with four factors, that is without *vitakka* but with *vicāra*, *piti*, *sukha* and *ekaggatā* (*DhsA.* p. 179). He substantiates his explanation on the authority of the *suttas* themselves. He quotes a *sutta* in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (IV, 310 f.) in which three kinds of *samādhi* are given, namely (1)

samādhi with *vitakka* and *vicāra*, (2) *samādhi* without *vitakka* but with *vicāra* and (3) *samādhi* without either, *vitakka* or *vicāra*. Of these, he says, the second represents the Abidhamma interpretation of five stages of *jhāna* (*DhsA*. 179 f.).

At the fourth stage of the *jhāna*, the jhāyin is again offered a choice. Now, basing himself on this fourth *jhāna*, a *stage* in the *jhānic* process in which the mind of the *yogin* is described as serene, pure, translucent, cultured, devoid of defilements, supple, ready to act, firm and imperturbable, he can apply and direct his mind towards knowledge and vision *(ñāṇadassana)* and attain arahantship by the total destruction of all influxes *(āsava, D.* I, 76). In other words, the residual content of the fourth *jhāna* consciousness which is dominated by sublimated and clarified mindfulness, the result of perfect equanimity, gives rise to inward vision or intuition *(paññā)*. This *jhāna* is therefore specifically called the base-*jhāna* *(pādaka-jhāna*, also called *abbiññāpādaka-catutthaj-jhāna)* in the commentories *(Vism*. 397, 412), for it is in this state that the *jhāyin* is able to direct his mind towards *paññā* culminating in arahatship, on the destruction of all passions.

The *jhāyin* is also free to develop his *jhāna* practice and reach higher and subtler stages in the *jhānic* consciousness. There are four such stages enumerated and explained in the texts, namely, *ākāsānañcāyatana, Viññānañcāyatana, akiñcaññāyatana* and *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* (*D.* I, 183 f; *M.* I, 159-60; III, 45, *S.* II, 210-14; *A.* I, 41). In the suttas, these four stages are not designated *jhāna*; they are termed *āruppa* (q.v.) in the *Visuddhimagga* (ch. xii). The term *jhāna* is however applied to them and is commonly used to describe the eight attainments *(samāpatti)* of the *jhānic* process; the four *jhānas* and the four *āruppas (Vism*. II, 587).

Perhaps, *saññāvedayita-nirodha* or simply *nirodha-samāpatti* (q.v.) represents the highest expression of the *jhānic* experience.

The four *jhānas* belong to what is called the material plane *(rūpāvacara-bhūmi)*, which is to be reached on transcending the sensous plane *(kāmāvacara-bhūmi)*. The yogin preferred *rūpāvacara-bhūmi*, the material plane when he realised that the *kāmāvacara*-sphere has its faults and desired to be free from those faults. His desire to be free from faults has no limit and when he, basing himself on the fourth *jhāna* of the *rūpāvacara*-sphere, sees faults inherant in it, he becomes disgusted with it and wishes to transcend it *(Vism*. I, 327). Thus the *yogin* by passing beyond the consciousness of matter *(rūpasaññā)*, by putting an end to the sense of resistance *(paṭighasaññā)*, by paying no heed to the idea of diversity *(nānattasaññā)*, thinking that space is infinite, reaches up to and remains in the mental state in which the mind is concerned only with consciousness of the infinity of space *(ākāsānañcāyatana)*; the consciousness of matter passes away, and there arises in him the blissful consciousness, subtle yet actual, of his being concerned only with the infinity of space, and he becomes a person conscious of that (*D.* I, 183).

With this attainment the *Yogin* transcends the sphere of matter and enters the immaterial plane *(arūpāvacara-bhūmi)*. This sphere has three more stages to be attained.

Thus, by passing quite beyond the consciousness of space as infinite, thinking: "consciousness is infinite," he attains the mental state of the infinity of consciousness *(viññānañcāyatana)*: then by transcending the consciousness of the infinity of consciousness, and thinking that there is nothing that really is, he attains the more subtle mental state in which the mind is concerned only with the unreality of things *(ākiñcaññāyatana)*. And, finally, finding that even the *akiñcaññāyatana* is not subtle enough, he passes beyond it and attains the state in which there is neither perception nor non-perception *(neva-saññānāsaññāyatana, D.* I, 183 ff; *M.* I, 159 f).

Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana is the highest and subtlest mental state to be attained not only in the immaterial sphere but in the entire mundane *(lokiya)* existence. The *yogin* reaches that state through training *(sikkhā)* by shaking off lower and coarser states of mind and thereby attaining higher and subtler states. These eight attainments *(samāpatti)* of the *jhānic* process do not necessarily lead to *nibbāna* and, therefore, not necessarily exclusively Buddhistic. "Their attainment," says the Buddha, "is not the ultimate goal of the Buddhist life" (*M.* I, 41). To imagine that their attainment is equivalent to the attainment of arahatship is condemned as a heresy (*D.* I, 37 f.). The former teachers of the Bodhisatta, Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, are said to have attained these states, the forer the seventh attainment, i.e., *ākiñcaññāyatana* and the latter, the eighth *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* *(M.* I, 165). Ter the seventh attainment, i.e., *ākiñcaññāyatana* and the latter, the eighth *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* *(M.* I, 165). The Buddha unconditionally adopted them in his system of training as being conducive to *samādhi* which is a necessary condition for the acquisation of *paññā* which results in emancipation *(Vimutti, nibbāna)*, and we find in the texts numerous instances of monks practising them. The Buddha himself, even after his attainment of Enlightenment, practised them whenever he wanted to be aloof from worldly disturbances (*D.* II, 159).

The zenith of the *jhānic* experience, perhaps is what is called cessation of consciousness and sensations *(saññā-vedayita-nirodha, abhisaññānirodha* or simply *nirodha samāpatti)*, a state in which consciousness and sensations become totally extinct. In the eighth *jhānic* attainment,

nevasaññā nāsaññāyatana, there still remains a touch of consciousness; it being not entirely free from thinking. This thinking possesses the potentiality of giving rise to coarse and lower ideas. The text says that from the time the *bhikkhu* is conscious in a way brought about by himself from the time of the first *jhāna,* he goes on from one state to the next and from that to the next, until he reaches the summit of consciousness *(saññagga),* and when he is on the summit, it may occur to him. "To be thinking at all is the inferior state. It would be better if I be without thinking. Were I to go on thinking and fancying these ideas, these states of consciousness I have reached would pass away, but others, coarser ones, might arise. So I will neither think nor fancy any more". And he does not think. And to him, neither thinking nor fancying any more, the ideas, the states of consciousness, pass away; no others, coarser than them, arise. So he touches cessation *(nirodhaṃ phusati),* i.e., he attains the state in which conscious ideas are extinct (*D.* I, 184; *DA.* II, 375).

This is a state that appears very much enigmatic when judged by worldly standards. Mahākoṭṭhita says that the person in the state of *saññāvedayitanirodha,* who has neither empirical consciousness nor feelings would appear to an ordinary observer, as though he were in a state of coma, with his senses act functioning, and in a condition very similar to that of death. Sāriputta explains that in this state, there remain in the body life *(āyu)* and breath *(uśmā)* both of which are absent in death (*M.* I, 296). It is said, a little earlier in the same connection that when life, breath and consciousness *(viññāṇa)* leave the body, it lies rigid and motionless like a log of wood (ibid. loc. cit.). It is clear from this that the mind and body of the person do not function while in the state of *nirodha-samāpatti* but his sense organs are intact (not *vipari-bhinna)* and clear *(vippasanna).*

This ninth attainment, it should be stressed, is purely Buddhistic; and Poṭṭhapāda to whom the Buddha was explaining that *abhisaññānirodha* could be attained only by those *anāgāmins* and arahants who are established in the *jhāna.* Even these Arahants who are described as *sukkhavipassakā* or *vipassanāyānikā* because they have followed the path of vision, and not that of *jhāna* cannot attain this state (*Vism.* II, 702).

The most formidable barrier that has to be shattered in order to enter the *jhānic* process is the consciousness of sensuality *(kāmasaññā)* just like the view of a self within *(sakkāyadiṭṭhi)* is the initial barrier to be shattered before entry into the Āryan path to *nibbāna.* In the former case, the barrier is an emotional one whereas in the latter it is intellectual. The person who embarks upon the *jhānic* process by shattering the emotional barrier has still to shatter the intellectual barrier if he were to enter the stream that carries him to *nibbāna.*

The removal of those barriers brings about in the person concerned a complete change in his attitudes. It is a qualitative change which enables the person to view the whole world, himself included, in a way entirely different from the way he is used to view it till then. In the case of the person in the *jhānic* process, consciousness of sensuality does not disturb him any more, and in the other case, the person becomes free of the belief in a personality; and, once the process or the stream is entered into, the higher stages to be attained therein is a matter of course; for, if the person is sincere as regards the purpose and the goal, he is certain to attain those higher stages in the process, in course of time. If the person confines himself to the *jhānic* practices, there is the posibility of his attaining the eighth stage, the stage of neither perception nor non perception. And if he is capable of combining the two courses, he attains *nibbāna,* in addition to the eighth stage in the *jhānic* process. Such a person is called an *arahant* who has adopted *samādhi* as his vehicle *(samathayānika).* And he is able to attain the ninth stage in the *jhānic* process, i.e., *saññāvedayitanirodha.*

The Sanskrit equivalent of the Pali term *jhāna* is *dhyāna* which, in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, is employed in almost the same sense as in the Pali texts. According to the *Śatasāhaśrikā-prajñāpāramitā, dhyāna* is primarily and principally the means by which serenity and tranquillity of the mind *(samatha)* is attained (*Ssp.* p. 276). The opposite of *dhyāna* is *vikṣepa,* distraction of the mind or *manahkṣobha,* agitation of the mind *(Ssp.* p. 95, *Jātakamālā,* ed. H. Kern, Boston, 1891, p. 112).

In the Mahāyāna schools, *dhyāna* forms one of the *pāramīs* (q.v.), i.e., chief factors in a bodhisattva's discipline (see *Dhyāna-pāramitā).*

Dhyāna includes, as in the Pali tradition, nine mental states that follow one another in regular succession. They are, therefore, called *anupūrvavihāra* (Pali *anupubba-vihāra)* which like in the Pali texts, consist of four *dhyānas* of the material sphere, four *samāpattis* of the immaterial sphere, the attainment called the cessation of consciousness and sensations *(saṃjñāvedayita-nirodha; Ssp.* pp. 1143–45; *Daśabhūmika Sūtra,* ed. by Rahder pp. 33–34).

Although *jhāna* does not constitute, in the Pali tradition, an indespensable step in the way to *nibbāna,* (while cultivation of the mind or *adhicitta sikkhā* or *samādhi* does) it has acquired importance in the Mahāyana as an essential quality in the career of a bodhisattva. Furthermore, it has become a very important doctrine in the development of Buddhist theory and practice in China and Japan where a special school has developed (Chān in China and Zen in Japan) in which

Dhyāna constitutes the means of enlightenment. See ZEN.

Upali Karunaratne

JĪVAKA, the distinguished royal physician of King Bimbisāra of Magadha who was also one of the most devoted patrons of the Buddha. From his early infancy he was adopted by a royal prince named Abhaya and hence young Jīvaka came to be called Jīvaka Komārabhacca (*Vin.* I. *D.* I. p. 47).

As a young man Jīvaka went on his own to Takkasilā, a place famous for learning, and studied the science of medicine under a famous teacher *(disāpāmokkhācariya)* for seven years. Having nothing more to learn he returned to Rājagaha and was in due course appointed the royal physician of king Bimbisāra. Among those who received treatment from him were the Buddha, kings Bimbisāra and Candapajjota, the disciples of the Buddha the ladies of the court of king Bimbisāra, wealthy merchants and members of their families.

The *Vinaya Piṭaka (Vin.* I, 268 ff.) contains a fairly comprehensive account of the different methods of treatment adopted by Jīvaka in treating his patients. The details are interesting, for they reveal the advanced state of medical practice in India at that time and also the skill of Jīvaka both as a physician and a surgeon. We are told that in Sāketa a merchant's wife had a disease of the head for seven years which no physician could cure. Jīvaka made her lie down on her back and gave her some medicine mixed with ghee to be administered through the nose. The ghee came out through the mouth and with that the disease was cured. A merchant of Rājagaha too had a disease of the head for seven years and could not be cured by any physician. Some of the physicians who treated him thought that he would die in a few days.

Jīvaka being invited to treat him observed the uneasiness of the patient and determining the nature of his ailment, made him lie down on a couch and having strapped him to the couch, cut open the skin of his head; having opened the skin in the skull he drew out two living creatures *(pāṇaka)* one small and the other large. After this operation the merchant was made to lie down for three weeks after which he was perfectly cured. The son of a merchant of Benares suffered from a twist in the bowels resulting in indigestion, and consequently he became very lean. Jīvaka, diagnosing his ailment from his uneasiness cloistered him with a curtain, tied him to a post, cut open the skin of his stomach, drew out the twisted bowel and straightened it, put it back again and having sewn up the skin of the stomach applied an ointment and thus cured him.

When king Bimbisāra was suffering from a fistula and his outer garments were stained with blood, Jīvaka, still in his youth was summoned to treat him. The physician removed the king's fistula with just one ointment. It was as a reward for this treatment that Jīvaka was appointed by the king as his physician and as the physician of the ladies of his court as well as of the Buddha and the monks. Subsequently, when king Pajjota of Ujjeni was suffering from jaundice a request was made to King Bimbisāra to send Jīvaka to attend on him. The king was averse to ghee but his disease was such that it could not be cured without ghee. The physician secretly cooked up the ghee with various medicines so that it had the colour, smell and taste of an astringent decoction and gave it to the king. The latter on discovering that he had been given ghee was furious with the physician but subsequently calmed down when the medicine cured him. In appreciation of this he presented the physician with a pair of very valuable *siveyyaka* cloths which be subsequently presented to the Buddha.

The treatment given to the Buddha was for a disturbance of the humours of his body. Jīvaka had the Buddha bathed for a few days and then desiring to give him a mild purgative mixed three handfuls of lotuses with various medicines and gave them to the Buddha to sniff saying that each handful would purge the Buddha ten times. Further, the physician advised the Buddha that untill his body came back to normal the Buddha should take only juices. On another occasion, as stated in the *Aṅguttara* commentary (*AA.* II. 6), Jīvaka performed an operation on the Buddha's foot to remove a blood-clot formed through and injury caused by a splinter from the stone rolled down by Devadatta at him (cp. *J.* IV. 430; V. 333).

The above account of the different methods of treatment adopted by Jīvaka clearly indicates his professional skill both as a surgeon and as a physician. Taking into account the reports given in the *Vinaya* texts he appears to have performed operations which could even be viewed as complicated brain-surgery. The fact that the Buddha and two kings were regularly treated by him indicates the high esteem in which he was held. One of the merchants treated by him offered his entire wealth to Jīvaka and chose to become his slave when he was cured. Jīvaka declined this offer and requested the merchant to give a hundred thousand (pieces of gold) to King Bimbisāra and another hundred thousand to himself. Other merchants who obtained the services of the physician too showered gifts on him very lavishly. Jīvaka is represented in the Buddhist texts as a very faithful and pious lay devotee of the Buddha. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* III. 451) describes him as one of those with unwavering faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Order, *āryan* virtue, *āryan* knowledge and *āryan* release

and has seen the Deathless *(amataddaso)*. On another occasion the Buddha declared him as the most popular of his lay disciples (*A.* I, 26; cp. *AA.* I. 398). The *Jīvaka Sutta (A.* IV. 222 f.) was preached to him by the Buddha in reply to certain questions put to him by the physician. These questions indicate the nature of matters in which the physician was interested – how does one become a lay disciple, how is a lay-disciple virtuous, how does a lay disciple help in his own welfare and in that of another. The commentary on this *sutta* states the circumstances in which Jīvaka constructed a monastery in his mango grove for the Buddha and his disciples. After treating the Buddha and presenting him with the pair of the *siveyyaka* cloths, which he received from King Pajjota, the physician attained the *sotāpattiphala* at the conclusion of the thanks-giving by the Buddha and thought to himself: "it is necessary that I should come twice a day to attend on the Buddha, and to do that Veluvana is too far. My mango grove is quite near and I should construct there a monastery for the Buddha." Thus he constructed a fully equipped monastery in his mango grove (cp. *DA.* I. 133). There were occasions when Jīvaka invited as many as five hundred monks headed by the Buddha for alms at his house *(DhpA.* I. 244, 247; *AA.* I. 215; *J.* I. 116 f.). In another discourse also titled *Jīvaka Sutta (M.* I. 368 ff.), preached to Jīvaka in his mango grove, the Buddha declared that meat may be used by monks if the slaughter of the animal is not seen, heard or suspected to have been done on purpose for a monk.

Other incidents connected with the life of Jīvaka show that he was greatly interested in the welfare of the *Sāsana*. He was instrumental in getting the Buddha to lay down several *Vinaya* rules for the welfare of the *Sāsana*. The Buddha accepted the *siveyyaka* presented by Jīvaka and ordained that henceforth monks could accept householders' gifts for robe material. Until then the monks had been permitted only rag-robes *(paṃsukūla-cīvara)*. On another occasion seeing monks very ill after partaking of sumptuous food, Jīvaka saw the need of a place for the monks for walking up and down *(caṅkama)* and a fire-place *(aggisālā)* for their use and requested the Buddha to allow them to the monks, so that the monks would be less prone to illness (*Vin.* II, 119). Jīvaka was instrumental in getting the Buddha to lay down another *Vinaya* rule, viz. to prohibit the monks from ordaining persons afflicted with any one of the following five diseases: leprosy, boils, eczema, consumption and epilepsy.

After King Bimbisāra's death his son and successor King Ajātasattu appointed Jīvaka as his chief minister who was instrumental in introducing Ajātasattu to the Buddha (*D.* I. p. 49).

H. R. Perera

JĪVAKAMBAVANA, a mango grove in Rājagaha belonging to Jīvaka (q.v.), the celebrated physician who was a contemporary of the Buddha. Jīvaka was much pleased in the teachings of the Buddha and became his follower and before long realised the first stage of the Path, namely the stage of stream-entry *(sotāpatti)*. He was very keen to meet the Buddha often, but was unable to do so due to the long distance he had to travel to Veluvana to meet the Buddha. So he decided to build a monastery for the Buddha in his own mango-grove *(ambavana)* in Rajagha. The monastery was completed in a short time and was ceremonially offered to the Buddha and the congregation of bhikkhus (*DA.* I, 133). The Buddha on his visits to Rajagaha stayed in this monastery with the bikkhūs and on such occasions Jīvaka waited upon the Buddha and the community of monks with devotion and respect. Once when the Buddha was staying in this monastery King Ajātasattu paid him a visit with his royal retinue and the *Sāmaññaphala sutta* (q.v.) was preached to the King by the Buddha (*D.* I, 47 ff.). On another occasion Jīvaka in conversation with the Buddha at Jīvakambavana asked the latter whether it was true that animals were being slaughtered specifically for the meals of the Buddha. In reply the Buddha peached the *Jīvaka Sutta* (*M.* I. p. 368 f.) to him wherein the Buddha explained that he had forbidden the eating of meat if a bhikkhu sees, hears or suspects that an animal has been slaughtered expressly for is meal. Further, the Buddha told Jīvaka that it is a great sin if one slays an animal to prepare a meal for the Buddha and the congregation of bhikkhūs. Jīvaka was very much pleased with this explanation.

When Devadatta hurled a massive rock to kill the Buddha, a splinter from the rock injured the foot of the Buddha and the Buddha was taken to Jīvakambavana for treatment by Jīvaka (*DhpA.* II, 164). Cūlapanthaka thera attained arahantship under the guidance of the Buddha at this monastery (*J.* I. 114 f.). Over five hundred bhikkhūs lived in this monastery occasionally and bhikkhunīs (therīs), too, went to this mango-grove for their noon-day siesta (*ThigA.* 245 f.).

D. Saddhasena

JĪVITA, literally 'that which has come to live', a derivation from *jīvati* to live. What is living is nothing but life which, according to Buddhism, is a process *(santati: S.* III, 143) in which both physical and psychological phenomena *(dhamma)* play their part. As these phenomena are conditioned and interdependent *(paṭicca-samuppanna* or *paccayuppanna)*, life itself is always subject to change, like an ever flowing stream. No two moments of this process, (i.e., life) are identical; the nature of the following

moment being always conditioned by the moment which immediately precedes it. So life is momentary; it is always in a state of flux. Nothing about it is permanent. It is *anicca, dukkha* and *anatta*.

The above-description of life applies equally well to what is called becoming *(bhava)*; and, therefore, it is imperative that a distinction between *jīvita* and *bhava* should be maintained. The term *bhava* is sometimes used synonymously with *jīvita* (e.g., *marananti ekabhava-pariyāpannassa jivitindriyassa upacchedo:* death is the interruption of the faculty of life confined to one state of existence - *Vism.* 189) and also *punabbhava*, (re-birth), there being no qualitative difference between the two; the difference is only quantitative. A *jīvita* may be described as one of the innumerable units *(ekabhava)* that constitute *bhava* (becoming). It begins with the conception of an individual and ends with his death. The begining of *bhava*, which is synonymous with *saṃsāra*, is unknown (*S.* II, 178); it continues through innumerable lives and ends only in Nibbana. Thus death is the end of life whereas *nibbāna* is the end of becoming *(bhava)*.

As stated above, life begins with conception. For conception to take place *(gabbhassa avakkanti)*, according to the *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya sutta*, there should be the conjuction of three factors: there should be the coitus of parents, the mother should be seasonally well disposed and *gandhabba* (q.v.) must be present (*M.* I, 265). The same fact is stated in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* in a different way where it is said that conception takes place on account of six elements *(dhātu)*, namely, the element of earth *(paṭhavī-dhātu)*, of water *(āpo-dhātu)*, of heat *(tejo-dhātu)*, of wind *(vāyo-dhātu)*, of space *(ākāsa-dhātu)* and of consciousness *(viññāṇa-dhātu: A.* I, 176).

The first two factors of the *Majjhima*, which are biological, namely, coitus of parents and the mother being seasonally disposed, as well as the first five elements of the *Aṅguttara* which are ontological, represent the material qualities present at conception. *Gandhabba* in the *Majjhima* and *viññāna* in the *Aṅguttara*, which refer to one and the same phenomena represent the psychological aspect of conception. Thus, life originates on account of both physical and psychological phenomena.

Not only does life originate on account of both physical and psycholgical factors but also it persists on account of them. The same six elements given in the *Aṅguttara* (I, 176) as the originating causes of life are given in the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta* as the components of life; it is said there that man is constituted of six elements: earth, water, heat, wind, space and consciousness (*M.* III, 239). According to the *Mahāvedalla Sutta* life consists of three factors, namely, vitality *(āyu)*, heat *(uśmā)* and consciousness *(viññāṇa)*; when these three factors leave the body it lies rigid and motionless like a log of wood (*M.* I, 295 ff.; *S.* III, 143; *Dhp. v.* 41). Vitality and heat in this context represent matter.

Āyu is described as the faculty of life *(jīvitindriya)*, i.e. vital force, vitality; and *uśmā* is described as the element of heat born of *kamma (kammaja-tejo-dhātu, MA.* II, 349 ff.; *SA.* II, 323). And, now, what is *viññāṇa?*

Viññāṇa in this context is not empirical consciousness, for empirical consciousness is absent from a person who is in deep sleep or in a state of *jhāna* (absorption) called the cessation of consciousness and sensations *(saññā-vedayita nirodha: M.* I, 296; *Miln.* 300). The absence of the empirical consciousness is not death.

Viññāṇa as an essential constituent of life is identical with the third link in the formula of dependent origination *(paṭicca-samuppāda)*, it arises depending on karmic formations *(saṅkhāra)*, and it conditions the arising of the psycho-physical entity *(nāma-rūpa: saṅkhārapaccayā viññāṇaṃ, viññāṇapaccayā nāmarūpaṃ)*. It again is identical with the *samvattanika viññāṇa* of the *Āneñja sappāya Sutta* according to which it continues up to the state of *jhāna* (absorption) called neither-perception-nor-non-perception *(nevasaññānāsaññāyatana: M.* II, 264).

This *viññāṇa* which is thus described from different angles in the suttas is summed up in the Abhidhamma under the name of *bhavaṅga* (q.v.) and is described as *sine qua non* of existence *(bhavassaṅga)*. And it is this *Viññāṇa* that maintains identity and continuity as well as moral responsibility of life which is of momentary existence. It is also the factor that accounts for memory.

Upali Karunaratne

JĪVITA-NAVAKA-KALĀPA, the group of material (physical) phenomena which has *Jīvitendriya* (faculty of life, vitality) as its ninth factor. This group is formed by adding *Jīvitendriya* to the group of eight physical phenomena called the *suddhaṭṭhakakalāpa* (pure eight-fold unit). The factors constituting the 'pure eight-fold unit' are: solidity *(paṭhavi)*, liquidity *(āpo)*, heat *(tejo)*, motion *(vāyo)*, colour *(vaṇṇa)*, *smell (gandha)*, taste *(rasa)* and nutriment *(oja)*, See RŪPAKALĀPĀ, RŪPA and MATTER.

D. Saddhasena

JÑĀNA (Pali: *ñaṇa)*[1] knowledge, specially in the sense of knowledge leading to enlightenment and emancipation or in other words the saving knowledge or gnosis. In this sense knowledge has been generally classified as (1) conventional *(saṃvṛti* or *sammuti)* and (2) absolute *(paramārtha: paramattha).* This is the most fundamental of the various divisions into which knowledge has been classified in Buddhism. The conventional knowledge is the knowledge that deals with the ordinary activities of life but not leading to insight and release from suffering. In describing this knowledge the *Kathāvatthu* (p. 331) says that the knowledge pertaining to medical requisites on the part of a donor of them falls into the category of conventional knowledge. But as this knowledge is not conducive to the comprehension of the Four Noble Truths it is called conventional *(sammuti).* In another classification of knowledge found in an older part of the Canon (*D.* III, 226) four kinds of knowledge are referred to as the direct knowledge of the *dhamma (Dhamme ñāṇaṃ),* the inductive knowledge *(anvaye ñāṇaṃ),* knowledge of the others' minds *(paricchede ñāṇaṃ)* and conventional knowledge *(sammuti-ñāṇaṃ).* All knowledge except that of the first three kinds is conventional truth *(Vibh.* 330). This two fold classification of knowledge is generally accepted throughout the Indian religious tradition from the Upanisads onwards *(AA.* I, 94 and *Mādhyamika-kārikā,* Chap. XXIV, *v.* 8).

It may be observed here than although a division of this type is maintained in explaining the *dhamma,* knowledge, like everything else, cannot be classified in any absolute sense. The ambivalent attitude seen in the Buddhist as well as in other Indian systems in general, is based on the concept of illusion *(māyā)* or ignorance *(avidyā)* which obstruct true insight as if with a veil *(chāda).* Buddhist epistemology demands that the difference between the relative and the absolute aspects of knowledge are realized and eliminated so that the ambivalence of the mind would cease to operate. That kind of realisation, from the epistemological point of view, could be described as the realisation of the absolute, but in the sense that once that condition is realised the individual does not see any difference between the relative and the absolute aspects of knowledge. Non-attachment to views *(dṛṣṭi)* is also an important characteristic of mind that has achieved true *jñāna* for, as no view is absolutely correct or absolutely wrong. Such a mind will not fix itself to any view. The Tathāgatas always avoid such extreme views and follow the middle course that leads to knowledge, insight and *nibbāna (Cakkhukaraṇī ñāṇakaraṇī..... nibbānāya saṃvattati: M.* I. 15).[2] And it was this idea that has been fully developed into a system of abstruse dialectics in *Prajñāpāramitā* literature and in the works of Nāgārjuna. As D.T. Suzuki observes *(Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* p. 403) *Jñāna* is a very flexible term, as it means sometimes ordinary worldly knowledge, knowledge of relativity, which does not penetrate into the truth of existence, and also sometimes transcendental knowledge in which case it is synonymous with *prajñā* or *āryajñāna".*

Knowledge and insight *(jñānadarśana)* that make one realise the absense of a 'difference between relative and absolute aspects of knowledge also mean the realisation that there is no difference between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāna,* as often emphasised in the Mahāyāna works.[3] The saving knowledge is not something outside life but the realisation of the true nature of life *(yathābhūta)* in this very life *(diṭṭheva dhamme).* It is not the annihilation of life but its perfection as beautifully conceived in the concept of *Prajñā-pāramitā* of the Mahāyāna. Hence the realisation of Nirvāṇa, the saving knowledge, is a change of attitude resulting in the realisation of the true nature of things *(yathābhūtañāṇadassana),* the condition in which all differentiations and divisions are obviated. It is an experience which cannot be grasped purely by logical analysis *(atakkāvacara)* and the person who has realised this state completely can be described as having full knowledge and insight, an embodiment of insight, of knowledge, of *dhamma* and of sublimity *(bhagavā jānaṃ jānāti passaṃ passati cakkhubhūto ñāṇabhūto, dhammabhūto brahmabhūto... M.* I, III; *A.* V, 226). This kind of

1. The word *jñāna* is used to mean knowledge in general but its classifications are many and varied. What is attempted in the present essay is to present a brief explanation of the Buddhist concept of *jñāna* as leading to enlightenment *(bodhi)* and release *(vimukti).*
2. Knowledge in the sense of saving knowledge *(vimukti-jñāna)* is often compared to light as opposed to the darkness of ignorance *(avidyā).* The Buddha, in his first discourse after enlightenment uses the form *āloka* meaning light in apposition to *ñāṇa* (*S.* II, 105; *Vin.* I, 5). *Tamonuda* meaning 'dispeller of darkness' is an epithet of the Buddha.
3. For instance Nāgārjuna says in his *Mādhyamika Sastra* (Ch. XXV, v. 19):

   "There is no difference at all
   Between Nirvāṇa and Saṃsāra;
   There is no difference at all
   Between Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa,

   – Stcherbatsky's translation

person representing the ideal Buddhist saint knows what he sees and sees what he knows and to him there are no mysteries and hence he is aptly called the embodiment of sight and knowledge *(cakkhubhūta: ñāṇabhūta)*. For him there is no difference betwen the eye of truth *(ñāṇancakkhu)* and the eye of flesh *(māṃsacakkhu)*.[4] Ignorance *(avidyā)* is overcome and true knowledge obtained.

The following observations about *jñāna* found in the general introduction to the *GOS*. edition (No. XC) of the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* may be quoted here: "*jñāna*, the highest human and superhuman faculty by which one discovers the ultimate truth and becomes one with it, is an experience transcending all that in normal knowledge is bound to the logical frame and is capable of being transmitted to others". It is further observed, "More properly *jñāna* is the supreme abstract knowledge, a transcendent consciousness which does not cling any more to concrete objects and is not at all affected by the normal characteristics of human consciousness. *Prajñā* is a mystic element usually opposite to *upāya* and related to it as the idea is to its actuation or potentiality of the act. *Prajñā* has always a definite object; while *jñāna* is rather a faculty. For those who are acquainted with early Christian heresies *jñāna* may be translated as *gnosis* and *prajñā* as *sophia*. "(ibid. p. 33).

The *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (Ssp.* p. 1440) classifies *jñāna* into eleven aspects as the knowledge of sorrow *(dukkhajñāna)*, of the cause of sorrow *(samudaya-)*, of its cessation *(nirodha-)*, of the path leading to its cessation *(mārga-)*, of the cessation of lust, hatred and delusion *(kṣaya-)*, of non-origination *(anutpāda-)* of the true nature of the aggregates *(dharma-)*, of the fact that everything (i.e., sense organs and faculties, the elements, birth, death etc.) is subject to change *(anvaya-)* of the minds of others *(saṃvṛtti)*, of the opposites *(paricaya-)* and of the phenomena as they really are *(yathābhūta* or *yathākata)*.[5] This classification embraces not only the Four Noble Truths around which the Buddhist theory of *jñāna* revolves but other kinds of *jñāna* as well.

A classification of *jñāna* that has assumed significance in the Mahāyāna tradition is its division into five as recorded in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (sections, 109; 110–114) and the *Dharmasaṅgraha* (sections 94; 114). With regard to these five kinds of knowledge B.H. Hodgson records *(Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 27) that the Ādibuddha carries the epithet *pañcajñānātmika* (possessed of five kinds of knowledge) because he possesses them. These are: knowledge of the universal law *(dharma-dhātu-jñāna)*, mirror-like knowledge *(ādarśa-jñāna)*, investigating or critical knowledge *(pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna)*, knowledge of equality or lack of duality *(samatā-jñāna* incorrectly given by Hodgson as *Śānta-jñāna*), and the knowledge that enables one to carry out one's duties well *(kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna)*. It is by virtue of these five *jñānas* that the Ādibuddha, by five successive acts, brought forth the five *dhyānī-buddhas*. These five kinds of knowledge are generally regarded as attributes of a Tathāgata and are identified with five *dhyānī-buddhas* Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi respectively.

It may be remarked in conclusion that whether Mahāyana, or Hīnāyana, the epistemological theme that runs through the teaching is the same. The fact that release and enlightenment are based on *jñāna* is fully admitted in both systems and in addition to *prajñā*, *jñāna* is regarded as a *pāramitā* as well. The most significant feature as a whole is the pragmatic nature of this theory. It is to be practised and experienced so that knowledge would not become a burden as explained by the simile of the raft in the *Alagaddūpama Sutta (M.* I, 130 ff.), where one is advised to use knowledge as one would use a raft to cross over a stream.[6] Knowledge is practice and practice is knowledge.

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

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4. Herein lies the significance of the Pali phrase *ñāṇadassana* meaning knowledge and insight or *jānāti passati* meaning knows and sees. For a discussion of this point on the basis of the Pali *Piṭakas* see K. N. Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, Allen and Unwin, 1963, Chapter IX.
5. The explanations given here are those given in the subsequent pages of the text. Other explanations are, however, possible for some terms at least. eg. *Saṃvṛtti* or *Saṃvṛti* could be explained as conventional knowledge and *paricaya* as knowledge gained from experience. See also *Dharmasaṅgraha* section 93 and *Mahāvyutpatti* sections 1233–43. B. H. Hodgson also gives this list with slight variations as the attributes of the Ādibuddha (op. cit. p. 92). A tenfold division of *jñāna* as found in the *Sarvāstivāda abhidharma* work *Prakaraṇapāda* of Vasumitra, given by B. C. Law in his *History of Pali Literature*, I, p. 340. See also *JPTS*, 1904–5, p. 90.
6. The concept of the unexplained questions *(avyākṛta)* too admits the fact that certain kinds of theoretical knowledge are obstacles to the realisation of *jñāna*.

JÑĀNAKĀYA or body of knowledge is the fifth in the fivefold classification of the body of the Adibuddha (Tathāgata) as recorded by B.H. Hodgson *(Essays on the Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, Trubner and Co., London, 1874, p. 92). The preceding four are the *Dharmakāya, sambhogakāya, nirmānakāya* and the *mahāsukhakāya*. This shows that *jñānakāya* means the metaphorical representation of the Tathāgata's unbounded knowledge conceived on the same analogy as in the case of the other four concepts of which *dharmakāya* has been developed as one of the most significant ideas in later Mahāyana.

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA, the main abhidharma work of the *Sarvāstivāda* school of Buddhism written by Kātyāyanīputra of Kashmir, about 300 years after the demise of the Buddha, during the reign of King Maniska. Along with its six *pādas* or the subsidiary texts[1] the work is lost in its Sanskrit original and is preserved in Chinese into which language it was translated in 383 A.C. under the name *Abhidharmaṣtagrantha* or as it is more generally known as the *Aṣtagrantha (Nanjio,* 1273) by a Kashmirian monk called Gautama Saṅghadeva. Another translation was made later in 657-660 A.C. by Hsuang-tsang and it is this translation that is designated as *Jñānaprasthāna (Nanjio,* 1275) under which name the work is generally known. The *Jñānaprasthāna* is, however, much shorter than the *Aṣtagrantha.* Both the versions contain eight sections with slight differences in some of the titles of chapters.

The first section contains eight chapters dealing with transcendental knowledge *(lokottara-dharma),* knowledge in general *(jñāna),* individuality *(pudgala),* love and faith, lack of moral shame and moral fear *(ahirikāno ttappa),* material aggregates *(rūpa),* self mortification *(anartha)* and mental functions *(cetanā).*

The second section contains four chapters dealing with roots of evil *(akusalamūla),* the once-returning saint *(sakṛdāgāmin),* beings *(sattva)* and the ten fetters *(saṃyojana).*

The third section contains five chapters dealing with the adept and the non-adept *(śaikṣya* and *aśaikṣya),* views *(dṛṣti),* thought-reading *(paracittajñāna),* cultivation of knowledge in its tenfold nature and the realisation of knowledge by the *ārya-pudgala* or the saint.

The fourth section contains five chapters dealing with wicked actions, erroneous speech, injuring beings, intimation and non-intimation *(vijñapti* and *avijñapti)* and evil actions bearing evil consequences.

The fifth section contains four chapters dealing with organs of sense, composition of elements *(bhūta),* external objects and internal objects. It is an elucidation of the aggregate of matter *(rūpaskandha).*

The sixth section contains seven chapters dealing with organs of sense, forms of becoming *(bhava),* primal mind *(mūla-citta),* consciousness, causality, planes of existence and various forms of touch.

The seventh section contains five chapters dealing with conditions of the past, causality, liberation *(vimukti),* the non-returning saint *(anāgāmin)* and the once-returning saint *(sakṛdāgāmin).*

The eighth section contains six chapters dealing with the application of mindfulness *(smrti-upasthāna),* desire *(kāma),* perception *(samjñā),* knowledge *(jñāna),* views *(dṛṣti)* and verses *(gāthā).*

The above tabulation shows that the metaphysical views of the Sarvātivādins, who, like the Theravādins, were a conservative school of the Hīnayāna, were somewhat different from those of the Theravādins. Almost all the fundamental doctrines of the Pali *piṭakas* are dealt with in this work and the following words of Professor Takakusu may be quoted in conclusion "Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna is, be it stated again, the fundamental and all-important work of the *Sarvāstivāda* school and it seems to have occupied a prominent position in its liteature, for it is to this, as we have seen above, that the six so-called 'feet' *(pāda)* stand in the relation of supplements and it is on this again that the great commentary, *Mahāvibhāsa* has been drawn up".

Bibliography:

B.C. Law, *A History of Pali Literature.* I, pp. 336 ff. N. Dutt, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools,* Luzac and Co., 1925, pp. 288 ff. A.C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature,* pp. 54 ff. Professor Takakusu in *JPTS.* 1904-5, pp. 67 ff.

Upali Karunaratne

JODOSHU, the Pure Land sect, which is also sometimes referred to as Amidism, Amida Pietism, is a Buddhist sect that is extremely popular in Japan. Its central teaching is

1. These six pādas are *Sangītiparyāya, Prakaranapāda, Vijñanakāya, Dhātukāya, Dharmskanda* and *Prajnantiśāstra.* Unlike in the case of the seven Abhidharma works of the Theravādins these works are attributed to individual authors.
JPTS. 1904, p. 84.

that the repetition of the *Nembutsu*[1] secures rebirth in Jodo,[2] the western Paradise of Amida[3] Buddha.

In Japan Honen (q.v.) is regarded as the founder of the Jodo sect. Yet it is obvious that its roots lie elsewhere, for Honen himself was led to believe in the efficacy of the *nembutsu* through the influence of Genshin's famous work the *Ojoyoshu,* which itself is based on a commentary on the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* by Zendo (Chinese Shan-tao, 613–682 A.C.), the third patriarch of the Amidist sect in China. Though Honen through the influence of zendo's work, considered *Amitāyurdhyāna sūtra*[4] as the primary source of his teaching, there are two other Sanskrit works which are of equal importance with regard to Jodo and its development. These are the two *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra,*[5] the larger and the smaller. This makes it apparent that the earliest traces of the origin of the worship of Amitābha could be safely traced back to India.[6] Though there is no concensus of opinion regarding the exact dates of the three Sanskrit texts i.e. the basic authorities of the Jodo sect referred to above, their Chinese versions[7] establish the great antiquity of the original texts.

The fact that the Chinese version of the *Sukhāvatī vyūha Sūtra* appeared by about 186 A.C. the latest, proves that its Sanskrit original is anterior to it at least by a few decades. From this it is possible to surmise that the cult of Amida worship arose somewhere around the beginning of the Christian era or perhaps even a little earlier in the pre-Christian era.

Once the Amida worship and the texts around which the belief is built were transmitted to China, the new converts to Buddhism appear to have accepted it willingly. The appearance of a number of versions of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and the subsequent rendering of the other two texts suggest the rapid spread of the belief. By about the 4th century A.C. it developed almost into an independant cult of which Hui Yuan (234–416 A.C.) is generally regarded as the founder. T'anluan (=Jap. Donran, 476–542 A.C.) is another note-worthy teacher who wrote many treatises on Amida worship. He greatly stressed the importance of self-surrender to Amida's saving grace. According to him, invoking Amida's name with faith is the way to salvation through the 'easy practice'. Tao-cho (Jap. Doshaku, 562–645) developed his teaching on the premise that this is the 'decadent age' and that an "easy way" to salvation is necessary in such an age. In fact, it is he who first distinguished between the Holy Path (Shodo) and the Pure Land Path (Jodo). This division roughly corresponds to salvation through practice i.e. through one's effort and salvation through faith i.e. through the grace of an external power. he firmly believed that the latter path is the only one suited for the "decadent age". Shan-tao (Jap. Zando, 613–682) further developed Taocho's ideas and pointed out the possibility of even an ordinary person's securing rebirth in the Western Paradise of Amida by invoking his name. He did not consider such other practices as meditation necessary for the attainment of salvation. Besides these, Hui-kan or Ekan and Shao-K'ang or Shoko, too propagated the Amida cult.

The popularity of the Amida cult seems to have given rise to another tendency, namely, a tendency on the part of the other established sects to accomodate certain features of Amidaworship. Thus, Chih-i (538–597) of the T'ien-tai (Jap. Tendai), Hui-yuan (523–592) and Ch-ts'ang (549–623) of the San-lun sect (Jap. Sanran) showed deep interest in the Amida cult. They, on the one hand, attempted to maintain that the teachings of their sects were superior to those found in the Amida cult and on the other, sought to adapt Amidism to suit their own teachings. Thus, Amidism became a secondary aspect of all established religious sects.

The belief regarding Amida and his Western Paradise appears to have been known in Japan at least from the latter half of the 7th centry. Tradition, however, records that a public recitation of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* was

1. This is the name of the formula *Namo Amida Butsu* which is the Japanese equivalent of the Sanskrit *Namo Amitābhāya Buddhāya* meaning, Adoration to the Buddha Amitābha.
2. Jodo is the Japanese rendering of the Chinese term Chingt'u, which is the name given by the Chinese to Amida's paradise. In Sanskrit it is known as Sukhāvati.
3. The Buddha Amitābha is known in Japan as Amida, and for the sake of consistency the latter form is used throughout this article.
4. The Sanskrit original of this is presumably lost. An English translation of its Chinese version is found in the *SBE.* Vol. XLIX. p. 161 ff.
5. English translations of these two *sutras* are also found in the *SBE* XLIX. For the Sanskrit originals see *BST.* No. 17.
6. Though Eliot *(Japanese Buddhism,* London 2nd impression 1959 p. 360) see the possibility of tracing its origin to Iran, there is not enough proof to establish his hypothesis.
7. The first Chinese translation of *Sukhāvatīvyūha-Sūtra* is said to be by Lokaraksa (147–186 A.C.). Subsequently there appeared two more translations one between 223–253 A.C. and another by Sanghavarman in 252 A.C. In 400 A.C. Kumarajiva is said to have rendered into Chinese the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* while Kalayasa is said to have translated the *Amitayūrdhyāna sūtra* somewhere about 424 A.C. Besides, the Chinese tradition credits An-Shih-kao (147–170 A.C.) with having preached about Amida-worship and also translating *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* in about 148 A.C. Whatever the truth of this tradition is, it suggests that the Chinese considered that the Amida-worship was introduced at a very early date.

held in the Imperial Court in 640 A.C. It was by about the 8th century that Chiko (709–780) wrote the *Muroyoju–kyoronshaku* [8] explaining the teaching associated with the Amida cult. It appears, however, that it was mainly with the spread of Tendai that the spread of Pure Land teaching too, became accelerated. As it was in China, in Japan, too, Amidism formed an integral part of many other sects. Thus, Dengyo Daishi (762–822) the founder of Tendai in Japan, adopted the practice of chanting the *nembutsu* as an aid to meditation. His disciple Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, 794–864), who seems to have studied both the Shan-toe and Fa-chao teachings on *nembutsu* made a significant contribution to the spread of this practice of chanting the *nembutsu*. He got a special hall errected for this purpose and himself recited the *nembutsu*. Ryogen (912–985) wrote his well known *Gakuraku-jodo-ḳubon-ojogi* and therein tried to establish that the original vows of Amida are so efficacious that even a wicked person on hearing Amida's name is destined to be born in his paradise.

In this respect Genshin's (Eshin 942–1017) contribution is extremely noteworthy. In his famous work *Ojoyoshu* he strove to establish the belief that this is the "decadent age" and that the recitation of the *nembutsu* is the only way of attaining salvation. Another eminent monk of the Tendai sect namely, Ryonin (1072–1132), who was also convinced that the prevalent reigious teachings including Tendai were too abstruse to grasp and practise in a "decadent age", did his best to promote the belief in the efficacy of repeating the formula *nembutsu*. In fact, he laid emphasis on an aspect that had not been very much emphasised until that time. He tried to bring into focus the altruistic aims of the Mahayana and argued that the recitation of the *nembutsu* becomes infinitely more meritorious and effective both to oneself as well as to others, if it is recited, without any selfish motive, on behalf of others. This teaching which appears to be a syncreticism of the doctrines found in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, the *Avataṃsaka* and the sūtras on Amida seems to have had a great appeal, and Ryonin was able to form a separate sect which came to be known as Yusu Nembutsu.

The Shingon sect, seems to have indirectly helped the spread of Pure Land teachings. Kakuban (1095–1143), who started a new branch of Shingon, practically identified Vairocana and Amida and made meditation on Amida part and parcel of his own teaching. Jitsuhan (circa 1144), Yokwan (=Eikan 1033–1111) and Chinkai (1092–1152) also recommended the use of the *nembutsu* as an aid to attain salvation.[9]

Though Ryonin managed to somewhat separate Amida worship from the rest of the established traditional forms of worship, it was really Honen who fully succeeded in raising it to a powerful, widespread religious movement, which at first vied with other contemporary sects and subsequently surpassed them all in popularity. Numerous factors contributed to this phenomenal rise of Jodo Buddhism. Primarily, as evident from the above summary of the history of Jodo Buddhism in Japan, it is clear that this was no spontaneous development. This was a movement that was gradually gaining momentum with steady increase in the number of adherents. This process of gaining momentum was undoubtedly accelerated by the political and social revolution that took place in Japan in the 12th century. The last phase of the Fujiwara period showed all signs of decadence in social and moral life. The members of the royal family, addicted to luxurious and ostentatious living, were fighting against each other. The administration of the country was in a chaotic state. Civil war engulfed the whole nation. The main monasteries were more like political camps. Religion had boiled down to mere ceremonies and rituals which were of no great consequence. The masses were alienated from the religion; uncertainity, instability and insecurity were staring in the face. The conditions that prevailed were grave enough to convince all that it was truly the "decadent age". Search for an easy way of solace became the common concern of all. None could look up to China for help because, on the one hand, China as the source of religious inspiration, was on the point of exhaustion and on the other, after the establishement of the Minamoto dicatatorship, all connection with China were suspended. Therefore, a new religious movement, in keeping with the times, had to rise from within. Thus, the background was set, a suitable doctrine was extant, and only a dynamic personality capable of presenting it to suit the requirements of the times was needed. This need was fulfilled by the appearance of Honen (also called Genku) on the scene.

Honen (q.v.) was convinced beyond any doubt that this was the "decadent age" *(mappo)* and that the prevalent traditional religious schools were not suitable for such an age. In his search for a suitable doctrine he was deeply touched and impressed by Zendo's work and particularly by the following passage: "Only repeat the name of Amida with all your heart whether walking or standing still, whether sitting or lying down: never cease to follow this practice for even a moment. This is the practice which brings salvation without fail, for it is in accordance with the original vow of the Buddha." [10] In

8. This is a commentary on Vasubandhu's work and deals with Amida worship.
9. Besides these monks another monk worthy of note in this regard is the famous itinerant preacher and social-worker Kuya (903–92 A.C.) who went all over Japan popularising the recitation of the *nembutsu*, thus bringing this practice closer to the masses.
10. Cf, C. Eliot, op.cit. p. 262

this, he thought, he found the "easy way" open to all alike who opt to give up dependence on self-reliance *(jiriki)* and depend solely on self-surrender *(tariki)* to a higher external power. Ever amiable Honen, who was like a living embodiment of Amida's compassion had no difficulty in putting across this message to the masses who were eagerly awaiting a simple form of religion guaranteeing salvation. In 1198 Honen wrote his famous work popularly known as *Senchakushu*[11] in which he explained the Jodo doctrine. In this he exhorted the people to abandon the Holy Path *(Shodo)* and select the Pure Land Path *(Jodo)* which meant the giving up of numerous religious practices and undertaking the repetition of the *nembutsu*. The gist of his teaching is found in one short passage which runs as follows: There may be millions of people who could practise (Buddhist) discipline and train themselves in the way of perfection, and yet in these latter days of the Law there will be none who will attain the ideal perfection. Consider that it is now an age full of depravities. The only way available is the Gateway to the Land of Purity.[12]

Thus, Honen's teaching was centred on absolute faith in the redeeming power to Amida; and this absolute faith on the part of the devotee is displayed by the repetition of the *nembutsu* with a heart full of child-like trust in Amida to secure for one re-birth (Ojo) in Amida's Paradise.

Though Honen attached special importance to the *Amitayurdhyāna sūtra,* he did not consider meditation as necessary to secure *Ojo*. Thus in his *Testament in One Sheet of Paper* he says: "Our practice of devotion does not consist in that of meditation as recommended and practised by the sages of the past. Now is our (calling the name) *nembutsu* uttered in consequence of enlightenment in truths attained through learning and wisdom. When we invoke Buddha and say 'Namo Amida Butsu', with the firm belief that we shall be born in Buddha's Paradise, we shall surely be born there. There is no other mystery here other than uttering His Name with faith".[13]

While discarding the meditational aspect found stressed in the *Amitayurdhyāna sūtra,* he laid much emphasis on another aspect mentioned therein, namely, that even a great sinner is not excluded from the all embracing compassion of Amida.[14] And hence he says, "there shall be no distinction, no regard to male or female, good or bad, exalted or lowly; none shall fail to be in His Land of Purity after having called, with complete desire, on Amida. Just as a bulky boulder may pass over the sea, if loaded on a ship, and accomplish a voyage of myriads of leagues without sinking; so we, though our sin be heavy as stone, are borne on the ship of Amida's primeval vow and cross to the other shore without sinking in the sea of repeated births and deaths".

It is true that by discarding traditional religious practices and by being merciful towards sinners Honen did not by any means condone the practice of committing sin. Yet it is possible that the over emphasis of the repetition of *nembutsu* almost to the neglect of the practice of virtue left room open for the abuse of his teaching. The frequency with which Honen, in his subsequent writings returned to repudiate the charge of encouraging people to commit sin proves that this was a major problem Jodo had to face. Therefore, he had to make explicit what was earlier implicit in his writings. Thus, writing to Rensu he says: "If you have any time to spare after saying the *nembutsu*, then you may apply it to doing good works...... If you say the *nembutsu* thirty or fifty thousand times, even if you should break a few of the commandments, that cannot affect your attainment of Ojo at all".[16] This reveals his attempt to keep the practice of the repetition of the *nembutsu* in the forefront without, however, excluding the practice of virtue. In another instance, he says: "while believing that even a man guilty of the ten evil deeds and the five deadly sins may be born into the Pure Land, let us for our part not be guilty of even the smallest sins."[17]

Though Honen tried his best to prevent all antinomian tendencies in Jodo, yet he was not saved of accusation and persecution. Not only Honen, even his disciples had to face the task of defending the Jodo teachings against such accusation for sometime, until finally Jodo triumphed over the prevalent religious teachings and got firmly established.

Honen had seven prominent disciples. They are Shokobo (or Bencho), Zennebo (Shoku), Syukan, Chosai, Kesai, Seikaku, and Shinran.

Shokobo (1169–1238), founded the Chinzei school of Jodo while Zennebo founded the Seizan school and these are the two main divisions of Jodo proper.

11. The full title of the work is *Senjakuhangan'nembutsu shu.*
12. As quoted in M. Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*. London, 1930, p. 171
13. Ibid. p. 178
14. See *SBE*. XLIX, pt. 11. p. 197 f. Here it is stated that even those who are guilty of the five deadly sins i.e. matricide, patricide etc. are not without hope for, if they, on the eve of their death, happen to utter the name of Amita, will ultimately secure enlightenment.
15. Anesaki, op. cit. p. 174
16. H. Coates and R. Ishizuka, *Honen the Buddhist Saint*. His Life and teaching, Kuopto 1925, p. 495
17. Ibid. p. 395; cf. p. 403

The Chinzei school appears to be a compromise between the prevalent religious practices and the main teachings of Jodo. Honen himself, it was seen, tried to accomodate numerous religious practices without reducing the importance of the practice of the repetition of the *nembutsu*. Thus, Honen is said to have declared: "You should not think lightly of, in the least despising those excellent sutras, the Lotus and Prajnāpāramitā. Though you may believe in Amida your faith is one sided if you despise the many Buddhas and doubt Shaka's holy teaching..... It is no obstacle in the way of the sole practice to pray for worldly good not only by reciting the *nembutsu*.... by reading copying the sūtras or by making images of the Buddhas."[18] Shokobo placed this teaching on a more authoritative ground by dividing Amida's vows into two categories as particular and general. The particular vows are those that are found in the *Sukhāvatī vyūha* sūtra, and the general ones are, those undertaken by all the Buddhas including Amida. By this categorizing he tried to show that both the repetition of the *nembutsu*, through which one comes under the redeeming power of Amida, as well as morality, discipline, and practice through which also one comes within his saving grace are effective in securing rebirth (Ojo) in the Western Paradise. As authority for this he cited the *Amitāyurdhyāna sūtra* which, while upholding the efficacy of chanting Amida's names, lay stress also on the practice of virtue, on the study of the scripture and the practice of the sixfold remembrances[19] as being efficacious in securing rebirth in the Pure Land.

Zennebo (or Shoku) who differed from Shokobo did not consider this conciliatory attitude as keeping with the true spirit of Jodo. He, too, agreed that even Amida attained Buddhahood by fulfilling the general vows. But to him what makes Amida the incomparable saviour is his particular vows of which the vow number eighteen[20] is the most important. Hence he stressed that only the chanting of the *nembutsu* is efficacious in bringing about salvation, and that all other practices are futile.[21]

While Chosai seems to have favoured Shokobo's view, Seikaku, Ryukan and Kosai in line with Zennebo upheld that *nembutsu* is the sole means of attaining salvation. Beside these differences there seem to have been certain differences of opinion with regard to the interpretation of some technical points. One such issue of (ichinen-gi) dispute was the question of "one calling" (ichinen-gi) or "many callings" (tanen-gi). As for Honen, the chanting of the *nembutsu* had to be made the main vocation of one's life. On this Ryukan was in complete agreement with his teacher. He held that one should engage in calling the Buddha's name throughout one's life until the time of his death. But there were others such as Kosai who, while not objecting to "many callings", argued that "one calling" done as a solemn act of faith and trust is absolutely sufficient to bring about the desired end.

Differences of this nature, however, did not generate so much of enthusiam and interest among the followers as did the interpretation of Jodo by Shinran, the most distinguished disciple of Honen. While Honen brought religion down to the level of the ordinary masses by preaching Jodo Buddhism, Shinran went a step further and rid Jodo of whatever remaining features of traditional rituals and spiritual exercises it entertained and tried to harmonize the religious and secular lives by doing away with monasticism, and making religion a part and parcel of day-to-day life of all alike. This new branch of Jodo founded by Shinran is called Jodo Shinshu or simply Shinshu. An analysis of its main features suggests that Shinshu could be the result of an attempt to go back to the earliest form of Jodo in which Amida is looked upon as the sole saviour, and absolute faith in the saving power of his primeval vows (hongwan-riki) as the sole means of attaining salvation. it is in the process of emphasising these features that Shinshu effected further modification with regard to the role of faith on the part of the devotee. It was seen that Honen himself stressed the importance of self-surrender *(tariki)* as against self-reliance *(jiriki)*. However, it is apparent that self-surrender which springs out of faith in Amida's saving grace displays a certain amount of personal effort, personal involvement. Shinran seems to have felt that this element of personal involvement or personal effort however minute it may be, betrayed a certain amount of lack of absolute faith in Amida's grace. Therefore, in his teaching he completely

18. Ibid. pp. 404, 460; cf. p. 422
19. *SBE*. XLIX, p. 188, n. 2 explain this as, "sixfold remembrance, i.e. of the three jewels, the precepts, the charity of the Buddha, and Bodhisattvas and the world of Devās."
20. There are 46 vows *(praṇidhāna)* in the Sanskrit *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* whereas the Chinese translation contain 48 vows. The 18th and the 21st vows found in the Chinese version are wanting in the Sanskrit. A part of the 19th vow in the Sanskrit text forms a part of the 18th in the Chinese version. Honen refers to the 18th vow as the "King of Vows". The following is Nanjio's translation of the 18th vow as found in Sanghavarman's version *(SBE*. XLIX pt. 11, p. 73): "When I have obtained Buddhahood, if those beings who are in the ten quarters should believe in me with serene thoughts, and should wish to be born in my country, and should have ten times thought of me (or repeated my name), if they should not be born there, may not obtain the perfect knowledge; in barring only those beings who have committed the five deadly sins, and who have spoken evil of the good law."
21. See "The Pure Land Doctrine as Interpreted by Shoku, founder of the Seizen sect" by shizutoshi Sugihira, *Eastern Buddhist*, V, No. 1.

rejected this aspect of personal involvement in securing one's *Ojo* and declared faith itself to be a gift of Amida's all embracing grace. According to Shinshu teachings Amida's "Primeval vows" (Skt. *pūrva-praṇidhāna;* Jap. hongwan) are a definite guarantee of salvation to all, irrespective or personal distinction; all beings are included in Amida's scheme or salvation which he declared in his vows. Therefore the salvation of all is pre-destined, is almost an inevitable "natural" event. Faith, therefore, is an involuntary act, a manifestation of Amida's grace. As no other power could impede the working of Amida's grace, the salvation of all beings is pre-determined and absolutely certain.

Owing to this emphasis on absolute self-surrender any idea of attainment of salvation became superfluous to Shinshu teaching. Therefore, even the chanting of the *nembutsu* came to be viewed from a different angle. Shinshu granted the importance of chanting the *nembutsu* yet not as a means of attaining salvation but as an expression of trust and gratitude, some sort of expression of ecstatic joy in anticipation of the bliss to be experienced. Viewed from this angle the difference between "many callings" and "one calling" became meaningless. Though shinran did not object to "many callings" he seems to have been inclined to accept "one calling" as sufficient to secure one's salvation. Not only the chanting, of the *nembutsu* but all other activities, according to Shinshu, are acts of expression of gratitude to Amida; and all actions of an individual should be motivated by faith in Amida. Thus Shinshu, with faith as the motivating factor, tried to harmonize religion and the day-to-day activities of its followers. The Shinshu doctrine teaches that life ought to be regarded as a service which Amida demands of us and when one regards life as such and all activities as expressions of gratitude one becomes free of selfishness.

Another distinctive feature of Shinshu is the abolition of strict monasticism, for Shinran, who was himself married, gave permission for the Shinshu clergy to marry. This annuled the main difference between the religious and secular life.

It is, however, seen that the new philosophical interpretation given by Shinran and his followers to old Jodo teachings as well as the innovation effected with regard to the life of the clergy left room open for numerous corruptible tendencies to find their way into Shinshu teachings. The fact that Rennyo Shonin, the eighth patriarch of Shinshu, had to insist on the necessity of observing moral precepts and giving up of selfish desires and indulgence in lustful activities shows that such corruptible tendencies were busy making in roads into the teachings and practices of Shinshu.

Besides the above mentioned major divisions, there is another minor school of Jodo founded by Ippen (1239–1289) (q.v.) an itinerant monk, who travelled about the country dancing and preaching his version of Jodo which is called Jishu. This is called Jishu (Time Doctrine) because it inculcated pious thoughts at every moment and also because the service to be held regularly six times a day was considered to be essential for salvation. Another reason why it is so named is that Ippen himself maintained that it was the most suitable religion for the times in which he lived.

Zen Buddhism appears to have had some influence over Ippen's interpretation of Jodo. He stressed the necessity of developing singlemindedness when chanting the *nembutsu*. He discarded faith as an activity of the corrupt human mind and insisted that one should chant the *nembutsu* without any reliance on self-effort. His belief in the efficacy of the chanting of the *nembutsu* was so great that he held that the mere sound of Amida's name even when uttered by an unbeliever, is capable of effecting salvation.

S. K. Nanayakkara

JŪJAKA, a destitute old brahamin who lived in Dunniviṭṭha in Kāliṅga when the bodhisatta in a previous birth was born as Vessantara. Jūjaka eked out his living by begging and after sometime he could save one hundred coins *(kahāpaṇas)* which he handed over to a trusted brahamin family for safe keeping. Jūjaka did not turn up to collect his money for quite a long time, and the brahamin family utilised that money for their needs thinking that Jūjaka was dead. After a very long time Jūjaka returned and demanded his money and the bewildered brahamin parents, unable to return the money, agreed to give away their young daughter Amittatāpā to Jūjaka as wife.

Jūjaka returned to his village with Amittatāpā and settled down. Amittatāpā ungrudgingly managed all Jūjaka's household work efficiently. But after sometime the jealous women in the village who gathered at the common well started to laugh at and tease Amittatāpā about her old and crooked husband. Amittatāpā was much annoyed and refused to fetch water from the well any more and refused to do household work unless a servant was brought to her.

In search of a servant, Jūjaka set out on a long and tedious journey to meet Vessantara who was then living an ascetic's life in a far away forest mountain cliff called Vaṅkagiri. Before Vessantara retired to Vaṅkagiri, he had given away all his royal wealth indiscriminately to the people of his country. He had retired to his forest

retreat as a pauper accompanied only by his wife and the two children, Jāliya and Kaṇhajinā.

After many days of tedious and painful travelling Jūjaka managed to meet Vessantara at Vaṅkagiri. Having enjoyed Vessantara's kind hospitality Jūjaka told him the purpose of his visit and requested that his two children be given to him to be taken away as slaves for his wife. Vessantara who was fulfilling his *Dāna pāramitā* and who had given away all what he possessed lavishly without any greed for them, was shocked when this request was made to him but, subsequently when Jūjaka was insistent, Vessantara made up his mind to donate the two children to Jūjaka.

Jūjaka started his homeward journey taking with him the two children whose hands he tied with a creeper and were dragged after him, beating them and abusing them all the time. When they had gone a fair distance the deities of the forest led Jūjaka astray so that he went in the direction of Jetuttara, the kingdom of the Childrens' grand father. When the news of the arrival of the two children of Vessantra reached the ears of the old King he rushed to the spot with attendants and led Jūjaka and the two children to the palace. The king gave much wealth to Jūjaka to redeem the two children and asked his attendants to feed Jūjaka lavishly. The greedy brahamin over-ate and died in his sleep the same day, being unable to digest that meal.

The Buddha identified Jūjaka as a previous birth of Devadatta (*J.* IV, pp. 521–593).

D. Saddhasena

JUNNĀR, an early Buddhist site in Western India in the present Mahārāṣtra state, situated about forty-eight miles north of Poona. It has been identified as the ancient Jīrṇanagara, the capital of the Kṣatrapa (king) Nahāpana of the Saka family. Some scholars are in favour of identifying Junnār with the ancient city of Tagara of Greek writers and of the early Indian tradition.[1]

Junnār[2] in the heart of a country thickly interspersed with sites of early Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries, itself became famous with the discovery of a series of Buddhist rock-cut cave shrines of the earliest period. These caves at Junnār were known to the Antiquary since the second quarter of the 19th century. In 1833 Colonel Sykes published a series of inscriptions copied from them (*JRAS.* Vol. IV, pp. 287–291). Dr. Bird noticed them in his *Historical Researches* (1847); Dr. Wilson described them in the *Bombay Journal* (1850); Dr. Stevenson republished these inscriptions in the same journal (Vol. VIII, 1859); Mr. Sinclair of the Bombay Civil Service wrote an account of them in the *Indian Antiquary* (1874, February).

Around this old city in various directions are Buddhist cave shrines nearly equally distributed in five different localities, containing not less than 120 separate caves. These five groups could generally be described as: (1) The Sivaneri Hill Fort to the west-south-west of the Junnār town; (2) The Tulja lena group to the west; (3) The Gaṇeṣa lena to the north of the town; (4) Another group on a spur in the Sulaiman Hills about a mile from the Gaṇeṣa lena group and (5) The fifth group to the south in the Manmodī Hill. Vidya Dehejia of the Department of History of the University of Sydney has classified the group in the following manner: (i) Nānāghat; (ii) Tuljā lena; (iii) Bhūta lena-Amba/Ambikā lena-Bhīma Shankar, all three in the Manmodī Hill group; (iv) Lenyadri and (v) Śhivaneri.[3]

I. Sivaneri Group: To the south-west of the town at the Sivaneri hill are smaller rock-cut *vihāras* and a *caitya-ghara* with a wide door, containing a *stūpa*. Of the *stūpa*, only a part of the dome is now extant.[4] On the south and of the hill is another cave of two-storeys with a stairway in the north end leading to the upper floor. This cave yields a short inscription which could be dated on palaeographical grounds to the pre-Christian era. It has been conjectured that these caves, meant for the residence of bhikkhus, had probably all wooden fronts. There are holes in the stone for fastenings which could only have been in wood. In the same group is a large *vihāra* cave, called Bārā, Kotri, with twelve cells, with a *stūpa* in bas-relief in front of a large cell, with a stone bed in it.

Next in the same group is a lofty flat-roofed *caitya-ghara* with a small *stūpa* in the back of the inner hall 10 feet 3 inches in diameter. The *Chattra* of the *stūpa*, as in the oldest *caityagharas*, is carved in the roof and connected with the capital by a short stone shaft. The ceiling of the hall has been neatly painted and still retains large portions of the colouring in the decorations of circles within squares, in orange, yellow, red, white and

1. *JRAS*, Vol. IV, p. 34; Mc Crindle's *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, p. 176 f; *EI*, XXV, pt. IV, p. 168; See also 'Juninagara' in B.C. Laws *Historical Geography of Ancient India*.
2. The account here on Junnār is based primarily on the findings of J. Burgess in the *Cave Temples of India*, ed. J. Fergusson and Burgess, London 1880.
3. Vidya Dehejia, Early Buddhist Caves at Junnār, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXI, 2/3 for 1969, pp. 147–166.
4. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London 1880, p. 248.
5. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, op. cit. pl. XVII, figs. 1 & 2.

black and there are traces of paint on the stūpa as well.[6] The Sivaneri group contains nine inscriptions all of which belong palaeographically to the time of king Pulamāvi.[7]

II. Tuljā-lena Group: In a hill about two miles north-west of Junnār lies the Tuljā-lena group of caves. They consist of a number of cells and a small *caityaghara* of unique form.[8] It is circular in plan, with a *stūpa* in the centre surrounded by twelve plain octagonal shafts, supporting a dome over the *stūpa*. The central nave is flanked by an aisle which is roofed by a half arch rising from the wall to the upper side of an architrave. The *stūpa* is very simple and plain. Scholars are of opinion that this circular type found at Junnār presupposes the existence of structural monuments of the same type and their thesis is subs tantiated with the discovery of a structural brick-built shrine of the same type at Bairāt (see *Ency. Bsm.* BAIRĀT). Religious monuments of the same type of the early Buddhist architects, with slightly varying characteristics are discovered at such other Indian sites like Kondavite (near Bombay), Guntupalli and Salihundam (both in the Āndra Pradesh). Fergusson remarks that the pinacle of this *stūpa* has been removed to convert it into a Sivaliṅga by the Brahamin worshippers who later appropriated the caves.[9] Traces of painting may be seen on the pillars of the Tuljā cave and one relatively well preserved fragment depicts the figure of a woman. A recent scholar comments that the elegance and grace of the pose is reminiscent of the *Chaddanta Jātaka* scenes in the Ajantā Caitya, but any positive judgement on the basis of a single fragment is hardly justified.

III. **The Gaṇeṣa-lena Group:** This group has derived its name Gaṇeṣa lena at a recent date, after one of its caves was appropriated by the Hindu worshippers of the god Gaṇeṣa. A recent writer calls this the Lenyādri group; there are some thirty caves here including an apsidal *Caityaghara,* a large quadrangular *Vihāra* and a number of cisterns.[10]

In the more elaborately carved cave with a circular apse, the side aisles are divided from the nave by five stelae *(stambha),* on each side with beautiful carvings on the pillar capitals. Commenting on this cave Burgess says that this is one of the most perfect *caityas* to be found anywhere, and nothing was in wood except the umbrella which is now removed. It is in fact the best example we have of the perfect *caitya(ghara)* of the first century of the Christian era. The cave has a narrow veranda in front, containing four columns. The veranda pillars, as well as those in the interior, rise from a pot *(ghaṭa)* on a stepped pyramidal base and terminate in an inverted pot *(ghaṭa).*

An extremely simple *caityaghara,* rectangular in shape and flat roofed with a small *stūpa,* the umbrella of which is carved on the rock surface of the roof and connected by a stone shaft, is found among this group.[12] The extreme simplicity of this arrangement and of everything about this cave seems to mark it as the earliest *caityaghara* in the group, or perhaps in any of the other groups in Junnār.

IV. Sulaiman Hill Group: In this group are found several small caves and a small *caityaghara* to the east, which Burgess dates to the earliest phase of excavations about Junnār. The identification of the Sulaiman Hill group is not conclusive and tantatively it is said to correspond with the Nanaghat group of caves.

V. Manmodi Hill Group: This group lies towards the south-south-west of Junnār. The principal cave here is an unfinished *caityaghara* which yields an unique piece of low-relief carving above the entrance, covering the place usually occupied by the horse-shoe window in later rock-cut caves. This is the depiction of Śri or Gajalakṣmi motif common to Buddhist art of Sāñcī, Bhārhūt, Buddhagayā and the other early sites.[13] Burgess remarks that though its employment here is a solecism, this bas-relief is one of the most interesting pieces of sculptures for the history of art, to be found in the whole range of the western caves. The carvings of two mythical beings above the window arch, one winged and the other with snakehoods, remind the *nāga-suparṇa* motif of the ancient orient. Here the two arch-enemies of oriental mythology are depicted in close proximity, probably a suggestion of the Budha's preaching of universal compassion that leads enmities to be forgotten, depicted allegorically in the sculptor's art.

There is a horizontal soft structure in the rock which has probably led to the works of this cave being relinquished in its present unfinished state. In the south-east and of the same hill are some more groups of unfinished caves and ruined cells which have been later converted by Jains and Brahmins to suit their worship. Of these the Ambā/ Ambikā group of the Bhīma Saṅkār group are the most

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6 Vidya Dehejia, op. cit. pp. 164 f. fig. 16

7 Vidya Dehejia, loc. cit; see also *IA* Vol. VI, p. 40; *JASB.* Vol. XI, p. 1045; *JBRAS.* Vol. V, p. 163, No. 7

8 J. Furgusson and J. Burgess, op. cit. p. 252; pl. XVIII, figs. 3, 4.

9 J. Furgusson and J. Burgess, op. cit. p. 167

10 Vidya Dehejia, op. cit., p. 163

11 J. Furgusson and J. Burgess, op. cit. p. 256

12 J. Furgusson and J. Burgess, op. cit. pl. XVIII, figs. 6 & 7.

13 J. Furgusson and J. Burgess, op. cit. frontispiece; Vidya Dehajia, op. cit. figs. 5 & 6.

prominent.[14] The names Ambikā and Bhīma Sankār seem to be of recent origin, probably in the present century. Fergusson and Burgess have not observed any such names given to these caves.

Summary: The significance of the Junnār caves lies in their archaic characteristics which resemble those in the rock-cut sanctuaries at Bhājā, Bedsā, Sānā, Kudā Talājā in the earliest phase as well as certain East Indian (Orissan) caves. The absence of richly carved sculpture and sculptural representation of the Buddha in either human or symbolic form, makes the group of caves more significant in the study of the development of rock-cut architecture primarily, and the Buddhist Art and Architecture in its earliest phase in general. In this respect the following remark by J. Burgess is noteworthy: "Although none of these caves can compare either in magnificance or interest with the *caityas* of Bhājā or Karle, or the *vihāras* of Nāsik, their forms are still full of instruction to the student of cave architecture." [15]

Another prominent feature of the Junnār group is that it comprises specimens of almost all varieties of rock-cut monasteries and *caityagharas* and many other forms of cave architecture, not found elsewhere. The date of the Junnār caves has not been fixed with much precision, but on palaegraphic and architectural grounds scholars are at a consensus in placing these rock-cut shrines at a date about one or two centuries before the present era, for the earliest group. The later ones, however, range from the first to the third century A.C. with additions and innovations on the earlier ones, too. The later innovations were done by Buddhists as well as other religionists like Jains and Hindus who had later appropriated these caves and converted them for their own religious purposes. The appropriation of these early Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries by non-Buddhist religious sects lasted for several centuries and is being perpetuated even in the present day.

A. D. T. E. Perera

JURISPRUDENCE. The term Jurisprudence in its widest sense could be interpreted as "the Science of Law" which is referred to as the original and etymological meaning of the term. It is also the interpretation "to which the best usage conforms."

Do we have a Buddhist Law in existence? A monastic code containing a set of enforceable rules of conduct is found in Buddhist texts. These laws are precisely stated and codified with a set of procedures laid down in the constitution for trial and conviction in case of infringement. These laws of the community of monks "had the sanction of the state" (Bhagavat, D. N., *Early Buddhist Jurisprudence,* IV, V) and these laws can "claim all the dignity and prestige of Jurisprudence as far as the *Saṅgha* and the relation of the *Saṅgha* to the State were concerned" (op. cit.).

Buddhist Jurisprudence developed primarily out of the body of disciplinary injunctions known as the *Vinaya.* The *Vinaya* texts of different schools are available in Pali and Sanskrit languages as well as in Chinese and Tibetan translations. The Pali texts belonging to the Theravāda school, considered as the most complete, in which almost all sections are preserved intact, serve as the best source for our information.[1] The *Vinaya* deals exclusively with monastic discipline; but glimpses into Buddhist Jurisprudence available in other areas of the Buddhist literature are also being utilised in this article.

Referring to the Buddhist monastic fraternity it is stated[2] that "it appears from the very beginning to have been a society governed by law. The completion of a procedure by law was necessary to the reception of a postulant into the society. The Law of the Order pointed out to him, his course of action and of omission. The society itself as a court of discipline secured conformity to the ecclesiastical rules by keeping up a regular judicial procedure."

The historical and sociological background to the *Vinaya* rules provides us with a flood of light that falls on the area of the origin of Buddhist Jurisprudence. Each rule or law as given in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* is traditionally said to have been promulgated by the Buddha himself. The basic idea is to provide an undisputed authority to Buddhist Law. There is no doubt that the major rules trace their origin to him. The minor rules that may have grown with the passage of time, included in the basket of disciplinary laws have their authority foisted on the Buddha. Unfortunately there is no way available to us today to determine the Historical Order in which the laws came into existence. The laws grew out of empirical instances in which Buddhist Philosophy was applied to practical situations.

The legislation thus enacted when a situation arose had a number of reasons for its enactment. "I am enacting rules of training *(Sikkhāpada)* for the monks: (i) for the well-being of the community, (ii) for the convenience of

14. Vidya Dehejia, op. cit. p. 152 f.
15. J. Furgusson and J. Burgess, op. cit. p. 248.

1. *Vinaya,* ed. H. Oldenberg Vols. I-V, *PTS.* London, 1879-1883.
2. Oldenberg, H., *The Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Order,* London, 1882.

the community, (iii) in order to curb miscreants, (iv) for the ease of well-behaved monks, (v) in order to restrain misbehaviour in the present, (vi) in order to check future misbehaviour, (vii) in order that those who have no faith (in this religion) may acquire faith, (viii) in order that those who have faith may be further strengthened in their faith, (ix) in order that the good doctrine *(dhamma)* may last long, and (x) for the promotion of discipline" (*Vin.* III, 21).

These reasons bring into focus two important purposes behind such legislation. Firstly, there is the utilitarian and pragmatic motive that inspired the enactment of laws. The laws are made in the interests of the entire community. Public opinion influenced the creation of such laws and the maintenance of discipline was considered as an advantage in itself.

Secondly, the Doctrine *(dhamma)* is regarded as the fount of all justice. The Buddha states how the doctrine should serve as the 'teacher' for the community of monks, after his demise. If the community of monks so decides, it could abolish the minor rules of the community (*D.* II. 154). the flexibility attached to such minor laws to meet different sociological situations is observed here. Both these ideas are important from the development of secular law.

The laws were modified and remoulded even during the Buddha's time. Soon after his *parinibbāna*, presumably at the Council of Vesāli dated about the middle of the 4th century B.C. the disciplinary injunctions or laws reached their present form. The laws undoubtedly had the philosophy of the Noble Eightfold Path as their base.[3] When the laws are viewed from their historical and sociological points of view, one could not only discern the evolution of the Buddhist community of monks, but also of Buddhist Jurisprudence.

The disciplinary laws were not promulgated in a vacuum. As the community of monks grew, problems arose that needed solution. The community of monks entirely depended on the laity for their material sustenance. The relationship established between the monks and the laity was a symbiotic one. This relationship allowed the criticism about the behaviour of monks to emanate from laymen and laywomen. A number of Buddhist laws had their origin in this sociological experience.

The historical background helps us to widen our knowledge of this sociological experience. As the community of monks increased, they began to assume the character of a settled community rather than a wandering group, more conspicuous by their eremitical character. This relatively settled life necessitated rules and regulations, customs or habits to regulate their conduct with each other, with the laity as well as the outside world.

According to the Buddhist tradition, the need for the legalised administration of the community of monks arose only with the lapse of time (*Vin.* I, 21). This took place twenty years after the establishment of the community of monks. During those twenty years there was no occasion that demanded the enactment of any law. But with the passage of time, as misconduct increased and discipline faltered, the time for the enactment of laws for the community of monks arose. Buddha had stated categorically, that rules and regulations are laid down by him only as the need arises i.e. "when conditions causing the cankers appear in the order" (*M.* I, 445).

The laws in the *Vinaya* are listed according to the gravity of the offence committed. Within each type, the specific offences are stated in a definite form. The laws are organised in the following manner:

1. A story leading to a rule (case history) together with promulgation of the law with the particular penalty stated;
2. The old commentary known as *padabhājanīya* (i.e. legal definition of the terms and phrases of the law as formulated):
3. More stories (further case histories) telling of deviations from the rule and showing that either they were not so grave as to entail maximum penalty, or they were reasonable to warrent, in certain circumstances, a modification or relaxation of the existing rule, or that they are not such as to be rendered permissible by any extenuating circumstances.

Buddhist laws are organised with a certain form in view. The laws are arranged in an order that emphasises the gravity of the offence. First of these are the most serious offences, four in number known as *pārājikā*. Commission of an offence of this category means automatic expulsion from the order of monks. Under the second category there are the thirteen *Saṅghādisesa* which are serious offences for which punishment was *parivāsa* or probation in some form. Further, *Saṅghādisesa* required the formal meeting of the *Saṅgha*, in the beginning to pass an enactment and at the end for pronouncing the rehabilitation and the atonement for the offence committed.

These are followed by two *Aniyatas*-laws referring to undertrmined offences. They were so called probably because of the flexibility of fixing the legal charge against

3 Holt, J. C., *The Canonical Buddhism in the Vinaya Pitaka,* 1981.

the accused available in these laws. Probably the paucity of evidence to prove the charge may have led the Buddhist jurists to create this type of law. One could develop the insight here to consider the *aniyatas* as a precursor to the plea bargaining found in U.S. criminal justice.

Offences for which punishment is not serious include the following categories:

Nissaggiya - thirty in number; *Pācittiya* - ninety two in number; *Patidesanīya* - four in number and *Sekhiyā* - seventy-five in number. These offences are given simple punishments ranging from forfeiture, expiation, admonition, confession etc. There are also three derivative offences, namely. *Thullaccaya, Dukkata* and *Dubbhāsita*. The first is derived from *PārājikāĀ* and *Saṅghādisesa* offences. The other two are derivative offences from minor offences, but not violations of specific laws. It must be mentioned here that in the case of *Dukkata*, direct violation of a law *(Sikkhāpada)* takes place only in the case of *Sekhiyā*.

The offences may be presented in the form of the following chart:

Types of Offence

Āpatti (offences)

Atekicca (incurable) or irremedial Eg. the four *Pārājikā*	*Satekicca* (curable or remediable offence)
Garukāpatti (grave offences) e.g. *Saṅghādisesa*	*Lahukāpatti* (less-serious offences)

Nissaggiya
Pācittiya
Patidesanīya
Thullaccaya
Derivative Offences: *Dubbhāsita*, *Dukkata*

Other typologies could be easily adopted to categories Buddhist Law. These laws are exhaustive in nature. "Practically every conceivable relation with other human beings, whether fellow monks, nuns or laity, are brought under review and legislated for in the minutest detail through the seven classes of offences" *(Parājikā, Saṅghādisesa, Aniyata, Nissaggiya, Pācittiya, Patidesanīya* and *Sekhiyā)*.

The first two categories could be taken as serious offences and the rest as simple offences, if one desires to demarcate these laws into two broad categories. Otherwise it is not difficult to divide them under: (1) crimes against persons *(Pārājikā* I, III and IV and other relevant *Saṅghādisesa* offences); (2) crimes against property *(Pārājika* II etc.); (3) crimes arising out of intoxication, prostitution, gambling etc. could fall under the category of crimes against public safety and morals (today's victimless crimes); (4) those crimes involving violence and rebellion as perpetrated by Devadatta and Aṅgulimāla fall under the final category.

Buddhist Law cannot be called Positive Law from the sense that Austen meant.[4] Buddha was by no means a king or a law-giver whose commands were issued to the members of a sovereignity. According to the Buddha, any matter whether law or otherwise, is always open to question. The famous exhortation to the Kālāmas (*A*. I. 189) illustrates this critical attitude of the Buddha.

Buddha lays down four authorities or sources for the Buddhist Laws. These authorities could be considered as material sources of Buddhist Law. These authorities or sources are: (1) Direct promulgation by the Buddha; (2) promulgation by a group of monks in a monastery; (3) promulgation of a law by an assembly of monks containing elders and learned men versed in canonical law; and (4) promulgation by one monk versed in the law (*D*. III; 135).

Buddhist Law as it stands, could be ascribed to all these authorities or sources although it is difficult to identify all those for which the Buddha was directly responsible from those which are credited to the other three sources. In the case of Buddhist Laws, the overall criterion adopted was to examine the ability of a law to harmonise with the doctrine of the Buddha *(dhamma-vinaya)*. "If when this laid beside *sutta* and *Vinaya*, they lie not along with *Sutta* and agree not with *Vinaya*, to this conclusion must be come. Surely this is not the word of the Excellent One..... and it is wrongly taken by the monks..... so reject it" *(Gradual Sayings*, Vol. II, 175).

The traditional laws of the society in the forms of customs and beliefs undoubtedly existed during the Buddha's time. The framework of such Buddhist Laws rests on such traditions of the time while the details and legal methods adopted are the Buddhist inventions. Even in such matters, what had been borrowed from tradition and given the garb of Buddhist Law, derives its authority not from the individuality of its material source (i.e. tradition and custom), but from the formal source (the harmonization with the doctrine and the discipline).

Buddha's position in Buddhist Jurisprudence is more on the lines of a law-enforcer than a law-giver. In this respect one could compare his role with that of a Universal monarch. The Universal monarch enforces the law or the *dhamma* during his reign. As long as the

4. Austen, John, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, London, 1885.

Buddha lived – to His followers He was the obvious formal source of law. But towards the end of His life, the doctrine and discipline *(dhamma vinaya)* gradually assumed an importance as the formal source of Buddhist Law.

There is no doubt that Buddhism upholds that Law must have a universally acceptable moral basis to be deemed binding. One need not obey unrighteous laws even for the sake of the State (*Vin.* III, 138). The moral base is due to the fact that morally good actions result in pleasant consequences, and morally evil actions are followed by unpleasant consequences. According to Buddhism, human beings should not attempt to return evil for good, but strive to establish an enlightened attitude. The wrong-doer is morally responsible for his actions. Wrong-doing is conditioned by economic, social and psychological causes. Those who sit in judgement should thus act out of compassion towards the wrong-doer as well as in their own interests.

Buddhism upholds a natural law-theory in recognising that man's conscience is generally aware of right and wrong even though conscience is admitted to be sometimes fallible:[5] "Your conscience *'attā'* is aware whether it is truth or falsehood..... therefore be guided by one's conscience *(attādhipateyya)* as well as by public opinion *(lokādhpateyya)* and the dhamma *(dhammādhipateyya)*" (*A.* I, 149, 150). Reason also enables one to understand why righteous law should not be violated. It is that a person should reason thus, when confronted by a situation of this type; "If a person boasts about himself and be little others, such a person is disliked by me; therefore, if I were to boast about myself and belittle others, I would be disliked by others" (*M.* I, 97).

Buddhist Law pre-supposes three dimensions: (1) The legal dimension. (2) The sociological dimension. (3) The karmic dimension. A law has been promulgated; and when it is violated, due process takes place and the punishment follows. This is the legal dimension. The violation of law inevitably leads to sociological implications. Public ostracization culminating even in physical violence could be the social outcome of an infraction of the law. Finally, violation of a law involves a karmic impact when such a violation is volitionally undertaken. The karmic result would follow either in this life or in the next.

The importance attached to the legal questions and their settlement in Buddhism had not escaped the attention of scholars. "The whole subject of legal questions and their settlement, although complicated, must be studied by anyone who wishes to grasp an important branch of disciplinary proceedings of the Order together with the exact machinery laid down for carrying them out" (*SBB.* Vol. XX, p. viii).

In the Buddhist legal system there are two main kinds of disputations: They are (1) disciplinary disputations and (2) non-disciplinary disputations. The second category is more or less ritualistic in character, and is associated with ceremonial ritualistic acts such as the grant of higher ordination. The first type of legal disputes is classified under four categories: "Legal questions arising out of disputes, legal questions arising out of censure, legal questions arising out of offences, legal questions arising out of obligations" (*SBB.* Vol. XX, pp. 117–118; also *Vin.* III. 164).

A legal dispute is identified by its salient characteristic, and then placed under the relevant category. There are seven methods laid down in settling legal disputes. These seven methods show the salient features of the Buddhist judicial system, and as such, these are of great significance to those interested in Buddhist Jurisprudence. Thus a brief description of the seven methods would be of practical use.

1. *Sammukhāvinaya:* Verdict in the presence of (a) the accused (the presence of the accused in the Court at the time of bringing the charge is considered as vital in the Buddhist judicial system); (b) the assembly of monks (the court) as stipulated by law; (c) the disciplinary rules (or laws) and (d) the application of such rules in the given context (*Vin.* II, 66, 73).
2. *Sativinaya:* Granting of the verdict of innocence through a simple process. This is done when the accused is (a) a monk who is of unblemished character and (b) he is charged with four specific offences; (c) he makes a formal request of innocence and (d) when the assembly (Court) grants the request according to rule (*Vin.* II, 74–80).
3. *Paṭiññātakaraṇa:* The third method is employed when a monk is accused of a slight offence (an offence for which the punishment is making amends) and he pleads guilty to it in the 'Court' (*Vin.* II, 80–83). "The carrying out of the acknowledgement", in this case, it is interesting to observe how it is stipulated that provision is made to take disciplinary action with the acknowledgement of the guilty monk.
4. *Amūḷhavinaya:* The verdict of past insanity is granted to a person who has caused an offence or offences while he was in a state of mental derangement (*Vin.* II, 80–83).

[5] Jayatilleke, K. N., *Dhamma, Man and Law,* Singapore. (The Buddhist Research Society).

5. *Yebhuyyasikā:* The next method is the arriving at a unanimous decision by the assembly (Court). This is only when such an unanimous decision is not favoured that a majority decision was sought (*Vin.* II, 84).
6. *Tassapāpiyyasikā:* The next method is carried out when an accused prevaricates himself in Court. On being examined before the Order, having denied, acknowledged, denied, shelved the questions and lied consciously, the singularity of this method lies in the fact that the evidence for its execution arises while in the course of the trial (*Vin.* II, 85).
7. *Tiṇavatthāraka:* The final method is, settling disputes "by the covering up as with grass" (*Vin.* II, 86–88). This is done when there is a multiplicity of disputes arising from a judicial assembly leading to numerous quarrels and strifes, and when it would be difficult to deal with all of these practically and effectively.

It is seen here as to what extent the Buddhist Law exerted itself in order to render fair justice. Formal acts of the community of monks being disciplinary or non-disciplinary, were considered invalid if any aspect of the law laid down was violated. We saw how the trial should take place in the presence of the accused. "Monks, a formal act of guidance, banishment or reconciliation or suspension should not be carried out against monks without confrontation" (*Vin.* II, 73). "Confrontation involved four things; viz. (1) Confrontation with the full assembly authorised to conduct the trial; the consent of those entitled to send their consent having been obtained, and no member of the assembly being challenged by any other, (2) and (3) confrontation of the letter and spirit (i.e. moral basis) of the law under which the accused is charged along with an account of the procedure for settlement as laid down by the teacher (Buddha), and (4) confrontation with the complainant."

In the procedure at the Court, it is indicated how an attempt should be made to secure a confession by reminding the person of the circumstances related to the commission of the offence. As far as the "Court" is aware, the formal charge is made thereafter, giving a full opportunity for the accused to present his case and point of view.

A vivid picture of the nature of the formal proceedings is seen in the following example: First the monks (the *accused*– italics mine) should be reproved; having reproved them they should be made to remember; having helped them remember, they should be charged with an offence; the *Saṅgha* should be informed by an experienced, competent monk, saying: "Honourable Sirs, let the *Saṅgha* listen to me. If it seems right to the *Saṅgha*, the *Saṅgha* may carry out a (formal) act of censure against the monks who are followers of (the *accused*– italics mine). This is the motion *(ñatti)*: a (formal) act of censure is being carried out by the *Saṅgha*.

"Monks, if it is possessed of three qualities, an (formal) act of censure comes to be not legally valid, and not disciplinarily valid, and one that is hard to settle (that is to say), if it is carried out without the confrontation, if it is carried out without interrogation, and if it is carried out without the acknowledgement (of the accused). Further, if it is possessed of these three qualities, (formal) act of censure comes to be hard to settle; (that is to say), if it is carried out without having reproved him; if it is carried out without having made him remember; if it is carried out without charging him with an offence" (*SBB.* Vol. XX. pp. 3–4).

The legal procedure at the assembly of monks (the Court) reminds us of the function of a modern Court. The presence of the law, the stipulated number of judges, the prosecutor, the accused physically available (except in very rare instances), the procedure of interrogation as well as references to a jury system enables one to draw a number of parallels between the Buddhist system of Justice and modern Courts. The jury in the instance cited, had a woman as one of its foremost members – a feature worthy of appreciation.

The 'Courts' were categorized under five main types, depending on the number of judges that constituted them. Accordingly, there were (1) a Court with four judges (a four-fold Order of monks); (2) a five-judge Court; (3) a ten judge Court; (4) a twenty-judge Court; (5) a Court with more than twenty judges. Each Court had its own specified jurisdiction (territorial aspects of jurisdiction) laid down by law, including the legal boundaries within which they could function. "The jurisdiction of each *Saṅgha* extended only as far as its geographical boundaries or 'territorial limits' which were strictly defined, and this was another innovation of the Buddha". The qualifications of judges were spelled and strategies adopted to ensure their impartiality. Legal provision was made to punish anyone who violated these stipulations.

The "Court Procedure" was carefully spelled out. A formal act ('a charge') could be introduced after permission had been obtained to introduce it. Thus a motion is forwarded and followed by three proclamations in "Open Court". The intention of the doer (*Mens Rea* in modern parlance) was to be proved in order to establish guilt. Evidence, both direct and indirect is carefully analysed in the 'Court' before the verdict is given. If a formal legal act is not carried out according to the law, it could be subsequently challenged.

The quality of evidence is emphasised by the insistence on facts heard, seen or suspected to be very precise. The witness should know exactly what be had seen, heard or

suspected; when and where "it is seen, heard or suspected and how it is seen, heard or suspected". In the Court, there was provision for the witness to be closely questioned. If it is seen that the witness is giving false evidence, it could led to a legal procedure being initiated against him.

A decision taken by the 'Court' had in it the mechanism to put into effect. An example is the passage of the act of reconciliation (*SBB.* Vol. XX. pp. 25–27). Here, a monk who is asked by the "Court" to request pardon from a layman is given a Court witness to go with him. This enables the monk to make his request for pardon in the presence of the Court witness. When probation is imposed, the entire mechanism necessary to put such probation into actual practice is facilitated by the Court decision itself (Infra).

The decision of the Court should be specifically for the offence charged, and not for any other offence. According to Buddhist practice, such judicial decisions could be made by (1) the entire *Sangha*; (2) by a committee of the *Sangha*; (3) by a number of referees belonging to the *Sangha*, and (4) by the vote of the majority. But "one kind of tribunal could not be substituted for another, except under specified circumstances" (Dutt, S. *Early Buddhist Monachism*, 1924, p. 164). If the 'Court' fails to arrive at a decision, it would not be proper at once to proceed to a majority decision.

All sorts of precautions are taken when this method, majority decision, is resorted to. "It is worked out in a rather protracted manner, and is resorted to only after the failure of other methods" (Dhirasekera, Jotiya, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, 1981, p. 124). Among alternative methods suggested is the selection of a committee, and the attempt made to arrive at a solution acceptable to all. Careful consideration is given to the qualifications of members selected to such a committee. Even when the majority was taken, elaborate checks and balances were introduced in order to ensure a fair and just decision. The underlying idea is to see that a majority decision, if it is arrived at, serves the just and righteous cause.

It is possible for a Court decision to be challenged. The mechanism of such appeals was carefully laid down. A monk on whom a punishment was inflicted by the *Sangha* finally came with his appeal to the Highest Court, i.e. the Buddha (*SBB.* Vol. XIV, pp. 446–450).

The intention was always looked into when an inquiry was made in the Court. This was done by examining the case with its history, questioning the accused as well as the witnesses. If it was proved that there was no willful intention to commit the offence, the accused was discharged. "There is no offence as you did not consent." (*SBB.* Vol. X, p. 59). In Buddhist *Vinaya*, an accused cannot be prosecuted for an offence that was not promulgated as a law at the time when the offence was committed. Consequently, the first offender who provokes the promulgation of a law (*Vinaya* Rule) was declared free from guilt in a legal sense (*Vin.* III, 33).

In Buddhist Jurisprudence, there are two categories of acts of punishment. They fall into these categories on the basis whether the offence was caused before the Court proceedings or while in the judicial process. Seven acts of punishment belong to the first category, and two to the second category. Act of censure *(tajjanīyakamma)*, act of guidance *(nissaya-kamma)*, act of reconciliation *(paṭisāranīya-kamma)*, act of suspension *(ukkhepaniya-kamma)*, act of information *(pakassaniya-kamma)* and act of "Turning the bowl upside down", *(pattanikkujjana-kamma)* act of banishment *(pabbājanīya-kamma)* (*SBB.* Vol. XX. p. 173).

In the second category, one finds the following two acts: (1) act of specific depravity; (2) act of covering up as with grass (*SBB.* Vol. XX. p. 115).

The philosophy of punishment does not constitute a significant aspect of the Buddhist penal system. As stated by the Buddha, punishment, in fact, is regarded as morally reprehensible according to Buddhist thought: "All tremble at punishment. All fear death.... life is dear to all. Whoever seeking his own happiness harms with A Mahāyāna text *((Ratnāvali of Nāgārjuna, JRAS. 1936, thereafter (Dhp. vv.* 129–132).

Punishment when inflicted on others should serve to the extent that it dissuades others from wrong-doing. A comparison is observed in the goldsmith's action in heating the metal to the extent that it serves to melt extraneous matter found in gold. So should any punishment inflicted on an individual serve, if the punishment is to bear positive results.

The basis of punishing any other, either by the imposition of physical or mental pain or through some other means, is the desire to make that person realise his wrong-doing. Any punishment rendered without this fundamental characteristic has no worthwhile meaning. A person who is out of his normal mental faculties may not know what he had done, There is no purpose in inflicting punishment on such a person. In the Buddhist sense, punishment is not punitive or retributive. It is basically restorative and conciliatory, attempting its best to make the wrong-doer realise his wrong and become a useful member in society.

In the Indian tradition, the study of Law was called "the science of punishment" *(daṇḍa-nīti)*. Buddhist Jurisprudance adopts a different interpretation of punishment.

Although punishment does have a place in law, the law itself is based on consent resulting from emanating, understanding, friendliness and mutual interest. Our virtuous behaviour could be due to our respect for the dictates of our conscience *(attādhipateyya)*: respect for public opinion *(lokādhipateyya)* and respect for righteousness *(dhammādhipateyya)*. Shame and dread *(hiri-ottappa)* also act as factors that keep control over us. In the world, there would be people who do refrain from crime, solely because of the fear of punishment. Such people are referred to in Buddhism as those who "out of fear of punishment do not plunder the goods of others" (*A*. I, 48). But penal laws in a Buddhist sense are based on primarily reformatory and only secondarily deterrent forms of punishment.

Punishment was never retributive or vindictive in the Buddhist sense. According to the *Jātaka* (IV, 192), "there was no greater punishment than that of beating, warning and banishment *(tālana, garahana, pabbajjana)*; there was indeed no cutting-off of hands and feet and execution *(hattha-pāda-chedana-ghātana)*; and these things came into existence afterwards during the times of cruel kings." A Mahayana text *(Ratnāvali* of Nāgārjuna, *JRAS*. 1936, p. 436) states that (which is a discourse to a king): "You must punish them out of compassion and from a desire to turn them into worthy persons as you do as regards worthy sons: and you must not be moved by hatred or by the desire for material gain."

It is thus very necessary to have compassion towards wrong-doers. To show hatred to them who are punished, imprisoned or beaten in accordance with the law is not the Buddhist attitude. Such people (or prisoners) should be well looked after. All human beings in this world are subject to insecurity and suffering; but in all of them the potential to developto the very highest is also discernible. No one thus should be condemned eternally for the faults he committed (torture, capital punishment, life-long imprisonment are thus eschewed in the Buddhist theory of Criminal Justice).

Probation is treated as the main method adopted in the Buddhist Law to offenders. Except for the four very serious crimes, all other types of crime contain an element of probation in them by way of "punishment". The thirteen *Sanghādisesas* or serious offences or crimes are "punished" by means of probation (Ratnapala, Nandasena. *Probation, the Heart of Buddhist Discipline*, pp. 19-27). This probation is of two types: (1) *mānatta*, lasting for a specific period of 51 days and (2) *parivāsa*, without any limitation on the duration of time.

The *Pārājikās*, regarded as the gravest of offences, 'admit of no remedies or atonements'. "The penalty for *pārājikā* offences being complete excommunication and loss of monastic status; it is spontaneously brought about by the commission of the crime" (Dhirasekera, J. *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, 1981, p. 149). All other offences could be remedied by different penalties and punishments; particularly the forms of probation included in Buddhist Law. Even in the case of an individual who had committed *Pārājikā* offence, although he may lose his monkhood, he could still remain as a novice monk *(sāmanera)*, if he so wishes. In all this, one observes how the spirit of vindictiveness or retribution is totally absent from Buddhist Law.

Under modern proceedings, probation could be imposed with the conditional suspension of the sentence, or with the conditional suspension of the execution of the sentence. The former is supposed to be of U.S. and English origin while the latter is associated with British legal practices.

In Buddhist Law a person was placed under probation only after careful and meticulous consideration of the case. The execution of the sentence was postponed substituting an alternative to penal remedies represented in drastic actions such as banishment or suspension. The inherent attempt is to treat the individual as an individual rather than as a class or concept. The caring judicial process enabled the selection of individuals, substantial portion of whom "could be assisted while at liberty to form correct habits and attitude without a penalty and to use a great variety of methods for this purpose" (Sutherland 1947; 383; also el. Nandasena Ratnapala 1993, 200).

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Nandasena Ratnapala

KABALIṄKĀRĀHĀRA, material food in the form of solids and liquids. There are four kinds of *āhārā* (nutriments) that sustain a being, mentioned in Buddhist texts, namely (1) *Kabaliṅkārāhāra* (material food), (2) *Phassāhāra* (sensorial and mental impressions) (3) *Manosañcetanāhāra* (mental volitions) and (4) *Viññāṇāhāra* (consciousness). In the exposition of material food *'āhāra'* is defined thus: 'solid' means it is made into an eatable morsel. Food (nutriment) means, it is 'taken into'. It is made into a morsel and swallowed down, is the meaning; the fetching-hither *(āhāra)* of matter. 'Boiled rice', etc., is said to bring out the name by the substance, and again, to show its different kinds by the substance. For the nutritive substances implied herein are twelve, beginning with boiled rice and ending with syrup. In the same analysis, whatever is eaten and enjoyed by the month is called *'Mukhāsiya'*. What is to be torn and chewed by teeth is called *vikhādana* and what is to be swallowed is called *galajjhoharaṇīya. (Expositor, PTS.* Translation of *Atthasālinī,* commentary to *Dhammasaṅgaṇī,* p. 450).

Continuing the discussion on *kabaliṅkārāhāra,* the *Expositor* says: Now 'stomach-filling' is said to show that substance by virtue of function. For the substance swallowed, such as roots and fruits, etc., as well as boiled rice, sour gruel etc., fills the stomach. This is the function of the substance. *Kabaliṅkārāhāra* is further divided into two as gross *(oḷārika)* and fine *(sukhuma).* It is stated that the nutritive essence in gross substances is weak whereas in fine or subtle substances it is strong. As an example it is stated that after eating coarse grain etc., one becomes hungry again after a short time, but one who eats butter etc., need not take food again for quite sometime. Further the *Expositor* says: 'the grossness and subtleness should be understood with varying references. Thus the nutriment of peafowl is subtle as compared with that of corcodiles. These are said to swallow stones and digest them in their stomach; peafowl eat such creatures as snakes and scorpions. And the nutriment of hyenas is subtle as compared with that of peafowl, for they are said to eat horns and bones discarded for three years, and which become soft as bulbs and roots the moment they are wetted by their saliva. The nutriment of elephants is subtle as compared with that of hyenas, for they eat leaves of various trees, etc. More subtle yet than that is the nutriment of the gayal, the wild ox, deer etc., which eat the pithless leaves of various trees, etc. More subtle than that is the nutriment of cattle, which eat grass, wet and dry. More subtle still is the nutriment of hares, more subtle still is that of birds, more still that of frontier people, more still that of village pensioners, more still that of kings and ministers, more still that of Universal monarchs, more still that of earthly gods, more still that of the four firmament guardians, each being more subtle than the last, as far as the Yāma and Paranimmitavasavatti beings, whose nutriment attains perfect subtlety. See ĀHĀRA.

D. Saddhasena

KĀCARAGĀMA (var. Kājaragāma), which is presently known as Kataragama, is a village located about fifteen kilometres to the north of Tissamahārāma (q.v.) in the deep south-east region of Sri Lanka. The earliest mention of this village is found in the chronicle *Mahāvamsa* where it is said that a sapling of the sacred *bodhi* tree at Anurādhapura was caused to be planted in Kācaragāma by Devānampiyatissa (*Mhv.* ch. 19, *v.* 62) during whose reign theri Saṅghamittā brought the southern branch of the sacred *bodhi* tree at Buddhagaya to Sri Lanka. The Kṣatriyas of Kācaragāma were participants in the ceremony of the planting of the sacred *bodhi* tree at the Mahāmeghavana in Anuradhapura (*Mhv.* ch. 19, *v.* 54). Tradition ascribes the construction of the massive *dāgäba* known today as Kirivehera at Kataragama, to a king by name Mahāsena who is believed to have ruled in Mahāgāma in Rohaṇa at the time of the third visit of the Buddha to Sri Lanka. The Buddha is said to have sanctified the spot where the *dāgäba* stands now by spending a short time in meditation at that spot, and king Mahāsena is supposed to have constructed the *dāgäba* at that spot in commemoration of that event, after the demise of the Buddha. According to *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (Vol. III. p. 214) *brāhmi* letters of about the first century B.C. were found inscribed on bricks fallen from the dome of the *dāgäba*. Further, one of the inscriptions found at the site records the enlargement of the old *dāgäba* in the 1st or 2nd century A.D., and hence the *dāgäba* may well be ascribed to a very early date, although its exact date of construction cannot be established with certainly, with the data available (PLATES XII, XIII).

King Mahāsena of Mahāgāma must have been a just and an efficient ruler loved by the people and he was therefore deified after his death. The deity has been called 'Kataragama deyyo' and 'Mahasen Deyyo' by the people. The deity is believed to wield great power and is placated by believers to obtain various favours. A legend says that King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī before waging war with Eḷāra, visited Vädahiṭi Kanda to pay homage to the Kataragama deity and there he had resolved to build a shrine for the Kataragama deity after defeating Eḷāra in battle. It is popularly believed that the shrine or *devāle* that is found at Kataragama today had been originally built by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī by way of fulfilling his vow. The *Kahakurulu Sandesaya* (verse 150) refers to the Kataragama devāle built by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Likewise the *Kirala sandesaya* (verse 169), *Mayura sandesaya* (verse 186) and *Sälalihini Sandesaya* make reference to the same matter.

Legends about Kataragama Deity: A legend connected with Kataragama occurs in the epic heroic poem *Skandha Purāṇa.* The original *Skandha Purāṇa* written in Sanskrit goes back to the fifth century B.C. and its Tamil version is supposed to have originated in the eighth century A.C. Skandha or Subramaṇya as he is called by the Hindus is the central fugure of this legend.

As with many other gods, the Kataragama deity too, has several names which are used in different parts of the island according to the occasion and type of ceremony. 'Murugā', a name by which he is familiar among his devotees, is used only in ceremonial occasions because it is considered far too holy to be commonly used and written down. 'Kuha Netra Suta' (son born from the eyes), Kārtikeya (the one coming from the Pleiades), Gāṅgeya (born out of the Ganges), Agni-bhū (The Fire-born), 'Sanmugam (One with six faces) are some of his many names which denote his origin.

The legend describes his supernatural birth thus: The gods *(surā)* and titans *(asurā)* fought against each other for a long time and there was a time when the gods were fefeated by the *asuras.* Under the guidance of Indra, gods went to Śiva and appealed to him for his help to defeat the *asuras.* Siva had five faces and each of them had three eyes which flashed in anger. A sixth face with another three eyes developed and simultaneously a spark shot forth from each middle eye so that the beings of the three worlds, the gods the titans and the humans, trembled with fear. Indra caught these six sparks and handed them to Agni, so that he could use them as weapons against the *asuras.* As they were too hot he threw them into the Ganges from where they came to lake Saravana. The six Kārtika virgins who lived there got these sparks and protected them and the sparks developed into six lovely children. One day Śiva came to Saravana lake with his spouse Umā and saw the six children. "Whose children are these?" Umā asked Śiva. "They are our own" was his answer. Umā hugged all six of them into her arms and they became a single being with six faces. Thus was born, Skanda, the God of War.

When he became a handsome, robust youth the gods appointed him their leader. He formed a retinue of thousand warriors and each warrior was provided with a lance with a flaming blade. With this army he waged war against *asuras* and defeated them. For this reason the lance became the symbol of this god and he is always represented by it, and it is venerated in his name. In gratitude for the victory over the *asurā.* Indra gave his daughter Deva-Senā in marriage to him. They both went to Kanda Velpu and lived there happily for a long time.

Śiva Purāṇa presents another legend relating to the supernatural birth of Skanda. It is said that *asura* Tāraka urged Brahmā to give him a boon and Brahmā agreed to do so. The boon was that only one of Siva's sons should be able to kill him. At that time Siva had no wife. In Dakṣa's sacrificial fire, Satī, the wife of Siva had burnt herself. Tāraka thought that Siva who was living an ascetic's life would not marry again. Tāraka who had been favoured by Brahmā received a thousand sea-horses from Kubera or Kuvera. The seven sages gave him the cow Kāmadhenu. Through Tāraka's actions the sun lost its radiance. The moon always remained full and the wind obeyed his orders.

The gods decided to slay Tāraka. This could be done only if Siva had a son. Satī was born again as Umā, daughter of Ḥimālayā. She was persuaded to beg for the affection of Siva. When she went to Siva he was in deep meditation and he took no notice of Umā. Then Indra appealed to Kāma, the god of love and implored him to go to Mount Kailās and stir Siva's passion. Kāma obeyed him. His wife Ratī (passion), and his friend, Vasanta (Spring) accompanied him. When they went there Siva was absorbed in meditation. He sat on a tiger-skin and his eyes were closed. With some flowers for Siva, Umā came. When she was about to put the flowers into Siva's hands Kāma shot an arrow. It struck Siva, and he woke from his meditation and just managed to see Kāma making off with his bow. Siva opened his third eye and by the radiated glow Kāma was burnt to ashes. But passion had been kindled in Siva. He saw Umā next to him and desired her as his wife. They were childless. After that the gods turned to Agni, the god of fire for help. Agni went to Mount Kailās just after Siva and Umā had cohabited Agni transformed himself into a dove. He managed to catch a little of Siva's seed. He dropped it into the seeds growing along the bank of the Ganges. Immediately a boy arose from it. He was as glorious as the moon and radiated a light like the sun. He was called Agnibhū, Skanda and Kārtikeya. Sarajanma, meaning the One Born in the Seeds, was another name for him.

Six princesses used to bathe at the place where the boy was born. They were the Pleiades. They saw the boy and each one wanted him for herself. Each offered her breast to him. Then the child got six faces and for this reason he was called Saḍmātrīya, which means owner of six mothers. In this way the god's wish was fulfilled. They had a warrior to fight the *asura* Tāraka. His only weapon was a lance (vel). Vel, vel, veti-vel (lance, lance, victorious lance) – the children sing thus in the Kataragama procession. The fight between the *sura* and *asura* is dramatically enacted during the festival season in Kataragama. Two figures to represent a god and an *asura* are exhibited on this occasion. The two figures run towards each other and in this way the battle is re-enacted.

Another legend says that Valli was so named as she had been found among wild yam creepers. The messenger of

the gods Nārada, also called Brahmaputra, told Skanda about Valli Ammā and he decided to go in search of her. Valli threw hrself at his feet and begged his pardon, as she had at first treated him very rudely. The marriage was consummated but Skanda got into difficulties over it.

When the *veddha* and his wife, who had earlier adopted Valliammā, returned to the cave, they did not see her there. They, with other tribesmen searched for her and ultimately found her with Skanda. *Veddas* tried to kill Skanda, but they did not succeed. In a short time Skanda killed many people with his spear. Valli was quite enraged at this and decided to leave Skanda. To appease her he called back to life all the *veddhas* he had killed. Peace was restored. The young couple settled down on the top of one of the neighbouring hills, which is now called Vädasitl-Kanda. To commemorate this event, people visit this place during the annual festivities.

When Deva-Senā, Skanda's first wife named Thevāni Ammā, came to know about his second marriage, she became restless. The jealousy that flared up within her gave her no peace of mind. She complained to her father and asked him to intervene. Then Indra came into contact with Kalyāṇagiri who knew how to make protective talismans *(yantras).* With the help of these talsmans Skanda was to be captured and brought back. Hearing of their attempt to capture him, Skanda, with the help of the *veddas,* the relatives of Valli, made the *yantra* and spell cast by Kaḷyāṇagiri ineffective. The creator of the *yantra,* Kaḷyāṇagiri, was transformed into a *lingam.* Thevāni, Skanda's first wife, being unsuccesful with her attempts to get back her husband, decided to come to Sri Lanka. Escorted by many Brahmins she came to Sri Lanka and settled down in Kataragama with Skanda and Valli. Since then Kataragama has become a shrine sacred to Hindus and *veddas.* Later on Buddhists also joined them in this practice. 'Kataragama' is an abbreviation of Kārthikeyagrāma which means 'The village of Karthigeya or Karthikeya'. Kaḷyāṇagiri also stayed close to them in Kataragama. One version of this myth says that Kaḷyāṇagiri had been transformed into a Multi lingaṃ after his death.

Skanda's Mount and Attributes: Skanda's mount *(vāhanaṃ)* sprang up from an *asura* defeated by him, but spared, so that in future he could serve him as a vehicle. The *asura* agreed to his suggestion. Accordingly the deity transformed him into a peacock on whose back he seated himself.

One of his six faces radiates light that dispels darkness; the second, expresses compassion and pity for human beings; the third, goodness and gentleness towards the peaceful; the fourth shines beautifully like the moon but explores all furtive things; the fifth blesses those who fall in the field of battle; the sixth, is the kind husband. Pictures of the deity often appear with his two wives. One is inclined to see in these two women and the spear the personification of lust, willpower and achievement.

The Yantra of the Kataragama Deity: In Kataragama no sculptural representation of the deity is to be seen. There is a painted representation of the deity in the Mahā-devāla. Coloured pictures of this deity and various other deities are sold at Kataragama. Among them Skanda, also, is represented. The only symbol is the *vel* (lance). One is in front of the Mahā Devāle and one at each of the other temples. Many people bring iron lances with them and leave them there as offerings to the god.

In the Mahā-devāle the pilgrims really have nothing to see as in many other places of worship. The front room of the temple is simple and bare. This room is separated from the room behind by three curtains of different colours. The room behind is the sanctum. It can be entered only by the Mahā kapurāla, the chief and the second kapurāla. On the first curtain the deity is painted with the two wives and their mount the peacock. In the rear of the sanctum, the most holy room, there is a small box which contains the precious *yantra* made by Mutulingaswāmi. This is supposed to be of gold and nobody except the two kapurālas (first and the second) have ever seen the object. Some allege that it only represents the six directions.

This small box containing the *yantra,* plays, of course, the major role during the processions. This precious object is the heart of everything. Every evening it is brought by the second Kapurāla who is completely covered in a long white cloth, out of the most holy room of the Mahādevāle on to the back of an elephant. Soon after the elephant carries it in a procession to the Valli Ammā temple after going around other temples there. For about a quarter of an hour the box with the *yantra* is kept inside the devāle by the second kapurāla. The sanctum of this temple is entered only by the first and second kapurālas. During ten successive nights this is repeated. On the last day (the tenth day) the box which contains the *yantra* is kept until dawn in Valli Amman Kovil. This is the wedding night of the god.

The main shrine *(devāle)* of the Kataragama deity is a small, unimpressive building. Adjoining it, is another smaller shrine for the god's elder brother, Gaṇesa. Close to Gaṇesa's Devāle are two recently built shrines for Viṣnu and the Buddha. The compound of the main shrine is connected to the shrine of Valli Ammā, who is considered to be the mistress of the god of Kataragama. Kirivehera, the ancient stūpa stands behind the main shrine, about one kilo-metre away from it. To the left of the main shrine, is the *devāle* of his legitimate spouse Devasenā or Tevayāni Ammā.

The main shrine is divided into two apartments or rooms. The pilgrims are allowed to assemble only in the outer part of the hall. Any one who enters the *devāle* precincts through the main gate can see the high stage decorated with leaves. It is through this decoration of leaves that one has to enter the main shrine to set foot on the outer room. The awe-inspiring high brazen frame of the door is a striking feature. The door fixed to it is also decorated with carvings. The key to the lock of the door is as large as a hand-axe. The moon-stone placed in front of the doorway is a modern one, but it is a fine example of the traditional indigenous art of the local craftsmen. Besides the main entrance there are two other smaller doors to admit worshippers.

The outer room with wooden pillars reminds us of the structural features of traditional architecture of the Tamils. Inside of the walls of this hall is blackened due to constant burning of camphor, scented sticks and such other material and is capable of infusing mystic feelings in the minds of the visitors.

The area connected to the entrance to the inner room is called *'vattārāma'* which is meant for the performance called *'ālattipūjāwa'*. The entrance to the inner hall has an old stone carving called *'koravakgala'*. A large curtain with a design of the god Kataragama covers the entrance to the inner hall. Near the entrance, a pot of water mixed with sandalwood powder is placed for the servicemen to wash their feet before they enter the shrine room. This place is known as 'Sandun Maṇḍapaya'. A short distance away from the Sandun Maṇḍapaya there is what is called Lathā Maṇḍapaya. Above the narrow verandah between these two *maṇḍapayas* there is a canopy of cloth which serves the purpose of a ceiling. Two large traditional oil lamps are burning constantly. In the lamps lighting ceremony *(ālattipūjā)* ālatti ammās light the lamps from these brazen lamps. During the festive season two precious tusks beautify this verandah. It is believed that these tusks originally belonged to King Duṭugemuṇu. This *maṇḍapaya* (enclosure) is used for chanting pirith during the festive season.

No details are revealed about the inner shrine of the Mahā Devāle because it is forbidden to do so.

The Devāle is roofed with copper plates. A careful study of the Devāle shows that several additions have been made from time to time. The decoration of leaves has been a long standing feature. According to the legend it is King Duṭugemuṇu who introduced this ceremony. These leaves are replaced by new leaves annually.

Daily Rituals Performed for the Deity: At the Kataragama devāle, as in many other devāles performance of rituals begins in the early hours of the morning. The rituals begin with the blowing of the conch, peeling of the bell, and beating of drums. Offering of food and drink reminds one the ceremonials and rituals held in the palaces of royalty in the past. Purity on the part of the service-personnel is *sine-qua-non* though the shrine has become dirty by lighting of coconut oil lamps and camphor.

A series of principles are being observed to safeguard the purity of the *devāle.* People – both men and women who come from unclean places or women in their monthly periods or women who have given birth to children recently and those men and women who come directly from funeral houses are not allowed to enter the shrine. The *devāle* will be closed for the public if a death has taken place within the precincts of the *devāle.* Several days later the *devāle* is purified by sprinkling turmeric powder-mixed water and will be open for the public again.

A Five-fold offering consisting of oil lamps, scented smoke, incense, betel and food with a beverage, comprise the daily offering to the deity. On special occasions the *pañcāmruta* beverage (a drink made with five kinds of medicinal food namely; butter, ghee, jaggery, curd and bee-honey) is offered.

The *kapurāla*, the attendant official of the god brings the appeals of the devotees to the notice of the deity. He places the offerings made by the devotees before the god and makes a solemn request from him. These requests are two-fold. One is a request to invoke his blessings on the devotees and the other is a request to curse his enemies. In a humble request made from the deity he is praised by uttering his great and super normal qualities and in a curse his birth, cleverness and dexterity are praised.

For what type of favours is this Deity placated? God Kataragama is said to be capable of blessing and cursing. Devotees make offerings for these two purposes. They think that god Kataragama is a living deity who grants favours in their time of need.

In order to win the favour of the god devotees offer sweet-meats, fruits, flowers and incense. Those who are suffering from diseases make vows to the deity. They chant psalms in his praise for some days, especially on days set apart for the deity. Saturday and Wednesday are considered as auspicious days to placate the god and to draw his attention.

Today, many people irrespective of their race and religion go to Kataragama to invoke the blessings of the deity. In order to win the heart of the loved ones, to secure employment, to ensure success in trade and industry, to achieve success in examinations and interviews, to achieve political power and for many other human needs the help of the Kataragama deity is sought. People give pledges and vow to do various things to please the god when their wishes are fulfilled. Many Hindu Tamils undergo

penances and mortify their bodies by way of redeeming these vows.

Festivals at Kataragama: Every year three festivities take place in Kataragama. The first is the *äsala* Perehera, the main festival of Kataragama which lasts for two weeks. It is heralded by the Magul Perahera, which is held for ten successive nights. In these, the love affair of the deity with his beloved and their union are symbolically demonstrated. Water cutting is held after the last night. This takes place in the morning of the full-moon day. The second festival is the *Ilmahākacchi* festival that lasts for three days. The third festival is called *alut avurudda*. It is held in April and coincides with the new year festival of the Sinhalese and the Tamil Hindus. The first festival is above all, of highest importance.

There are eight *kapurālas*, of whom one holds the title Mahā Kapurāla. They are all under a Basnāyaka who is the chief of the administrators. Basnāyaka and *kapurālas* are all Sinhalese. In addition to these officials or employees there is a group of women called *ālatti ammās* attached to the Devāle. These temple damsels or women correspond to the *deva dāsis* of South Indian temples. They are said to be the descendents of Valli Ammā. *Ālatti* is the term for a small bronze oil lamp. Before the *perahera* begins the damsels light their lamps from large candle-sticks in front of the Mahā Devāle. Carrying these lamps they go in the procession directly in front of the elephant carrying the palanquin. After the last *perahera* they dance for a fairly long time in front of the temple of Valli Ammā where the relic is kept for the whole night, to please the couple, Valli Ammā and the god. Originally there were twelve in their group, but the number has now been reduced to eight.

Representation of *veddas* at the *äsala* perahera is also a regular feature. This is an ancient custom continued up to the present. During the *äsala* perahera season, many pious Islamists come to Kataragama, but they always stay within the area allotted for them. They never visit the shrine of the Hindus and the Buddhists and do not take part in the *perahera*. Everyday, they arrange a procession around their mosque. There are leaders of prayers who perform usual services inside the mosque.

The Pageant *(perahära)* at Kataragama: The annual perahera of the Kataragama Devāle starts on the *pura pälaviya* day (on the first day of the new moon) in the month of *äsala* (July–August) and ends with "Water Cutting" and "Water Sports" in the morning after full moon *(ava pälaviya)*. This is a pageant that portrays piety and devotion of the believers to the god Kataragama, and it celebrates his passion and sensuality. In brief, it is a glorification of sensuous life.

People from all walks of life, young and old, men and women participate in the perahera. Especially the young join *kāvāḍi* dancing to please the god and to show their devotion to him.

A legendary and mythical description about *kāvāḍi* (also known as *käveri*), made in the shape of an arch and beautifully decorated with peacock feathers, runs as follows: "Siva once ordered Agasthi – a sage–to remove two small hills of Mount Kailās. The sage assigned the task to one of his pupils, a demon named Idumbasura. The demon saw the Brahmā's stick *(daṇḍa)* placed on the top of one of the two hills and a snake on the other hill. The demon took the stick and tied the two hills onto the two ends of the stick using the snake as a rope. With the help of the stick he carried the load to the south. Being tired on his way he decided to rest for a while and placed the load on the ground. When he tried to lift the load again the two hills had been fastened to the ground. Skanda himself had caused the two hills to be stuck to the ground and from that time it is said the two hills remained there at Kataragama. In remembrance of this incident pilgrims carry *kāvāḍi* or *käveri* on their shoulders in pilgrimage to Kataragama. Two small pots of milk and sugar are tied to each *kāvāḍi* as offerings to the deity.

Kāvāḍi dancing has enhanced the beauty of the annual pageant of Kataragama and has become a striking feature of it. Carrying *kāvāḍis* on the shoulders, the devotees dance to the rhythm of drums and other musical instruments. In front of the chief shrine (Mahā Devāle) *kāvāḍi* dancers dance for some time and go to the *devāle* of Ganeṣa, Buddhist temple, Bo-tree and the Thevāni Ammā Kovil and the temple of Mutulinga sāmi respectively.

Fire Walking: Fire walking is the most attractive ritual performed at the Kataragama Devāle. The day before the ceremony one has to get one's name registered with the trustee, if one wishes to walk on fire the following day. The chief fire walker or the leader appointed by the trustee checks each person and permits him to walk on fire after applying *vibhūti* (sacred or holy ash) on his forehead.

Fire walking at the Mahā Devāle (the main shrine) had been the monopoly of Hindus for many years and now it has become an exclusively Sinhala pratice. In a trench about thirty feet long wood is stacked to the height of about four feet and ash that remain on top after burning is brushed off to keep the surface red hot continuously.

Fire walking is performed to fulfil the vows people have made, to cure patients and drive away evil powers of harmful ghosts or spirits. Some devotees say that they achieve *ākarṣana* by this performance. *Ākarsana* is the *śakti* or *diṭṭhi* (power) of the god that reaches the devotee's body. Some believe that it is through devotion or *bhakti* to the god that one can walk on fire. Mutukuḍa

Sāmi and Wijeratna Sāmi (both Sinhala Buddhists) maintained that fire walking required no *bhakti* but concentration in the Buddhist sense and a pious life. Vegetarianism and observance of the ten precepts would suffice for this. According to them, practics of morality *(paṭipatti)* is important, but not *bhakti.*

There are many forms of self-torture and chastisement that some devotees undergo. The least harmful torture is rolling bare bodied on the rough ground to the Mahā Devāla and around it. Some devotees drag carts behind them by means of ropes of which one end is attached to the cart and the other end fastened to iron hooks driven into the flesh of their backs. Idols of the god and his beloved are placed in these carts.

The most torturous and awe-inspiring sight is the suspension of a lonely devotee horizontally in the air with iron hooks driven into the flesh of his back and tied with ropes to a scaffold planted on a cart. The cart carries the penitent hanging from the scaffold to every devāle for about two hours.

Ablutions (Ritual Bath): Hindu philosophy teaches that the five elements - water, fire, air, earth and ether *(āpo-thejo- vāyo-paṭhavi-* and *ākāsa)* constitute the basic elements of the universe. Therefore at home, in the temple *(kovil)* and in such other places water is used as a purifier. Both priests *(kapurālas)* and worshippers have to purify themselves before they take part in religious ceremonies at the temple or *kovil.* The priests have to keep themselves in a state of purity all the time as they are the mediators between the god and the devotees. Thus they begin their day with ablutions in the morning. Before they enter the *devāle* the priests as well as the worshippers have to purify themselves again. Before they participate in *pūjās* (offerings to the god) it is customary to wash hands and feet at the temple well or tank.

To maintain themselves in ritual purity, ceremonial bathing is done by many worshippers. This seems to be the central idea behind the bathing in the Māṇik Gaṅga at Kataragama. Māṇik Gaṅga at Kataragama and the Sīta Gaṅgula at the foot of Srī Pāda are considered as sacred rivers in sri Lanka. Pilgrims to Srī Pāda, too, have their ceremonial bath in the river named Sīta Gaṅgula.

Māṇik Ganga flows through the frontiers of the sacred city of Kataragama and before the pilgrims cross the river to enter the sacred area many have their bath in this river. Though the water in the river is scanty and muddy throughout the year the devotees deem it to be sacred. Those who cross over the bridge to the sacred area can see at every nook and corner of the river men, women and children of different ages and social position dipping themselves in this river in order to make themselves clean and pure.

Having purified themselves by thus bathing, the votaries dress themselves up in clean cloths (mainly white) and make their way towards the main shrine of the Kataragama deity which is several hundred yards away from Māṇik ganga. On their way they buy *pūjā vaṭṭi* (baskets woven in reed into which several items of offering are put) from wayside boutiques packed with these items. Normally a *pūjā vaṭṭiya* contains a few betel leaves, a husked coconut, a bunch of plantains and a few other fruits like mango, papaw and pine apple. The richness of the *pūjāvaṭṭiya* varies according to the paying capacity of the votary.

On entering the precincts of the shrine through the arch way the votary breaks a husked coconut by striking it with force on a slab of granite meant for that purpose. It is customary to pick one or two pieces of the crushed coconut and bite them. PLATE XIV

The votary next hurries towards the shrine to take his place in the queue to enter the shrine. Entering the shrine the votaries assemble in the small hall, eagerly awaiting their turn to hand-over the *pūjāvaṭṭi* to the *kapurāla* (agent of the deity) to be offered to the deity. Normally a fee has to be placed in the *pūjāvaṭṭiya* before it is given over to the *kapurāla.* The *kapurāla* takes the *pūjāvaṭṭi* individually and take them behind the curtain. A little while later he returns the *pūjāvaṭṭi* to the votaries with half of the material in those *vaṭṭi.* The offerings are thus made to the deity.*

T. Ariyadhamma

KAIDĀN, Japanese equivalent of the Pāli and Sinhala term *Sīmā* (q.v.), a place for performing the ceremonies of Higher Ordination *(upasampadā).* The first *kaidān* in Japan was constructed in front of the main shrine of the Todaiji temple in Nārā in 754 A.C., by the Chinese monk Ganjin (687-763 A.C.). See SĪMĀ

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* The author courteously acknowledges utilising material from the under-mentioned books in the compilation of this article:

1. Gombrich, Richard and Obesekera, Gananath, *Buddhism Transformed,* Princeton, U.S.A., 1988
2. Wirz, Paul, *Kataragama, the Holiest Place in Ceylon,* Lake House Investments, Colombo, 1966.
3. Arunachalam, Sir P., *The Worship of Muruka Skanda, JRAS (CB),* Vol. XXIX, No. 77. 1924

KAKACŪPAMA SUTTA, the first sutta of the third of the five divisions *(tatiya vagga)* of the first fifty discourses *(Mūlapaṇṇāsaka)* of the *Majjhima Nikāya (M.* I. pp. 122–130). The Sutta derives its name from a parable used in the discourse, namely, the parable of the saw *(kakaca).*

Kakacūpamasutta was preached by the Buddha when he was once staying in the Jeta's Grove in Sāvatthi. A bhikkhu named Moliyaphagguṇa was living in close intimacy with the nuns and was angry and displeased with other bhikkhus when they spoke in dispraise of the nuns. When the Buddha came to know about Phagguṇa's unbecoming behaviour be summoned the latter to his presence and advised him not to be angry and displeased at others' censure and instructed him not to allow his mind to get disturbed and utter evil speech. The Buddha further advised him to dwell with a mind full of friendliness and devoid of hatred, even if anyone disparages him, gives him a blow with the hand, with a clod of earth, with a stick or with a weapon.

After admonishing Phagguṇa thus, the Buddha addressed the congregation of monks and told them about the benefit of taking a single meal a day. Such a practice leads to good health to develop physical strength, to cause lightness of body and to comfortable living. Further the Buddha said that some monks are very gentle, meek and tranquil as long as disagreeable ways of speech do not assail them. To illustrate this point the Buddha related the story of a house-wife named Vedehikā who had a good reputation of being gentle, meek and tranquil. Vedehikā's attendant, Kāli, wanted to test her mistress and one day she awoke late in the morning. Vedehikā was much displeased at this and frowned on her. Kāli wanted to test her mistress further and she awoke much later the following day and Vedehikā became greatly annoyed and uttered harsh words. In this manner Kāli continued to sleep much longer gradually, and each day Vedehikā became more furious and ended up by beating Kāli with a club and injuring her. After this incident a bad reputation spread about the lady Vedehikā that she was violent, not meek and not tranquil.

Further the Buddha advised the monks to respect *dhamma*, revere *dhamma* and honour *dhamma* as it was the way for them to become ameanable and develop suavity. The Buddha explained to them the five-fold speaking pattern of people, i.e. they speak at the right time or at the wrong time; in keeping with facts or not in keeping with facts; gently or harshly; on what is conducive to good or not conducive to good; with a mind of friendliness or with a mind full of hatred and viciousness and instructed the monks to dwell with a kind and compassionate mind.

Lastly, the Buddha giving several similes explained to his disciples how to behave when others speak to them, and advised them not to get angry or displeased even if low-down thieves carve them limb from limb with a double-handled saw *(kakaca).*

D. Saddhasena

KAKUHAN (1095 A.C.–1143 A.C.) also known by the honorific title Kokyo Daishi, was a renowned Japanese monk of the Shingon sect. He founded the new branch of Shingon called Shingi-Shingon or Reformed Shingon.

Kakuhan, after joining the order, first studied under Kanjo at the Ninnaji temple, and later at Nārā, Mt. Koya and also at the Daigo-je temple. Though he studied almost all the forms of Buddhism prevalent in Japan at the time, his special bent was towards the mysticism of Shingon Buddhism which he thoroughly mastered. In recognition of his scholarship and erudition he was appointed as the chief incumbent of the Kongobu-ji temple. Subsequently he was made also the head monk of the Daidembo-in temple. However, a majority of the monks opposed this subsequent appointment and Kakuhan, on account of their strange opposition, was forced to give up that post. Finally he left the Kongobu-ji temple, too, and established the Negoro monastery at Kii, and with it was founded the new branch of Shingon called Shingi-Shingon.

In his new teaching Kakuhan attempted to blend Amidism with Shingon Buddhism by incorporating the invocation of the name of Amida into the rituals of Shingon mysticism. He taught that in essence Amida is same as the Buddha Vairocana of whom, according to Shingon Buddhism, the whole world is a manifestation. Arguing on this assumption he pointed out that all beings are already in Amida's Pure-Land and that they have only to comprehend this fact in order to realize that they are saved. As the Pure-Land is everywhere, he pointed out that he who meditates on Amida in accordance with the teachings of Shingi-Shingon is able to attain Buddhahood here and now.

As evident from the subsequent history of Japanese Buddhism this new branch of Shingon, with its headquarters at Nagoro flourished and became a formidable force that influenced even the course of secular history of the country.

S. K. Nanayakkara

KAKUSANDHA (Skt. Krakucchanda) – The twenty second of the twenty four Buddhas who preceded

Gautama Buddha (*Buv.* p. ix) and the first of the five Buddhas of the present world period called *bhaddha-kappa (Buv.* p. 101). His parents were brahmin Aggidatta, chaplain to King Khemaṅkara of the Kingdom of Khemavatī, and Visakhā. He was born in the Khema pleasance and lived for four thousand years in the household in three palaces – Ruci, Suruci and Vaḍḍhana (or Rativaḍḍhana). His wife was Virocamānā (or Rocanā), and he had a son named Uttara. He renounced worldly life riding in a chariot and practised austerities for eight months. Before he attained Enlightenment he partook of a meal of milk-rice offered by the daughter of the brahmin Vajirinda of the village of Sucirinda. Grass for his seat was given by Subadda, a farm boy. Kakusandha Buddha attained Enlightenment under a *sirisa-tree*, and his first sermon was preached to eighty four thousand *bhikkhus* in the park named Makila. He performed the Twin-miracle under a *sāla* tree at the gates of Kannakujja. Among his converts was a fierce demon *(yakkha)* named Naradeva.

Kakusandha Buddha's chief disciples were Vidhura and Sañjīva among *bhikkhus* and Sāmā and Campā among *bhikkhuṇis.* His personal attendant was Buddhija. Accuta and Sumana were his eminent supporters among lay men, and Nandā and Sunandā among lay women. Accuta built a monastery for Kakusandha Buddha on the site where, in the present age Anāthapiṇḍika built the Jetavanārāma. The monastery built by Accuta was half a league in extent and the land was bought with gold *kaccapas* sufficient in number to cover it (*J.* I. 94).

Sri Lankan chronicles state that Kakusandha Buddha paid a visit to Srī Laṅka. The island was then known as Ojadīpa and its capital was Abhayanagara ruled by King Abhaya. The Mahāmegha park was called Mahātittha. The Buddha came with forty thousand disciples to rid the island of pestilence caused by evil spirits and stood on the Devakūṭa mountain from where all inhabitants of the country could see him. The Buddha and his disciples were entertained with a meal and after the meal the Mahātittha garden was presented to the Order of Bhikkhus. The Buddha went to several spots in the garden and sat there in meditation in order to consecrate those spots. At the Buddha's wish, the *bhikkhunī* Rucānandā brought to the island a branch of the sacred *bodhi* tree. The Buddha gave to the people his own drinking vessel as an object of worship and returned to Jambudīpa, leaving behind his disciples Mahādeva and Rucānandā to look after the spiritual welfare of the new converts to the faith (*Buv.* chap. xxiii, *Dpv.* chap. 2, *v.* 66; *Mhv.* chap. 15; *vv.* 57-90).

Kakusandha Buddha lived for forty thousand years and passed away in the Khema pleasance. A *thūpa* one league high was erected over his relics at the site of his passing away (s.v. *DPPN).*

KĀLA. See SPACE-TIME

KĀLA-CAKRA, the wheel or the circle of time, was a particular phase of Tāntric Buddhism, which accordingly, is designated as the *Kālacakrayāna.* The particular teaching of this school is mainly based on the text called *Srī-kālacakra-tantra* which is available in Tibetan (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* II, p. 401, note 4) and also in the original Sanskrit in manuscript form in the Cambridge University Library as we are infomed by S.B. Dasgupta who quotes from it *(An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism,* pp. 66, notes 1, 2 and 3)[1].

As indicated by the term *kālacakra*, the philosophy of this school is based on the concept of time conceived as a wheel or a circle without beginning, without end. The futility of attempting to find the first beginning of anything is an admitted fact in Buddhism and therefore the whole existence is treated as a wheel under the more common term *saṃsāra-cakra.* This is the general concept of life in Buddhism and when Time is regarded as an aspect of existence or in other words, when existence is conceived from the viewpoint of time, one can easily evolve a system of philosophy and ritual out of it and this is what has happened in the case of the *kālacakra* form of Buddhism. Time in this sense is regarded as the ultimate, immutable and unchangeable element underlying all phenomena in the same way as the concepts of *dharma-kāya, kharmadhātu, śūnyatā* or *nirvāṇa* are considered. In this sense Time is the ultimate and absolute support of all phenomena and is thus described in the *Sekoddesaṭīkā* (*GOS.* XC. p. 8) which is a commentary on the section dealing with consecration *(abhiśeka)* in the *kālacakra-tantra,* in the following terms: "Time is of the nature of observing and is symbolised by *karuṇā* and *śūnyatā. Sūnyatā* is said to be like a wheel and hence the wheel of time *(kālacakra)* is non-dual and imperishable" [2].

1. A large number of works dealing with the *Kālacakra* system are found in the Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* as shown in the *Taisho* Index. See under *Srī-kālacakra.* See also *JRAS.* Bengal Branch, 1952, p. 2, pp. 71-6
2. *Karuṇā-sūnyatā-mūrtiḥ.*
   kālaḥ saṃvṛti-rūpinī
   sūnyatā cakramityuktam
   kālacakro 'dvayamakṣayam.

The indentity of the macrocosm and the microcosm is another important philosophical tenet made use of in this system. Hence, at the beginning of the *Kālacakra tantra* (Dasgupta, *loc. cit)* the Buddha is made to state that the *Kālacakra* system of *yoga,* with all its accessories of magic circles *(maṇḍala)* and consecrations *(abhiṣeka)* is explained within this very body. The Buddha further explains how the entire universe with all its objects and localities is found in the human body itself and how time with all its *divisions* (i.e. day, night, fortnight, month, year etc.) too is within the body in its process of the vital wind *(prāṇavāyu).* And this is nothing different from the Buddha's statement occurring in the *Nikāyas, (A.* II, 48 and *S.* I, 62): "Verily, I declare unto you, that within this very body, mortal though it be, and only a fathom high, but conscious and endowed with mind, is the world, the waxing thereof, and the waning thereof and the way that leads to the passing thereof."

In his account of the *Kālacakra* system based on the commentary of the *Kālacakra-tantra,* called *Vimalaprabhā* (manuscript in the *RASB.* library and quoted by Dasgupta, *op. cit.* p. 53, note 1), Dasgupta says (p. 67): "Here he (i.e. *Kālacakra*) is saluted as of the nature of *Śūnyatā* and *karuṇā;* in him there is the absence of the origination and destruction of the three worlds, he is a unification of the kowledge and the knowable; goddess Prajñā who is both with form and without form, is embraced by him; he is bereft of origination and change; he is immutable bliss bereft of all lower pleasure; he is the father of the Buddhas, possessing the three *kāyas,* the knower of the three times (i.e. past, present and future), the omniscient, the ultimate and original Buddha, the non dual-Lord".

This account shows that Lord Kālacakra is the same as the Ādibuddha or the Vajrasattva. And, in fact, the Kālacakra system is called Ādibuddhayāna or the Ādiyāna in the *Kālacakra tantra* itself (B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* Calcutta, 1958 edition, p. 187). It is the personification of the absolute on the basis of the concept of time. And hence he is addressed as the benevolent, all-powerful Lord in the following words:

"Be homage to *Kālacakra* for the removal of all obstructions, to him who is the highest, the imperishable, the bliss perfect. Be homage to thee who is knowledge incarnate.

"O lord, be gracious to me today, consecrating me with that consecration, which is imperishable, the *bodhicitta,* which is of the nature of *śūnyatā* and of *karuṇā.*

"I shall be your slave for all time, with my wife and children. To me there is no other refuge until enlightenment is attained" *(Sekoddesa-tika,* GOS, XC, p. 24). Hence it symbolises *Nirvāṇa* from the viewpoint of Time. In the ritualistic side of the system it is seen that all the important elements of Indian *yoga* such as postures *(āsana),* breathing exercises *(prāṇayāma),* magic circles *(maṇḍala),* consecrations *(abhiṣeka)* etc. were incorporated. In this respect the following words of W. Y. Evans-Wentz may be quoted here: "In the *Kālacakra*-system, the inscrutable powers which work through nature, bringing into manifestation universes and then absorbing them, and causing men to live and die, are personified not only in their dual aspect by the *shakta* and *shakti* as in the older Tāntricism but also in the dual functions of preservation (represented in Hinduism by Vishnu) and destruction (represented in Hinduism by Shiva). Thus there came into Tāntricism two new groupings of deified personifications, one being the order of peaceful deities, personifying the powers making for preservation, the other being that of the wrathful deities, personifying the powers making for destruction".[3]

The *Kālacakra* system is said to have been popular in northern India, Kashmir and Nepal by about the 10th century A.C. It is generally believed this system originated in Sambhala, which has not yet been identified with certainty. According to S.C. Das as quoted by Evans-Wentz (*op. cit.* p. 59) it is a city said to have been located near the river Oxus in Central Asia and according to Monier Williams it is a town situated between the Rathapra and the Ganges and identified by some as Samthal in Mondabad where the future Kalki incarnation *(avatāra)* is said to appear.

Another authority observes: "Within the fold of Vajrayāna there arose in or about the 10th century A.D. a school known as Kālacakrayāna, which should not be regarded as a separate school of Tāntrik Buddhism distinct from Vajrayāna. The supreme deity in this school is called the Lord Srī Kālacakra. *Kālacakra* means the ultimate immutable knowledge *(prājñā)* or the state of *śūnyatā* while *cakra* means the cycle of the world process, or the body of the Lord containing the potency of the existence of the universe which is just the principle of *Upāya.* Kālacakra, therefore implies the absolutely unified principle of *prajñā* and *upāya* and he is thus the *bodhicitta.* In some *tantras* he is characterised as *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* unified, as the non-dual Lord or as embracing *prajñā.* There is therefore no essential difference betwen the two conceptions of *Kālacakra* and *Vajrasattva".* (R.C. Majumdar, *The Struggle for Empire,* Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavān, Bombay, 1966, p. 422).

The Buddha is said to have promulgated the *Kālacakra* system in Orissa (Dhanyakaṭaka) and that Sucandra, the

3. *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation,* Oxford University Press, 1954, p. 60

king of Sambhala, received the teaching miraculously and wrote the *Kālacakra-tantra*, although it was not published till the tenth century A.C. According to Tibetan authorities the system was introduced into Nālandā by a pandit called Chilu and accepted by Narotapa who was then head of the University and thence it spread to Tibet.[4]

The iconographical description of the God Kālacakra, as given in the *Vispannayogāvalī* (pp. 83-4) is as follows: "God Kālacakra *(bhagavān kālacakraḥ)* dances in *ālīḍha* attitude on the bodies of Ananga and Andra lying on the back. He is blue in colour. He wears tiger skin and has twelve eyes and four faces. He is endowed with three necks and six shoulders. With the principal twelve hands on each side and the subsidiary hands, the total number of his hands is twenty four thousand *(caturviṃśati-sahaśrah)*. Two of his right hands are blue, two red and two white. The hands are similar in the left. Thus along with subsidiary hands, four are blue, four red and four white. They occur both in the right and in the left.

"In the four hands of blue colour are held the *vajra*, the *triśūla* and the *kartr*. In the four hands of red colour are held the fire, the arrow, the *vajra* and the *aṅkusa*. And in the three white hands are shown the discus, the knife, the rod and the axe. In the four left hands of blue colour are shown the *vajra*-marked bell, the plate, the *khatvanga* with the gaping mouth and the *Kapāla* full of blood. In the four hands of red colour can be seen the bow, the noose, the jewel and the lotus. In the four hands of white colour, there are the mirror, the *vajra*, the chain and the severed head of Brahma" (The English translation is as given by B. Bhattacharya in his *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 187-8). Bhattacharya also informs us that images or paintings of Kālacakra are rare in India. In Tibet and China he is a more popular deity. He also suggests that owing to the blue colour of the deity, Kālacakra is to be regarded as an emanation of the *dhyāni-buddha* Akśobhya. His representations further has a third eye in each hand. He also wears a garland of skulls and a belt of ornaments of *vajra*. He is always represented in *yab-yum* (father-mother: *yuganaddha)* posture embracing his female counterpart or Prajñā, who is designated *Viśvamātā* or Universal Mother (*Niśpanna-yogāvalī*, p. 84). The god's two original hands are at the goddesse's back, and hold the *vajra* and the *ghaṇṭā* with the wrists crossed in the *vajrahuṃkāra-mudrā*. The goddess is two or four-faced and eight-armed. She too has the third eye in each face and is orange-coloured and holds the *kartṛkā* and *kapāla* in her two original hands. (Antonette K. Gordon, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, Charles E. Juttle and Co., Ruthland, Vermont, Tokyo, Japan, 1959, p. 85).[5]

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

KĀLĀMA SUTTA is included in the *Mahā Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* of the Pali Canon.[1] A *sutta* with very similar content is found in *Aṅguttara Nikāya* Vol. II, pp. 190-193. The *Kālama Sutta* was preached to Kālāmas when the Buddha was met by them at their township named Kesaputta in the land of Kosala. The Kālāmas of Kesaputta point out to the Buddha that different recluses and Brahmins visit them at Kesaputta and instruct them in accordance with their own theories and dogmas. They complain to the Buddha that each one of these teachers exalts one's own teaching and disparages, and finds fault with the teachings of others. Since these teachers propound mutually contradictory doctrines, the Kālāmas report to the Buddha that they are sceptical about all the theories. They seek guidance from the Buddha for overcoming their scepticism. The other *Sutta* having a similar content was preached to Bhaddiya Licchavi by the Buddha when the Buddha was living at Mahāvana, in the *Kūṭāgāra* Hall in Vesāli. The occasion for preaching the latter was the reference made by Bhaddiya Licchavi to a certain allegation made against the Buddha that the Buddha used some kind of magic to make converts to his own religion. Here too the Buddha mentions the ten grounds which he rejected in the *Kālāma Sutta* for determining the truth of an assertion, and points out that they should discover the truth in their own experience.

Many scholars believe that the *Kālāma Sutta* represents the essence of the Buddha's epistemological teaching. For, it is in this *Sutta* that the Buddha presents ten grounds which should not be relied upon for determining the truthfulness of a statement. In this *Sutta* it is also explicitly stated that a statement should be accepted only when one has personally known it to be true. The importance of the *Sutta* lies in the fact that it mentions a number of grounds which were not acceptable to the Buddha as ultimate criteria for determining the truth of a statement. The grounds mentioned in the *Sutta* are significant from the point of view of the early Buddhist theory of knowledge in particular and from the point of view of the history of epistemology in Indian philosophy in general. Some of the terms used in the *Kālāma Sutta*

4. See Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, pp. 386-8.
5. Alice Getty, too, gives a description in her *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 128.

1. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. I, 188-197

probably had acquired a certain technical meaning in the philosophical and religious discourses of the time of the Buddha. They occur in the same form or with some variations in other *Suttas* of the Pali canon as well as in the religious and philosophical liteature of pre-Buddhist and post Buddhist India. Many modern interpreters of Buddhism quote the *Kālāma Sutta* as evidence for characterizing early Buddhism as a non-authoritarian, rational and empirical system of thought. It is also viewed as advocating the principle of free inquiry particularly in the spiritual and the moral spheres which usually give rise to much diversity of opinions. It is also important to point out that the *Kālāma Sutta* is not just one isolated instance in which Buddhism advocates a non-authoritarian attitude. The Buddhist attitude reflected in the *Kālāma Sutta* appears to be consistent with a number of other discourses in the *Sutta Piṭaka*. Therefore, the *Kālāma Sutta* may be viewed as a standard formulation and statement of the Buddhist critique and evaluation of certain commonly accepted criteria of truth during the time of the Buddha. The observations made by the Buddha are relevant to any seeker of truth today as much as to those to whom the *Sutta* was addressed by the Buddha in his own time.

The *Kālāma Sutta* could be better understood in terms of the *Sangāvava sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* in which the Buddha responds to a direct question regarding the ground on which he based his teachings.[2] Here the Buddha classifies all teachers into three groups. K. N. Jayatilleke in his *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge (EBTK)* has interpreted the classification mentioned in this *Sutta* as (1) traditionalist, (2) reasoners and metaphysicians and (3) experientialists.[3] The term 'traditionalists' is used as a rendering of the Pali term *anussutikā* in the *Saṅgārava Sutta*. The first ground which is rejected by the Buddha in the *Kālāma Sutta* is *anussava*. The term *anussava* is derived from the prefix *anu* which has the meaning "successive" and the verbal root *śru* meaning "to hear." Buddhism too used the term *suti* to indicate learning from some authoritative source. A person who is much learned or well versed in the teaching of the Buddha is described in the Suttas as *bahussuto* (*D*. I, 93, 137, *Vin*. II, 95). The knowledge of the teaching of the Buddha possessed by a person who has learned it from the Buddha or from some accepted source of authority in Buddhism is called *sutamayī paññā* (*D*. III, 219). Such usage suggests that it is reasonable to understand the term *anussava* as having the sense of any form of successive transmission of a body of teachings or beliefs derived from some authoritative source.

K. N. Jayatilleke classes under the general category of authority six of the ten possible ways of claiming knowledge criticized by the Buddha in the *Kālāma Sutta*. They are (1) *anussava*, (2) *paramparā*, (3) *itikirā*, (4) *piṭakasampadā*, (5) *bhavyarūpatā* and (6) *samaṇo no garu* (*EBTK* p. 172). Perhaps it is because all these six means of knowing involved some form of hearing from an authoritative source that the *Saṅgārava Sutta* mentions only *anussava* as a general term which includes other sources as well. The special sense and importance attached to the term *anussava* is seen from the fact that it heads the list given in the *Kālāma Sutta*. Jayatilleke contends that the term *anussava* had a special significance in the canonical usage of the term. According to him it had a special reference to the authority of the Vedic scriptures and was used in a sense similar to that of the term revelation in theistic religious traditions.

Woodward translates *anussava* as report.[4] Horner also uses the same translation in many instances.[5] An alternative translation that she has sometimes used is "tradition" [6]. Jayatilleke is not satisfied with either of these renderings (*EBTK* p. 175). According to Jayatilleke the term *anussava* should not be so translated where the Vedic tradition contention Jayatilleke refers to a passage in the *Cankī Sutta*.[7] According to Jayatilleke, "It would seem from this context that the brahmins were claiming the absolute authority and validity of Vedic scritpure not merely out of faith in a tradition, but out of faith in a sacred, holy or revelational tradition." (*EBTK*. p. 177). Examining the evidence in the religious literature of the period he concludes that sometime before the *Yoga Sūtra* and probably during the time of early Buddhism, *anussava* had come to mean the sacred Vedic tradition. The point that Jayatilleke had laboured to make in this discussion is that the Buddha's criticism of *anussava* applies primarily to revelation as a means of knowledge. For Vedic knowledge was held by the brahmins to be revealed by Brahmā, who in some strata of the brahmanical literature was evidently considered as a personal creator God. The *Vedas* were considered to be a holy and sacred tradition the truth and authority of which should not, according to the brahmins, be questioned because it was ultimately heard from and handed down by Brahmā,

2. *Majjhima Nikāya* Vol. II, p. 211.
3. *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1963) p. 172.
4. *Gradual Savings*, Vol. II. p. 200.
5. *Middle Length Sayings*, Vol. II. 199, 360, 400.
6. *Middle Length Sayings*, Vol. III. 6, 20.
7. *Na kho ettha brāhmaṇā saddhāya yeva payirupāsanti, anussavā p'ettha payirupāsanti. Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. II. 170

an omniscient and personal being (or Prajāpati, who is identified with Brahmā). Examining the evidence in the Pali *Nikāyas,* as well as the pre-Buddhist Vedic literature, Jayatilleke concludes that there are three possible senses in which the term was used in the Pali canonical literature. The more specific and important sense attached to the term comes close to "divine revelation" accepted by brahmanical teachers. It also has the sense of authoritative tradition. The more uncommon and non-technical sense in which the term may have been used is "report".

Two other terms used in the *Kālāma Sutta* in the sense of traditional authority are *paramparā* and *piṭaka-sampadā.* Their usage in the Pali *suttas* shows that these terms are also closely associated with the Vedic tradition. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, 169) the two terms occur as *brāhmanānam purāṇam mantapadaṃ itiha itiha paramparāya piṭakasampadāya.* In the same text (*M.* I. 520) the expression *andhaveṇi paramparā* is used to refer to the Vedic tradition.

The next kind of knowledge based on authority mentioned in the *Kālāma Sutta* is *itikira.* The Pali commentarial tradition explains the term *kira* in terms of the term *anussava.* [8] There is a correspondence between *itikirā* and *itiha itiha.* In Pali both *ha* and *kira* are used in introducing anecdotal material. The *dhamma* propounded by the Buddha is said to be one which is *anītiha* which may be taken as the opposite of *itiha itiha.* [9] K. N. Jayatilleke points out that the Vedic term *aitihya* included the speculative material of the brahmanical religion pertaining to the religious life. The education of the Brahmin student appears to have included the study of legendary and historical lore referred to in Buddhist sources as *itihāsapurānaṃ.* Jayatilleke concludes from the above evidence that the criticism of *itikirā* seems to be directed at the validity of the legendary and historical material as well as the speculative theories of the *Brahmaṇas, Araṇyakas,* and possibly the early *Upanishads,* all of which were classfied under *aitihya* in the brahmanical tradition at this time. The *Kālāma Sutta,* however, does not mention the expression *itiha itiha.* According to Jayatilleke this may be due to the fact that it is identical with *itikira.* Like *amussava, itikira* also included much of the Vedic tradition. However the term may apply even outside the Vedic tradition and its criticism may be understood as a criticism of a person's tendency to rely on the words of others without any concern about the experiential basis for the beliefs involved.

The term *piṭakasampadā* is explained in the *PTS* dictionary (*PED*) as "according to the *piṭaka* tradition or on the grounds of the authority of the *piṭaka.* According to this explanation the application of the term is restricted to the authority of the Buddhist scriptures which were later classified into three *piṭakas* or collections. Jayatilleke points out that the term *piṭaka* has been used in reference to the Vedic tradition as well, e.g. in *itihītiha paramparāya piṭakasampadāya (M.* I. 520, II. 169). The term appears to have had a wider reference than just to the Buddhist collections. It must have meant any collection of scriptures which was considered to be authoritative.

Jayatilleke interprets accepting a view on *bhavyarūpatā* also as a form of acceptance on the basis of authority. In his view it falls under the category of the testimony of reliable persons. It is translated in Gradual Sayings (II. 200) as "because it fits becoming". Jayatilleke finds this translation objectionable and contends that *bhavyarūpatā* should be interpreted as referring to the person from whom a proposition is accepted rather than to the proposition itself (*EBTK* p. 201). He points out that *bhabba* in the sense of "suitable" or "capable" qualifies persons rather than non-persons. He also points out that the commentarial explanation of the term as *ayaṃ bhikkhu bhabbarūpo, imassa kathaṃ gahetuṃ yuttaṃ,* i.e. "this monk is a capable person, one ought to accept his statement" (*AA.* II. 305) supports the interpretation that he proposes. It is to accept a statement on the basis of the competence of the person who makes the statement. Jayatilleke relates this to the later Indian conception of *āptopadeśa* or *āptavacana.* The last form of acceptance of a view on the basis of authority mentioned in the *Kālāma Sutta* as *samaṇo no garu* also can be easily classed under the same category as acceptance on the testimony of reliable persons.

It is probably because the term *anussava* could cover the other five forms of acceptance of a view on authority that they are not mentioned in the general classfication of epistemological positions referred to in the *Saṅgārava Sutta.* The *Kālāma Sutta* merely state these different forms of acceptance on authoritry and disapproves of such acceptance, but it does not give the reason for such disapproval. The Buddha's criticism of acceptance of a view on the basis of authority is found elsewhere.[10] The criticism, however, is given only under the head of *anussava,* but it may be understood as applying to other forms of acceptance on authority as well. The general criticism made here is that the value attached to the authoritative source is no ultimate cirterion for the truth

8. *Kira saddo anussavatthe (Jataka* I. 158); *kirāti anussavatthe nipāto (J.* II. 430).
9. *Brahmacariyaṃ anītihaṃ (Aṅguttara Nikāya* Vol. II. 26, *Th.* I. 331).
10. *Majjhima Nikāya* Vol. II. 170

of a given view. Even a highly esteemed authoritative source may lead to beliefs which are empty, hollow and false. On the other hand, a belief which is not supported by such authority may be true, real and in accordance with fact.[11] A further criticism of *anussava* is added in the *Sandaka Sutta,* where it is pointed out that a person who attempts to base the truth of a statement on *anussava* may sometimes suffer lapses of memory which might distort the very source on which he tries to establish a truth.[12]

The remaining four grounds which the Buddha rejected in the *Kālāma Sutta* could, according to Jayatilleke, be considered under the general category of reason. In his opinion, just as *anussava* heads the list of all forms of acceptance of views on the basis of authority, *takka* heads the list of all forms of acceptance on the basis of reason. There is evidence in the Pali cononical sources as well as the pre-Buddhist Indian philosophical and religious literature to the effect that reason was used in order to formulate philosophical theses, defend them, and also attack alternative theses which contradicted a thesis held by a particular theorist. The product of such rational speculation was considered by the Buddha to be strongly held dogmas *(diṭṭhi).* In the *Brahmajāla Sutta* the Buddha specifies some of the dogmas which were the product of such rational speculation[13]. Also in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipāta* the Buddha is critical of the attempt of many teachers who call themselves experts to determine what is true and false on the basis of dogmas constructed by means of rational speculation.[14] The exact nature of such reasoning is not illustrated fully in the Buddhist sources. Probably it was similar to the method followed by philosophers of the Western rationalist tradition exemplified by philosophers like Descartes, Leibniz and Spinoza, who constructed systems of "truth" on the basis of a *priori* or self evident premises and deductive inference. Although it may not be proper to attribute to Indian thinkers during the time of the Buddha, a distinctly worked out rationalist method of philosophizing as in the case of the classical rationalist philosophers of the West, metaphysical speculation on the basis of reason appears to have taken place among the Upanishadic thinkers, and the materialist and sceptical thinkers of India during this period.[15] The *Aṭṭhakavagga* shows that public debates were held on philosophical issues between persons who argued their case at public gatherings where even a judgment appears to have been made regarding the victor in such debate.[16] The fact that the Pali *suttas* make a distinction between views that have been well reasoned and those that have been ill reasoned *(sutakkitaṃ* and *duttakkitaṃ)* shows that there were certain commonly accepted methods of valid reasoning in a public debate. People who constructed philosophical views on the basis of reason *(takka)* would have done so in conformity with these accepted standards of valid reasoning. The Buddha did not believe that one could arrive at the truth by means of such a method. On the contrary he believed that it merely leads to interminable conflicts and debates which produce unwholesome emotions detrimental to a person's moral progress. This explains the Buddha's characterization of the truth he discovered as one which cannot be comprehended by means of reason (*atakkāvacaro*).

The early Buddhist criticism of *takka* is similar to the general criticism of *anussava.* A belief which is the product of reasoning according to accepted norms of good reasoning may turn out to be true or false whereas a belief which is not supported by such reasoning may be true *(sutakkitaṃ pi hoti duttakkitaṃ pi hoti, tathā pi hoti aññathā pi hoti - M.* I. 520).

The next ground rejected by the Buddha is referred to as *nayahetu* in the *Kālāma Sutta.* The Trairāsika Ājivakas and the Jains were known to have logically evaluated theories of reality on the basis of standpoints.[17] The Buddha does not consider this as an ultimate ground on which a belief could be established as true.

The other two grounds mentioned in the *Kālāma Sutta* namely *ākāraparivitakka* and *diṭṭhinijjhānakkhanti* occur in other contexts also along with three other grounds which are rejected by the Buddha.[18] One of these three is *anussava* which has already been adequately discussed. The other two are *saddhā* and *ruci. Ākāra-parivitakka* is interpreted by the commentator as *kāraṇa - parivitakkena* (by a consideration of reasons).[19] The *PTS* Dictionary also gives "reason, ground, account" as

11. *api ca svānussutaṃ yeva hoti tañca hoti rittaṃ tucchaṃ musā, no ce pi svānussutaṃ tañ ca hoti bhūtaṃ tacchaṃ anaññathā* (ibid).
12. *M.* I. 520. See also K.N. Jayatilleke's discussion in *EBTK,* pp. 186–187
13. The ground of some of the dogmas enumerated in the *Brahmajāla sutta* is described as follows: *takkapariyāhataṃ vīmaṃsānucaritaṃ sayaṃ paṭibhānaṃ evaṃ āha. D.* I. 21
14. *Takkañ ca diṭṭhīsu pakappayitvā saccaṃ musā ti dvaya dhammaṃ āhu. Suttanipāta* 886.
15. For a detailed discussion of the use of reason in Indian philosophy in pre-Buddhist India and during the time of the emergence of Buddhism, see *EBTK* section on "The Historical Background".
16. *Suttanipāta* 827.
17. See in this connection Jayatilleke's discussion, *EBTK,* pp. 154–160.
18. *Majjhima Nikāya* Vol. II. 170
19. *Anguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā* Vol. II, 305.

the fifth meaning of *ākāra*. The term occurs in this sense in *M.* I. 320 (*ke....ākārā ke anvayā yen āyasmā evam vadesi: sammāsambuddho bhagavā....*). The term *ākāravatī saddhā* is also used in a context where the Buddha speaks of the faith or confidence of a person who has taken certain reasons into consideration without being moved by a blind or baseless faith *(amūlikā saddhā)*. However, the fact that *ākāraparivitakka* is classed along with purely subjective grounds such as *saddhā* shows that conclusions reached on a consideration of reasons alone cannot amount to knowledge. *Diṭṭhinijjhānakkhanti*, the other ground mentioned in the *Kālāma Sutta* is sometimes mentioned in other contexts with approval by the Buddha. It is sometimes said to be a result of examining the meanings of what one has learned by hearing *(sutvā dhammaṃ dhāreti, dhatānaṃ dhammānaṃ atthaṃ upaparikkhati, atthaṃ upaparikkhato dhammā nijjhānaṃ khamanti* - *M.* I. 133). In such contexts it is referred to as part of the psychological process associated with a learning experience. Jayatilleke interprets it as "the conviction that results from thinking about a theory". All the avaliable evidence seems to support this interpretation. It is the subjectivity involved in total dependence on such a ground that is objectionable from the Buddha's point of view. That is why it is classed with other grounds such as *saddhā* and *ruci* (like, inclination or preference).

The *Kālāma Sutta* is not an attempt to show that the ten grounds mentioned in the *Sutta* are totally useless from the point of view of a person searching for the truth. The Buddha is willing to admit the usefulness of hearing from an authoritative source as a preliminary stage in a person's search for truth. A noble disciple is one who has thus acquired learning by hearing *(sutavā ariyasāvako)*. The usefulness of *suti* is recognized although it is not taken as an ultimate criterion of truth. Similarly reason may also have a limited use. The Buddha does not deny the usefulness of rational faith, or the confidence gained as a consequence of a consideration of reasons. What the Buddha appears to be denying in the *Kālāma Sutta* is that any of the grounds mentioned could be a substitute for the direct experiential understanding of the truth.

It is clear from a study of the background on which Buddhism emerged that there were many divergent theories about the nature of reality and the ultimate goal and good of man. Many teachers appear to have claimed themselves to be experts on spiritual matters, and holding firmly to their own views, criticizing the views of others. In view of this diversity of theories, some thinkers had taken a sceptical stand for epistemological reasons. By the time of the rise of Buddhism materialist teachers who expressed doubts about the reliability of the Vedic tradition as well as teachings which went beyond the experience of the ordinary senses argued against the possibility of claiming any metaphysical or higher knowledge. It is this emerging critical outlook that is reflected in the *Kālāma Sutta* of the Buddha. For, the Buddha also belonged to the generation of critical thinkers who were unwilling to subscribe to the Vedic orthodoxy. Unlike the sceptics and the materialists, the Buddha maintained that there are certain spiritual truths that one could realize by oneself without depending on external authorities and pure rational speculation. There are, according to the Buddha, moral and spiritual truths that can be immediately experienced and known. The *Kālāma Sutta* is a reaffirmation of the Buddhist characterization of the nature of the *dhamma* discovered by the Buddha. For according to the Buddha, the *dhamma* is *sandiṭṭhiko* (immediately observable), *akāliko* (not with delayed results), *ehipassiko* (verifiable), *opanaiko* (leading to an intended goal), *paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi* (to be individually realized by the wise ones). The *Kālāma Sutta* is also one like the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta* [20] which is addressed specifically to the critical minded and the intelligent who were unwilling to accept a view without valid grounds for acceptance.

The Buddha appeals to the experience of the Kālāmas themselves in showing them that moral truths can be known by oneself in one's own direct experience. He points out that in the common experience of mankind excessive greed, hatred and delusion lead to forms of behaviour that are harmful to the individual as well as to society. Greed, hatred and delusion are, therefore unwholesome and are productive of unwholesome behaviour. The moral and the spiritual life is known to consist in the cultivation of non-greed, non-hatred and non-delusion. The *Kālāma Sutta* also draws attention to the fact that the spiritual life is one which is immediately rewarding. It is not merely a theory or a belief which assures a reward for the faithful in the next life. The *Kālāma Sutta* shows that the rewards of the practice of the four sublime abidings (*brahmavihāra*) are to be experienced immediately in this life. The absence of hatred and malice in one's heart itself is a great reward that one can experience immediately from the cultivation of boundless compassion, sympathy, sympathetic joy and equanimity. For, it is a state of mental sanity, bliss and well-being here and now. These are experiential truths, unlike what is accepted on the basis of external sources of authority or pure rational reflection and speculation.

It may be said that the *Kālāma Sutta* is a clear answer to the sceptic and agnostic who was puzzled by the diversity of opinion that existed regarding moral and spiritual matters during the time of the Buddha. The

20. *Majjhima Nikāya* Vol. I. 400–413.

Buddha points out that there is no need to be puzzled if one depends on one's own personal experience. Authority and rational speculation lead inevitably to diversity of opinion. But there cannot be a disagreement regarding what is evident to the common experience of mankind. Thus the *Kālāma Sutta* maintains that moral and spiritual truths also can be established on objective and experiential foundations. Their objectivity, however, is shown to rest on their intersubjective or experiential verifiability.

P. D. Premasiri

KALAṆIYA TEMPLE. See KALYĀṆI

KĀLI. See ĀLI and KĀLI

KĀLIṄGA, name of a country in India often mentioned in the *Jātaka* and several other Pali texts and commentarial works. It is one of the seven political divisions mentioned in the time of the mythical King Renu and is given first in the list, its capital being Dantapura and its king Sattabhū (*D.* II, 235-36). According to *Mahāgovinda sutta* Disampati, King Renu's father, was the ruler of a very large kingdom, and at his death Renu succeeded Disampati. Renu not wishing to keep the very large kingdom for himself, got his chief minister and advisor Brahmin Govinda to divide the kingdom to seven equal parts and appointed six of his very close friends as kings of six parts, keeping just one part for himself (ibid. p. 236). Kālinga, however, was not included in the list of sixteen Janapadas appearing in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* I. 213), but it occurs in the extended list of Janapadas in the *Niddesa (Nd.* II. 37). *Buddhavaṃsa* (ch. xxviii *v.* 6) records that one of the four Tooth relics of the Buddha, removed from the funeral pyre of the Buddha, was taken to Kālinga where it was venerated as a religious treasure for a long time, until it was brought to Sri Lanka in the time of King Sirimeghavaṇṇa, by Hemamālā daughter of King Guhasiva of Kālinga, and her husband Dantakumāra, a prince of the Ujjeni Royal family. This Tooth Relic now reposes in the Temple of the Tooth Relic in Kandy, Sri Lanka. See DAḶADĀ MĀLIGĀVA.

The *Jātaka* contain various references to Kālinga. In the *Kurudhamma Jātaka (J.* II, 365 ff.) it is said that a severe drought that lasted for a long time in Kālinga once dried up the rivers and streams and the land was parched and people were subjected to much difficulties. The King of Kālinga, at the request of the people, brought from the adjoining kingdom of Indapatta the auspicious elephant, whose presence was believed to bring rain to any country experiencing a severe drought, but the rains did not come. On inquiry it was revealed that the power to cause wonders, was not so much in the elephant but in the king, his queen, his mother and several others who practised the *Kurudhamma.* The King of Kālinga then sent several men to the kingdom of Indapatta to learn what this *Kurudhamma* was, and it was revealed to them that *Kurudhamma* was the *Pañcasīla* or the five precepts. It is said that the king of Kālinga learnt well the *Kurudhamma* and practised them sincerely and subsequently there was rain in the country. Another king of Kālinga was the contemporary of Aruna, the Assaka king of Potali. The Kālinga king in his eagerness for a fight, picked a quarrel with Aruna, but was defeated in battle and had to surrender his four daughters with their dowries to Aruna (*J.* III. 3 f.).

The *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka (J.* IV. 232) relates the story of another ruler of Kālinga while, according to the *Sarabhanga Jātaka* a certain king of Kālinga went with two other kings, Aṭṭhaka and Bhīmaratta, to ask Sarabhaṅga questions referring to the fate of Daṇḍaki. There they listened to the sage, and all three kings became ascetics. Another king of Kālinga was Nālikīra, who having ill-treated a holy man, was swallowed up in the Sunakha-niraya, while his country was laid waste by the gods and turned into a wilderness (*Kāliṅgārañña M.* I. 376). In the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka (J.* III, 376) the Kālinga king's name was Karaṇḍu.

From early times there seems to have been political intercourse between the peoples of Kālinga and Vaṅga; Susima, grandmother of Vijaya, founder of the Sinhalese race, was a Kālinga princess, married to the king of Vaṅga (*Mhv.* vi; *Dpv.* ix, 2 ff.). Friendly relations between Ceylon and Kālinga were evidently long standing, for we find in the reign of King Aggabodhi II (601-11 A.C.) the king of Kālinga, together with his queen and his minister, coming over to Ceylon intent on leading the life of a recluse and joining the Order under Jotipala Thera. Aggabodhi and his queen treated them with great honour (*Mhv.* xiii, 44 ff.). Later, the queen consort of Mahinda IV came from Kālinga, and Vijayabahu I, married a Kālinga Princess, Tilokasundari (ibid. ix. 30). The scions of the Kālinga dynasty had many times attained to the sovereignity of Ceylon and there were many ties of relationship between the royal families of the two countries. But it was Māgha, an offspring of the Kālinga Kings, who did incomparable damage to Ceylon and to its religion and literature (ibid. lxxx. 58 f.).

According to Indian inscriptions, in the thirteenth year of his reign Asoka conquered Kālinga, and this was the turning point in his career, causing him to abhor war. Among the retinue sent by him to accompany the branch

of the sacred Bodhi Tree on its journey to Ceylon, were eight families Kālinga (*DPPN.* s.v.)

KALPA (Pali Kappa), a fabulous period of time which cannot be reckoned in years as so many hundreds of years, so many thousands of years and so many hundred thousands of years and so on.

In the Vedic tradition a *kalpa* is the duration of time between a creation and destruction, a day in the life of Brahmā, the all powerful Creator God. Thirty *kalpas* make a month of Brahmā's life and twelve such months or three hundred and sixty-five *kalpas* make a year of Brahmā. His life span is one hundred such years, i.e. 36500 *kalpas*. According to the *Mahābhārata (ERE.* Vol. 1, p. 201) fifty years of Brahmā's life have already elapsed. The world system becomes annihilated at the end of each *kalpa*, i.e. at the end of each day of Brahmā the world system becomes annihilated and Brahmā creates a new world system the following day *(kalpa).*

The Vedic tradition speaks of two other ages of the world called *manvantara* and *yuga,* both of which are shorter than a *kalpa* and come within a *kalpa* (Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* pp. 786-7) *Manvantara (Manu+antara)* is the period or age of a manu, a super divine being. A *yuga* is another long mundane period of time. There are four such ages, namely (1) *Kritayuga,* (2) *Tretayuga,* (3) *Dvāparayuga* and (4) *Kaliyuga.* Their durations in human years are as follows: 1. *Krita* or *Satyayuga* - 1,729,000 years; 2. *Tretayuga* - 1,296,000 years; 3. *Dvāparayuga* - 864,000 years and *Kaliyuga* - 432,000 years. The *yugas* are named after the sides of a die, i.e. *Krita* the lucky one being the side marked with four dots; *Treta,* that with three dots; *Dvāpara,* that with two dots and *Kali,* the losing one, with one dot (*ERE.* Vol. 1, p. 200).

Out of the four *yugas Kritayuga* is considered the most fortunate, for, during this period people adhere very closely to rules of caste and ethical precepts as taught in the Vedic tradition. People lead peaceful lives and conflicts among them are unheared of, and they are blessed with long life. But virtue or *dharma* becomes diminished by one quarter or foot in every succeeding *yuga* until in the last *yuga* only one foot of virtue remains, and the life span of people, too, becomes reduced very much. The length in time of the for *yugas* when added together forms the Great Period of a *Mahāyuga.* The length in time of seventy one such *Mahāyugas* is equal to the period or age of a Manu or *Manvantara.* The total in time of fourteen *Manvantaras* forms one day of Brahmā or a *kalpa* (Monier Williams, *Sanskrit - English Dictionary,* p. 786). The present world system is now in the *Kaliyuga* which began at mid-night between the 17th and 18th of February 3102 B.C. (Monier Williams, op. cit. p. 854).

Buddhism, too, has its own concept of an extremely long period of time designated as *Kalpa.* The teaching about *saṃsāra* (faring on) of beings is a fundamental doctrine in Buddhism, and every being is in this saṃsāric process till such being attains emancipation or *nibbāna.* The length in time of the samsāric process of a being is beyond imagination and hence its "beginning and end are alike unthinkable" *(anamataggoyaṃ bhikkhave saṃsāro pubbākoṭi na paññāyati avijjānīvaraṇānaṃ sattānaṃ tanhāsaṃ ẉ. yojanānaṃ andhāvataṃ saṃsarataṃ* - *S.* II, 178). The Buddha - aspirant *(bodhisatta),* too, since he received the prediction that in the distant future he would become a Buddha by name Gotama, was wandering in Saṃsāra for over four incalculable world periods, which world periods constituted of hundreds and thousands of aeons *(ito kappasatasahassādhikānaṃ catunnaṃ asaṅkheyyānaṃ matthake- J.* I, p. 2). Since that time of the prediction and up to the time the bodhisatta concluded fulfilling the perfections *(pāramī)* as King Vessantara, he had been wandering in *saṃsāra* in hundreds and thousands of births. The *jātaka* contains stories of about 547 such births.

In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (D.* II, 103) the Buddha in conversation with bhikkhu Ananda, reveals to the latter that a person who has developed four types of psychic powers *(iddhipāda),* if he so wishes may live for a *kappa* or even beyond a *kappa,* and that the Buddha, too, had developed them. Bhikkhu Ananda did not utilise that opportunity to invite the Buddha to live for a *kappa* for the benefit of gods and men. Several months later when the Buddha told Bhikkhu Ananda that the Buddha would pass away three months hence, Bhikkhu Ananda began to plead with the Buddha not to pass away so soon and that he should live for a *kappa* or beyond a *kappa,* for the benefit of gods and men. At this the Buddha told bhikkhu Ananda that he (Ananda) had missed the correct opportunity to make that request to him (*D.* II, 115-7).

Three months after the demise of the Buddha when elder bhikkhus met at Rajagaha to hold the first Buddhist Council, Bhikkhu Ananda was found fault with, by the Assembly of bhikkhus, for missing that opportunity of requesting the Buddha to live for a *kappa* or beyond a *kappa* (*Vin.* II, 289).

The word *kappa* comes to prominence again in the *Buddhavaṃsa* in the description of twenty three Buddhas who preceded, Gotama Buddha, The *Buddhavaṃsa* description, in the words of the Buddha, runs thus: "Innumerable *kappas* ago there appeared in the world

four Buddhas by name Taṇhaṅkara, Medhaṅkara, Saranaṅkara and Dīpaṅkara. And all of them appeared during the same *kappa*. After Dīpaṅkara appeared Koṇḍañña and he was the only Buddha during that *kappa*. The gap in kappas between Dīpaṅkara Buddha and Koṇḍañña Buddha was innumerable. After Koṇḍañña Buddha appeared Mangala Buddha and the gap in *kappas* between the two of them, too, was innumerable. Mangala Buddha, Sumana Buddha, Revata Buddha and Sobhita Buddha appeared during a single *kappa*. After Sobhita Buddha appeared Anomadassi Buddha and the time gap in *kappas* between the two of them, too, was innumerable. Anomadassi Buddha, Paduma Buddha and Nārada Buddha appeared during a single *kappa*. After Nārada Buddha appeared Padumuttara Buddha and he was the only Buddha to appear during that *kappa* and the time gap in *kappas* between the two Buddhas was innumerable. Padumuttara Buddha appeared one hundred thousand *kappas* ago. Sumedha Buddha and Sujāta Buddha appeared thirty thousand kappas ago. Eighteen hundred *kappas* ago three Buddhas by name Piyadassi, Atthadassi and Dhammadassi appeared during a single *kappa*. Ninetyfour *kappas* ago there appeared a Buddha named Siddhattha. Two Buddhas named Tissa and Phussa appeared ninety two kappas ago. Ninety-one *kappas* ago Vipassi Buddha appeared. Thirty-one *kappas* ago there appeared two Buddhas named Sikhī and Vessabhū. In this Fortunate *(bhadda) kappa* Buddhas Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa have already appeared and I am (Gotama) here now as the fourth, and a fifth will appear in the future by name Metteya" (*Buv* 100–101).

All the *kappas* are very broadly divided into two kinds, namely 'void' *(suñña)* and 'not void' *(asuñña)*. A *kappa* in which Buddhas, Pacceka Buddhas, arahants and universal monarchs do not appear is called a 'void' *kappa*. A *kappa* in which the above mentioned four great personalities appear is called a 'not void' *kappa*. The *kappas* are again categorised into five according to the appearance of Buddhas during those *kappas*. The five categories are Sārakappa (substantial kappa), Maṇḍakappa (the 'butter' kappa, attractive kappa), Varakappa (the 'excellent' *kappa*), Sāra-maṇḍdakappa (the 'excellent-butter' kappa) and Bhaddakappa (the 'auspicious' kappa). In the Sārakappa only one Buddha appears; in the Maṇḍkappa two Buddhas appear; in the Varakappa three Buddhas appear; in the Sāra-maṇḍdakappa four Buddhas appear; in the Bhaddakappa five Buddhas appear. The life span of human beings is extremely long during some *kappas* and it is very short during some *kappas*. When the life span of human beings is extremely long human beings are not able to truly understand the impermanent nature *(aniccatā)*, unsatisfactoriness *(dukkhatā)* and essencelessness *(anattatā)* of component things. When the life span of human beings is extremely short they are not able to concentrate on such topics long enough to understand them. Therefore Buddhas do not appear during *kappas* in which life span of human beings is extremely long or too short (*BuvA*. 191).

In Buddhism *kappas* are not the creations of an all-powerful Creator God or Brahmā. A *kappa* comes into being depending on causes and conditions and after a very long time it undergoes change and finally disintegrates and after the lapse of an extremely long time there takes place the evolution of another *kappa*. Four stages of a *kappa* are recognised in connection with the disintegration of a *kappa* and evolution of another, and each of these four stages is spread over an incalculable period of time *(asaṅkheyya)*. The four stages are (1) *Saṃvaṭṭa* or period during which a *kappa* gradually disintegrates, (2) *Saṃvaṭṭaṭṭhāyi* the period a disintegrated *kappa* remains in that state, (3) *Vivaṭṭa* or the period in which another *kappa* gradually evolves and (4) *Vivaṭṭaṭṭhāyi* or the period the newly evolved *kappa* remains in that state (*A*. II. 142). Destruction of a *kappa* happens either by water, by fire or by wind. When the destruction is caused by water it spreads up to the Subhakiṇha heavenly sphere; when it is caused by fire it spreads up to the Ābhassara heavenly sphere and when it is caused by wind it spreads up to the Vehapphala heavenly sphere (*Vism*. 414). The destruction of a *kappa* by fire happens when people become excessively vicious and wicked *(dosādhika)*; by water when people become excessively greedy *(rāgādhika)* and by wind when people are extremely ignorant and foolish *(mohādhika)*. The *Sattasuriya Sutta* (*A*. IV, 100–6) describes how a *kappa* is destroyed by fire.

The Buddha has in several similes explained to the disciples that the length of time of a *kappa* cannot be reckoned by saying: "It is so many hundreds of years; it is so many thousands of years, it is so many hundred thousands of years and so on". The first simile is presented thus: "suppose, bhikkhus, there is a solid rock one *yojana* (seven miles) in height, one *yojana* in length and one *yojana* in breadth and a man were to just wipe that rock once every hundred years with a very fine piece of cloth. By this device, that rock would waste away some day, but one cannot exhauset the length of time of a *kappa* by that length of time". (*S*. II, p. 181). The second simile runs: "suppose bhikkhus, there is an iron box one *yojana* in height, one *yojana* in length and one *yojana* in breadth and filled to the brim with mustard seeds and a man were to remove from it just one mustard seed every one hundred years. By this device the box can be emptied some day, but one cannot exhaust the length of time of a *kappa* by that length of time" (*S*. II, p. 182). The Buddha in another simile made it clear to his disciples that even as the length of time of a *kappa* is beyond calculation in years, one cannot count and exhaust the number of *kappas* that have gone by to the past. The simile used in

this context is that one cannot count and exhaust the number of *kappas* that have gone by to the past just as one cannot count and exhaust the number of sandgrains at the confluence of the river Ganga and the sea (*S.* II, p. 184).

Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

KALPAVṚKṢA (Pali, Kappa-rukkha) the wish-yielding tree, is one of the five trees said to be in heaven. The other such heavenly trees are Mandārava, Pārijātaka, Saṃtāna, and Haricandana. The concept of Kalpavṛkṣa is not connected with tree-worship widely prevalent in the world. It is generally believed that certain trees are inhabited by divine spirits and that these divine beings grant the wishes of those who propitiate these spirits. These wish-yielding trees are found on earth. But the Kalpavṛkṣa is solely the property of the gods. Unlike these trees the Kalpavṛkṣa is not considered as being inhabited by any spirit. It grants the wishes of gods, by its own inherent power.

Many scholars fail to observe this distinction between the wish-yielding trees on earth and the Kalpavṛkṣa (ex. see V.S. Agrawala, *Indian Art,* Varanasi, 1965, p. 6). He says that the Kalpavṛkṣa became the arch symbol of the cult of tree-worship or adoraton of arboreal deities *(rukkha-devatā-maha).* Buddhist literature clearly shows that these are two different beliefs (*J.* VI, 117; cf. *J.* IV, 350) and it is difficult to connect the Kalpavṛkṣa with dendrolatry.

The origin of the Kalpavṛkṣa concept is not clear. It may be that the concept developed from a cult of fertility and fecundity. It is possible to surmise that the Kalpavṛkṣa concept is anterior to the belief in tree-worship and that it was by the transference of this latter belief into the realm of gods that the concept of Kalpavṛkṣa arose. The concept of Kalpavṛkṣa also gave rise to the concept of Kalpalatā, wish-yielding creeper (cp. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India,* London, 1901, p. 31).

Both the Kalpavṛkṣa and Kalpalatā forms were used as sculptural ornaments of pillars and thrones of kings and gods. The *Mānasāra,* Sanskrit work dealing with architecture, describes its uses elaborately (Ch. xiviii).

The miniature tree that appears on the crown of Buddhist kings and chieftains of Sri Lanka seem to symbolise the Kalpavṛkṣa, for they were regarded by the subjects as bounteous lords who are prepared to grant their wishes.

S. K. Nanayakkara

KALYĀṆAMITTA, a virtuous, benevolent, wholesome or worthy friend who acts as one's mentor or spiritual adviser (*PED*). In this respect a person's *Kalyāṇamitta* has to be more advanced than him in virtue and self-discipline *(sīlādīhi adhikā- SnA.*, 341).

Buddhism emphasises the necessity of associating with wholesome friends to secure worldly gains as well as to attain spiritual advancement. The *Sigālovāda Sutta (D.* III, p. 187) discussing the importance of associating with good friends to secure success in lay life, enumerates four types of friends who can be classed under *Kalyāṇamittas* or worthy friends. They are: a person who is ready to help one in all circumstances *(upakārako-mitto);* a person who will not abandon his friend in both prosperity and distress *(samāna sukhadukkho mitto)*; a person who is ready to give good counsel and direction when the need for such counselling and direction arises *(atthakkhāyi mitto)*; a person who is sympathetic to one in dire circumstances *(anukampako mitto).*

A helpful friend *(upakārako mitto)* comes to the rescue of a person in four ways, namely: he protects and safeguards his friend when the latter through negligence gets into a dangerous situation *(pamattaṃ rakkhati)*; he protects and safe-guards the belongings of his friend in such a situation *(pamattassa sāpateyyaṃ rakkhati)*; he becomes a refuge to his friend when the latter is bewildered and frightened *(bhītassa saraṇaṃ hoti)*; he gives lavishly to help his friend when such need arises *(uppannesu kiccakaraṇīyesu tad diguṇaṃ bhogaṃ anuppādeti).*

A person who is equal in all circumstances helps his friend in four ways, namely; he reveals what is unknown to his friend *(guyhaṃ assa ācikkhati)*; he keeps the secrets of his friend *(guyhaṃ assa parigūhati)*; he does not abandon his friend in distress *(āpadāsu na vijahati)*; he is ready to defend and safeguard his friend even at the risk to his own life *(jīvitaṃ pissa atthāya pariccattaṃ hoti).*

A person who is a good counsellor helps his friend in four ways, namely: he refrains his friend from doing evil *(pāpā nivāreti)*; he persuades his friend to do wholesome deeds *(kalyāṇe niveseti)*; he makes his friend to learn what he has not known *(assutaṃ sāveti)*; he reveals the way to his friend to achieve heavenly bliss after death *(saggassa maggaṃ ācikkhati).*

A sympathetic person helps his friend in four ways, namely: he does not rejoice over his friends misfortune *(abhāvenassa na nandati)*; he rejoices over his friends prosperity *(bhāvenassa nandati)*; he refrains others who speak ill of his friend *(avaṇṇaṃ bhaṇamānaṃ nivāreti);* and he praises others who speak good of his friend *(vaṇṇaṃ bhaṇamānaṃ pasaṃsati).*

In the Buddhist way of life, for the layman as well as for the bhikkhu, the Buddha is acknowledged as the 'worthy-friend-supreme'. Once the Buddha, addressing bhikkhu Ananda who was his constant companion and servitor said: "Ananda, beings who are subject to birth *(jāti dhammā sattā)* take refuge in me, their supreme friend (*Kalyāṇamitta*) and become free from birth. Likewise beings who are subject to decay *(jarā)*, to disease *(vyādhi)*, to death *(maraṇa)* etc. become free from decay, decease, death etc. by taking refuge in me, their worthy friend supreme' (*S.* I, 87–88). The Buddha made this clarification to bhikkhu Ananda when the latter expressed his view to the Buddha that more than fifty percent of the success in the noble religious life *(brahma-cariya)* depended on worthy friendship (*kalyāṇamittatā*). The Buddha emphatically told Bhikkhu Ananda that success in the religious life depended wholesale on worthy friendship *(sakalaṃ eva hidaṃ Ananda brahmacariyaṃ yadidaṃ kalyāṇamittatā, kalyāṇasahāyatā, kalyāṇa-sampavaṅkatā)*. In the *Kalyāṇamittatādi vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* I, 14–15) the Buddha declares: 'Monks, I do not see any other single factor that conduces to the arising of efficient states of mind *(kusalā dhammā)* and brings about the waning of unwholesome mental states *(akusalā dhammā)* than worthy friendship. Worthy friendship (*Kalyāṇamittatā*) causes the arising of wholesome mental states that are not already arisen in a person and (at the same time) dispels the unwholesome mental states that are already arisen in a person's mind'.

The *Visuddhimagga* discusses in detail the role played by a *Kalyāṇamitta* in the process of mind culture *(bhāvanā)* of a disciple. A bhikkhu who is intent on mind culture has to approach a *Kalyāṇamitta* who has an expert's knowledge regarding various characters *(carita)*. When a candidate intent on mind culture approaches such an expert he (the expert) knows what type of subject or object of meditation suits him and will prescribe the most relevent *"kammaṭṭhāna"* (object of meditaton). In this regard the Buddha has been acknowledged as the *kalyāṇamitta* supreme, because he was possessed of all the characteristics of a *kalyāṇamitta* and a subject or object of meditation prescribed by the Buddha to another person yielded the best results. When the Buddha has passed away, any one of the surviving eighty great disciples *(asītiyā mahsavākānaṃ)* would have been the next choice. In the absence of any one of the eighty great disciples, a disciple who has attained arahantship by developing the fourth and fifth ecstacies *(jhāna)* would be the next choice. Likewise, in the absence of an *arahat*, a non-returner *(anāgāmi)*; in the absence of a non-returner, a once returner *(sakadāgāmi)*; in the absence of a once returner; a stream entrant *(sotāpanna)*; in the absence of a stream-entrant, an ordinary disciple who is conversant with the three divisions of the canon *(tipiṭaka)*, two divisions of the canon, one division of the canon etc. would be the next choice (*Vism.* p. 89, 98, 121).

T. Ariyadhamma

KALYĀṆI, the name of an ancient kingdom in Sri Lanka with its capital also by the same name. The kingdom as well as the capital are mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa*, the Pali commentaries and several other ancient and medieval Pali and Sinhalese literary works. References to this kingdom, its rulers and monuments are also found in several inscriptions.

Literary accounts connect the city of Kalyāṇi with a visit of the Buddha in the sixth century B.C. The *Dīpavaṃsa (Dpv.* II. 42 ff.) and the *Mahāvaṃsa (Mhv.* I, 63 ff. II. 53 ff.) assigned to the fourth and fifth centuries respectively, and the *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā* of the fourteenth century contain accounts of this legend. In these accounts it is said that, at the time of the Buddha's visit to Nāgadīpa (q.v.) in Sri Lanka, Kalyāṇi[1] was ruled by a *nāga* king named Maniakkhika who happened to be the uncle *(mātula)* of Mahodara whose abode was in the ocean (*Mhv.* I. 48) i.e. one of the two *nāga* kings of Nāgadīpa, who were preparing for war against each other. Maniakkhika went to Nāgadīpa to join his nephew in the war against his opponent Cūlodara, and there at Nāgadīpa he saw the Buddha, heard him preach the *dhamma* and became a lay disciple of the Buddha. The *nāga* king Maniakkhika invited the Buddha to visit his kingdom, too. The Buddha accepted this invitation.

Three years, later, in the eighth year after the Enlightenment of the Buddha, Maniakkhika is said to have visited the Jetavana-vihāra at Rājagaha and reminded the Buddha of his invitation. The Buddha set out from the Jetavana-vihāra along with five-hundred disciples and arrived at Kalyāṇi on the full-moon day of Vesākha (*MhvA.* 112). Expecting the arrival of the Buddha, king Maniakkhika made elaborate arrangements to receive him together with the disciples. On the banks of the river Kalyāṇi[1] (*Kalyāṇapadapassamhi: Samantakūtavaṇṇanā*, *v.* 618) he constructed a pavilion of extraordinary beauty which was decked with gems. The Buddha sat on a magnificent throne built in the pavilion. It was at this spot that the Kalyāṇi-*cetiya* was later erected (*Mhv.* I,

[1] The statement in the 13th century *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā* (*v.* 618) that the pavillion was constructed on the banks of the river Kalyani casts some doubt on either the authenticity of the popular story or the *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā* statement.

75). The *nāga* king and his followers then entertained the Buddha and the monks with a delicious meal. After the meal the Buddha delivered a sermon to them, and along with his diciples entered a trance there (*VinA*. I, 89). There is a story to the effect that the Buddha left an imprint of his foot on the river bed at Kalyāṇi (See BUDDHAPĀDA).

The *Valāhassa Jātaka* (*J*. II. 127 ff.) indicates that the shore from the Kalyāṇi river to Nāgadīpa was infested with *yakkhinīs*. They would assume human form and entice shipwrecked mariners and take them as their husbands and later devour them.

These references to Kalyāṇi as a habitat of *nāgas* and *yakkhas* are probably in relation to the time immediately preceding the Aryanization of Sri Lanka in about the sixth century B.C.

A place named Kalyāṇi is mentioned again in the chronicles and other literary works in connection with incidents in the 3rd century B.C. The incidents are said to have occurred in the reign of a king named (Kalyāṇiya) Tissa who ruled at Kalyāṇi. The *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary (*MhvA*. 431) states that (Kalyāṇiya) Tissa's younger brother Uttiya was so named after his grand-father Uttiya who in turn was a son of Muṭasiva and a younger brother of king Devānampiya Tissa[2] (*cir*. 250 B.C.) who ruled at Anurādhapura. Thus according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary the dynasty of kings at Kalyāṇi in the 3rd century B.C. was connected to that of Anuradhapura.

King (Kalyāṇiya) Tissa's brother Uttiya (var. Uttika) was secretly in love with the queen. When the king discovered this Uttiya fled from the capital and took up residence elsewhere. The district was named Uttika-desa or Uttiya-Janapada. From his new place of residence Uttiya used to send letters to his brother's wife through a young man disguised as a monk who would enter the king's palace for alms along with other monks. Now, there was an elder monk named Kalyāṇiya who received alms regularly at the palace. One day the young man in disguise entered the palace along with this monk and dropped the letter near the queen. The king read the letter and was furious and thinking that the elder monk had brought it, put him in a cauldron of boiling oil and caused his death. It is said that as a result of this cruel deed the sea overflowed and inundated the land, but the king succeeded in appeasing the gods of the sea by putting his own daughter Devi in a golden vessel and setting it afloat in the sea (*Mhv*. xxii, 12 ff.; *MhvA*. 431 f.).

Of the other literary works that refer to the time of king Tissa of Kalyāṇi the *Sīhalavatthupakaraṇa*, which is assigned to a period earlier than the *Mahavaṃsa*, does not make any reference to the incidents related above. It merely says that having done merit in a previous birth as husband and wife Kākavaṇṇa and Vihāradevi were born in the royal families and "grew up together" (*ubho vaḍḍhanti ekato*) and were married in the prime of their youth. The *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*, too, which is assigned to a period earlier than the 10th century, contains stories about king Kākavaṇṇa Tissa and Vihāradevi, but does not refer to the above incidents. But *Rasavāhini* of the 4th century, which is primarily based on *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* gives even more details than the *Mahāvaṃsa* and its commentary regarding this incident. The account differs in certain details from what is given in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and its commentary. In this account it is said that the sea at that time was seven *gāvutas* from Kalyāṇi, and the sea overflowed up to a distance of just one *gāvuta* from Kalyāṇi. The *Jinakālamāli* of the early sixteenth century does not deal with the above incident but merely says that Vihāradevi, the daughter of the king of Kalyāṇi was the chief queen of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, but describing how the Somāvatī cetiya came to be established, states that Somādevi who was king Kākavaṇṇa Tissa's sister was given in marriage to prince Abhaya who was the nephew of king Siva of Kalyāṇi (*Kalyaniyaṃ Sivassa maharañño bhāgineyyassa Abhayarājakumārassa aggamahesi ahosi*). The *Dhātuvaṃsa* also contains a similar account. S. Paranavitana (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 147) opines that this king Siva (or Sīva) must have been the successor and probably the son of king Tissa of Kalyāṇi who, according to literary accounts, lost his life by the wrath of the gods, though the sea was calmed by the sacrificing of the king's daughter to the sea.[3]

The name 'Kalaṇika Tisa', identifiable with Tissa of Kalyāṇi has been found in a fragmentary Brāhmi inscription at an ancient site in the south-eastern part of the island (No. 1095 of the *Inscription Register of the Archaeological Department*). This inscription stabilises the historicity of this ruler and also suggests that he ws connected to the rulers of that part of the island.

No more is heard of Kalyāṇi as a separate kingdom. Its rulers were perhaps impressed with Kākavaṇṇa's superior resources, and became content, in course of time, to acknowledge the ruler of Mahāgāma as their overlord until king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī broght the whole country under

2. *Kalyāṇirajino pana Tissassa Uttiyo nāma kaṇiṭṭho ahosi. Tesaṃ pitā Muṭasiva rañño nattā Uttiyarājino putto....* (*MhvA*. 431).
3. The *Rājāvaliya* (ed. B. Gunasekera, Colombo, 1900, p. 24) states that King Yaṭālayatissa, son of Mahānāga who was the brother of Devānampiyatissa, who fled to Rohana ruled at Kalyāṇi, but other sources state that his capital was at Mahāgāma in Rohana. That king Yaṭālaya Tissa ruled at Mahāgāma in Rohana, and not at Kalyāṇi is confirmed epigraphically (cp. *JCBRAS*. New Series, Vol. *VI*, Special Number 1959, p. 119).

this rule (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 149).

Literary sources do not say whether the Kalyāṇi of the *Nāga* king Maniakkhika and Kalyāṇi where shipwrecked merchants were lured by *yakkhinis* and the Kalyāṇi where (Kalyāṇiya) Tissa ruled were identical or different. The author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* who deals with these incidents of the sixth century B.C. (*Mhv.* I, *vv.* 63 ff.) and later, of the 3rd century B.C. (*Mhv.* xxii, *vv.* 12 ff.) makes no differentiation. It could however be inferred from the above accounts that Kalyāṇi of the *Nāga* king Maniakkhika was on the bank of a river and that Kalyāṇi mentioned in the *Vaḷāhassa Jātaka* and *Kalyāṇi* as the kingdom of Tissa had been close to the sea coast.

Scholars who have studied the literary sources referring to Kalyāṇi[4] are of opinion that all sources refer to one and the same place and that comprised the region now known as Kälaṇiya, near Colombo. That this was also the popular belief is evident from the paintings of the present *vihāra* at Kälaṇiya, which give the details of the visit of the Buddha to Kälaṇi and the incidents connected with the story of the love affair between the brother and the queen of (Kalyāṇiya) Tissa PLATE XV.

Further, it has been pointed out by S. Paranavitana (*University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 221) that numerous inscriptions in Brāhmi script also testify that by the 1st century B.C. the descendants of the pioneer Indo-Aryan colonists had spread beyond the dry zone into Kegalle and Colombo districts of the low country wet zone "the ancient kingdom of Kalyāṇi or Kälaṇi).....". Inscriptions of some princes of Kalyāṇi exist at Yaṭahalena and Lenagala in the Kegalle district (*UCR*. ix. No. I, p. 20; *CJsc*. II, 202-204). A 5th century inscription at the site of an ancient *vihāra* at Diyagama, three miles up the river from Kalutara, mentions the market-town of Kälaṇiya which C. W. Nicholas (*JCBRAS*. "New Series, Vol. VI, Special Number, 1959, p. 118) thinks is identical with the present Kälaṇiya. He also states (loc. cit.) that in early times the area north of the Kalu Gaṅga belonged to the old division of Kalyāṇi-desa, originally the kingdom of Kalyāṇi.

Thus while there is evidence to believe that the present Kälaṇiya near Colombo comprised the capital of the ancient kingdom of Kalyāṇi, S. Paranavitana argues that there is ample epigraphical evidence supported by an early literary reference to believe that Kalyāṇi, which was the capital of king (Kalyāṇiya) Tissa, the father of Vihāra Mahādevi, was not located near Colombo but was in the south-eastern region of Ceylon and was thus different from the Kalyāṇi near Colombo.[5]

Paranavitana's surmise is based on the evidence of the contents of certain cave inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C. at Bovattagala (in the Batticaloa district) and at Koṭadämūhela (var. Koṭṭadämūhela, in the Hambantota district) and a statement in the *Sīhalavatthupakaraṇa* (*Svu.* 129 cited earlier). Bovattegala, about three miles north-west of Kumana and about thirty miles east of Kataragama is the site of an ancient monastery which, later inscriptions at the site indicate, was in a flourishing condition up to the 7th century A.C. (*JCBRAS* New Series, Vol. VI. Special Number, 1957, p. 21). Koṭādämūhela or (Koṭṭadämūhela) is also the site of an ancient monastary in the Yāla sanctuary (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. I, 147). Of the 2nd century B.C. inscriptions at these two sites mentioned above, fourteen cave inscriptions at the latter site with almost an identical text record the donations of the caves in which they were indited, to the Saṅgha by a princess named Abi Savera, daughter of Mahātisa (Mahātissa), who was the son of Damaraja (Dharmarāja), and that this princess was the wife of Aya Tisa (Prince Tissa) and daughter of Aya Abhaya (Prince Abhaya). These inscriptions make mention of a royal dynasty among whom were ten brothers (*dasabhātika*). There is also one inscription at the former site which records the donation of a cave by a princess named Abi Anuradi, daughter of Prince Abhaya who was the son of Uti (Uttiya), one of the ten brother kings (*dasabhātika*) who were the sons of a ruler called Gamaṇi (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 93, 146, 147). These names of royal personages belong to five generations as follows (i) Gamaṇi; (ii) his ten sons, of whom one was Raja Uti; (iii) his grandsons, Damaraja and Prince Abhaya; (iv) his grat-grand-children, the princes Mahatisa and Tisa, and the princess Anuradi; and (v) his great-great-grand-daughter, princess Savera (*JCBRAS*. New Series, Vol. VI. Special Number, 1959, p. 21). The ten brothers and the other personages mentioned in the inscriptions at the two sites probably belonged to the same dynasty.

Of the personages mentioned in these inscriptions, Paranavitana suggests the possibility of identifying Abi savera with Vihāramahādevi, her father Mahatisa with (Kalyāṇiya) Tissa and her husband Aya Tisa (Prince Tissa) with Kākavaṇṇa Tissa whose father Aya Abhaya (Prince Abhaya) is identifiable with Goṭhābhaya (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. I. p. 147).

4. Eg. G. P. Malalasekera, *DPPN*. I, p. 539; E. W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp. 113, 125; Wilhelm Geiger's Mahāvaṃsa translation, I, p. 7 note 4; Walpola Rāhula *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 21.

5. University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 147 ff.; *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Department of Archaeology, 1970, p. lviii

On the name Abi Savera, Paranavitana (loc. cit.) comments: "In the name of the princess, 'Abi' is a courtesy title, prefixed to the names of several princesses in inscriptions of the pre-Christian period, 'Savera', by normal phonological process, could have assumed the form 'Vahera' in course of time in popular parlance, and the name turned into Pali as 'Vihāra' by the chroniclers. 'Vahera' being the form which the Pali word *vihāra* had assumed in Old Sinhalese, the story given in the chronicle that the name of Kākavaṇṇa's consort was due to the fact that a *vihāra* was built at the spot where the boat in which she was sent adrift by her father touched land, can easily be taken as an instance of folk-etymology."

The fact that these inscriptions, recording the donation of caves to religious establishments by Abi Savera, identifiable with Vihāra-mahā-devi and others who belonged to that royal family are located in the south-eastern region of the island has prompted Paranavitana to suggest that the kingdom of (Kalyāṇiya) Tissa, the father of Vihāra-mahā-devi "If it was named Kalyāṇi" was different from Kalyāṇi near Colombo, and was located somewhere in the south-eastern part of the island. A fragmentary Brāhmī inscription has also been found at an ancient site in the south-eastern area of the island, where the name 'Kalaṇika Tisa' itself is found, suggesting that this ruler, i.e. the father of Vihāra-mahā-devi was connected with that part of the island (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I. Pt. I, pp. 147 ff.).

The evidence of these inscriptions is strengthened by the statement in the *Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa (Svu.* p. 129) already mentioned. This Pali text is assigned to a period earlier than the *Mahāvaṃsa.* After recounting the meritorious deeds of king Kākavaṇṇa Tissa and Vihāra-mahā-devi in their previous births, it states that they were born in two royal families, grew up together and when they came of age were united in marriage. Commenting on this Paranavitana states: "According to this statement, the residence of 'Severas' parents must have been not very far from Mahāgāma where Kākavaṇṇa had his abode. If it was named Kalyāṇi, it must have been different from Kälaṇiya near Colombo and located somewhere in the south-eastern part of the island (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Department of Archaeology, 1970, p. Lviii).

A cave inscription at Mihintale (op. cit. p. 2, no. 14) mentions a nun named Savera, daughter of king Tisa Kanagama. There is evidence in the *Mahāvaṃsa (Mhv.* xiv. 52) that there was a place named Kanagama in Rohana. Paranavitana (loc. cit.) states that it could be that both Kanagama and Kalyāṇi were names of the same place, and the nun Savera mentioned here was the mother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, who may have ended her life as a nun which is not improbable in view of the pious nature attributed to her in the chronicles, though the chronicles themselves do not mention it.[6]

Paranavitana (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I. Pt. I, 145 ff.) tends to identify the ancesstors of Abi Savera with the ruling family of *Kṣatriyas* of Kataragama whose representatives were present, accordig to the *Mahāvaṃsa (Mhv.* xix, 54), at the ceremony of planting the Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura by king Devānampiya Tissa. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* (p. 29) mentions that king Goṭhābhaya, father of king Kākavaṇṇa Tissa slew the ten brother-kings of Kataragama. Paranavitana thinks that these ten brother-kings mentioned in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* are identical with the ten brother kings mentioned in the Bovattagala inscription, and, they in turn were probably the descendants of those who were present at the ceremony of the planting of the Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura. Thus it is surmised that king (Kalyāṇiya) Tissa belonged to the family of *Kṣatriyas* of Kataragama and his kingdom was located in the south-eastern region of Ceylon.

Paranavitana (op. cit. pp. 146 f.) states that these *Kṣatriyas* of Kataragama did not descend from the royal family of Anuradhapura but probably represented the leaders of a stream of immigrants different from that which had established itself in and around Anuradhapura. It appears that when Mahānāga fled from Anuradhapura and established himself at Mahāgāma the two royal families had a cordial relationship until king Goṭhābhaya (i.e. the grandson of Mahānāga) slew the ten brother-kings of Kataragama. But, it appears that there was a marriage between a princess of this line of rulers and Kakavaṇṇa Tissa, the son of Goṭhābhaya, though there could have been minor clashes between the descendants of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa and the representatives of Kataragama *Kṣatriyas* as indicated by a story in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* (p. 39).

Thus, Kalyāṇi of Maniakkhika and Kalyāṇi of Kalyāṇiya Tissa have been considered both as identical and different. Whatever the case may be, the place (or places) by the name Kalyāṇi was important at both these periods, for, in the time of Maniakkhika the place is said to have been hallowed by the visit of the Buddha, and, in the time of Kalyāṇiya Tissa there had been a Buddhist monastery which was the residence of Kalyāṇiya thera. The *Rājāvaliya* (ed. B. Gunasekara, Colombo, 1900, p. 24) states that king Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa built the city of Kalyāṇi (Kälaṇiya), constructed a *vihāra* and ruled in that city. The *Pūjāvaliya* also credits this ruler with the

6. There is evidence of a brother of Vihāra-mahā-devi, having become a monk as Cūlapiṇḍapātikatissa thera (Cp. *Jinakālamāli, PTS.* p. 55).

construction of the Kalyāṇi-vihāra (Sinh. Kälaṇi-vehera) with thirty great *pāsādas* and a *stūpa*. The *Mahāvaṃsa* refers to a tradition of king Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa constructing a five storeyed *pāsāda* in the city of Kalyāṇi, probably for the *vihāra*. In the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (161–137 B.C.) the *vihāra* (here referred to as Kalyāṇika-vihāra) is said to have been occupied by five hundred monks. The *Mahāvaṃsa (Mhv.* xxxii, 50 f.) recounts how the thera Dhammagutta shared with five hundred other monks of this *vihāra* a meal given to him my king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Maliyadeva thera who lived in the reign of king Duṭṭhagamaṇi, is said to have preached the *Chachakka Sutta* at two places in Kalyāṇi, viz. at Nāgamahāvihāra[7] and in the village Kālakacchagāma (*MA*. 1025). Subsequent to king Duṭṭhagamaṇi, king Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167–86 A.C.) built an *Uposatha*-house in this *vihāra (Mhv.* xxxvi. 17) and king Vohārika Tissa (209–31 A.C.) erected a parasol on the *cetiya (Mhv.* xxxvi. 34). Records in several of his inscriptions (*EZ.* I, 126; II, III, 141, 144, 147, 177) state that he visited the Kalyāṇiya vihāra, effected repairs there and, giving away boundless wealth, made offerings to it. King Vijayabāhu III (1232–36 A.C.) restored the *cetiya* which had been destroyed by the Damilas and repaired the eastern gate-tower, image-house, walls and other structures (*Mhv.* lxxxi. 59 ff.). King Parakramabāhu II (1236–70 A.C.) is also said to have restored the five-storeyed *pāsāda* and the temples of recumbent and *Tivaṅka* images, paved the courtyard of the *cetiya* with stone slabs, and erected in front of the *cetiya* a large *maṇḍapa*. The king also caused a grove of coconuts planted near the *vihāra* and dedicated it to the *vihāra* so that a festival of lamps might be held in the *vihāra* daily. The king himself with great devotion made offerings of flowers, lamps and food at the many festivals held by him in honour of the *bodhi*, the *cetiya* and the Supreme Buddha. (*Mhv.* Lxxxv, 64 ff.). In the 14th century Alagakkonāra seems to have bestowed great patronage on the monastery and to have done many things for its improvement; The *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* xci. 5 ff.) which recounts the founding of the city of Jayavaḍḍhanakoṭṭa (i.e. Kotte near Colombo) refers to Kalyāṇi in the following words: "The town of Kalyāṇi shines with her palaces, bodhi-trees, her superb cloisters and maṇḍapas, with walls, halls, image houses and *cetiyas*, with her gorgeous shops, her splendid gate-towers and arches. Now to the south of this town Kalyāṇi which is described in such words, which was visited by the great Sage, in a place where pious people dwelt..... he built the famous town of Jayavaḍḍhanakoṭṭa...." *(Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, I, 152, II, 149, 182).

The Kalyāṇi-vihāra has been the residence of eminent monks from early times. As already mentioned, in the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi a *thera* named Dhammagutta resided there with five hundred colleagues (*Mhv.* xxxii, 51). Another *thera* named Godatta, too, was a resident here (*MA.* I, 122). A *thera* named Piṇḍapātiya once recited the *Brahmajāla-sutta* in this monastery, and at the conclusion of the recital the earth trembled (*DA.* I, 131). Near the *vihāra* was the village of Käladīghavāpigama where monks who lived in the monastery went for alms (*SnA.* I, 70; *AA.* I, 13). The *thera* Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya who probably lived at the beginning of the Christian era (cp. E.W. Adikaram, op. cit. pp. 80 ff.) resided at least for sometime at Kalyāṇi when he convinced a young Dīghahāṇaka *thera*, also living at Kalyāṇi that the latter had not till then attained arahantship (*MA.* IV, 97). Another monk named Mahātissa is also mentioned in connection with the Kalyāṇi-vihāra (*SnA.* II. 67; *Vism.* II. 689). A *thera* named Dīghasumana lived in the vicinity of the mouth of the river which was also known as Kalyāṇi. A fisherman gave him alms on three occasions and, as a result of this merit, was born in a happy state (*MA.* V. 76). E. W. Adikaram (op. cit. p. 113) identifies this place with the present Mutwal which, even today is a chief fishing centre in Colombo. Kalyāṇi is mentioned in the *Saṃyutta* commentary (*SA.* II, 230) where it is said that after the spread of Buddhism in Sri Lanka the country was so full of monasteries that there was one long peal oftemple bells from Vānamukha to Licchikali, and from Kalyāṇi to Nāgadīpa. The *Vibhaṅga* commentary *(VibhA.* 207) and the *Rasavāhiṇi(Rssv.* p. 121) mention Kalyāṇi-cetiya as a place of pilgrimage. In 1425 A.C., during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (1412–67 A.C.), a number of Burmese, Siamese and Cambodian monks came to Sri Lanka, learnt the scriptures here, received ordination anew at Kälani from the hands of Vanaratanamahāsāmi and Dhammācariya thera, returned to their own lords and established religious orders modelled on the Saṅgha in Sri Lanka. Subsequently, in the time of king Bhuvanekabahu VI (1470–78 A.C.) monks form Burma arrived in Sri Lanka to obtain the *upasampadā* and received their Ordination at a *sīmā* built on the Kalyāṇi river (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 755, 756).

Several Sinhalese literary works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries contain descriptive accounts of the sacred city of Kälaṇi during these two centuries. The 14th century *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* (ed. W. F. Gunawardhana, Colombo, 1908, p. 25) has preserved this striking picture

[7] C. W. Nicholas (*JCBRAS*, New Series, Vol. VI. Special Number, 1959, pp. 60, 80) makes mention of inscriptional and literary evidence of a Nāgamahā-vihāra in south and another in north Sri Lanka. This *vihāra*, as indicated by C. W. Nicholas (op. cit. p. 20) was in the present western province.

of it: "In this fair island of Lanka, which contains sacred places, such as the city of Kälyāni, which is thus described: "With houses, Bo-trees, grand promenades, pavilions, city walls, halls, image houses, relic shrines, and with attractive bazaars and most beautiful gates and porticoes, the city of Kälyāṇi shines glorious. Which (city of Kalyāṇi) is surrounded by a rampart like unto the Cakravāṭa rock and contains rows of palatial buildings, white in their mortar and rivalling the Kailāsa rock, of one storey, two storeys, three storeys, five storeys, beautiful with walls, pillars, and flights of stairs ornamented with various frescoes, which city moreover is resplendent with *vihāras,* beautiful in their courtyards attached to relic shrines and Bo-trees, and in their image houses, walks, specious halls, and rows of gates, which city furthermore contains a network of broad streets, and in the two main arteries fed by these, throngs of men of various climes - which city lastly is full of wealth of all sorts-in this fair island of Lanka containing places such as this sacred city of Kalyāṇi..." [8]

The splendour of the city of Kalyāṇi and the *vihāra* in the days of king Parākramabāhu VI (1412–67 A.C.) is recorded in the Pali *Vuttamālā Sandesa* (Colombo, 1923, *vv.* 59 ff.) and several Sinhala Sandesa poems.

Of the Sinhala *Sandesa* poems the *Sälalihini Sandesaya* (ed. Dharmārāma, 1925, *vv.* 53–92) gives the longest account. It tells of the tall mansions set with gems and flags, the main street lit with lamps, houses with porticoes and balconies, the beautiful young women, etc. and then of the *vihāra* on the right side of the street. There is reference to a huge sedent image of the Buddha in the shrine called the Laṅkātilaka, a stone image which is described as a creation of Sakka when, in the days of king Kalyāṇiya Tissa the sea overflowed, the five-storeyed mansion where Maliyadeva thera is said to have preached the *Chachakka Sutta,* the milk-white *stūpa* inside the circular house *(vaṭa-dā-ge),* the recumbent image of the Buddha inside the shrine on the west, the sixty cubit *stūpa* constructed at the spot where the Buddha preached to the Nāgas led by Maniakkhika, the shrine of the Nāga image, the *samādhi* statue, the *bodhi*-tree, the two *tivaṇka* images, the *cetiya* called the Sivuru-dāgäba (i.e. Cīvara-cetiya) constructed at the spot where the Buddha put on his robes after bathing, the statue of the Buddha constructed by the pious at the spot where Kalyāṇiya Tissa put the monk to death, and, finally, the mansion of the god Vibhīṣana[9] where beautiful women danced to the accompaniment of music.

The *Haṃsa Sändeśaya* (ed. C. E. Godakumbura, 1953, *vv.* 74–121) describes two *vihāras* at Kalyāṇi, viz. the Kitsirimevan Kälaṇi *vihāra* and the Rajamahavihāra of Kälaṇiya. At the latter place, it is said are the *stūpa* built at the spot where the Buddha had his meals with five-hundred monks, two and three storeyed shrines of the Buddha, the *bodhi* tree, the five storeyed monastery, refectories and the shrine of god Vibhīṣna. The name of Bhuvanekabāhu Mahā thera is mentioned as the chief incumbent of the *vihāra.*

The *Tisara Sändesaya* (ed. D. B. Jayatillaka, 1935, *vv.* 96–101) compares the city with its mansions, learned and wise men and beautiful women and the shrine of god Vibhīṣana to the city of Sakka, the king of the gods. The *Mayūra Sändesaya* (ed. W.F. Gunawardhana, Mahābodhi Press, Colombo, 1928, *vv.* 34–39) also contains a similar description.

In view of the suggestion brought forward by Paranavitana, as discussed above that the kingdom and capital of king Kalyāṇiya Tissa was different from Kalyāṇi near Colombo, and was located in the south-eastern region of the island, it is not possible to say definitely, to which of these two places the Pali commentaries and the first part of the *Mahāvaṃsa* refer. But, that at least from the fourteenth century modern Kälaṇiya near Colombo had been known as Kalyāṇi in Pali and Kälaniya in Sinhala, and is the place referred to in the literary works and the inscriptions as is quite evident from these references themselves. Towards the latter part of the sixteenth century the monastery went through a dark period of its existence. The Portuguese who were in occupation of Colombo at this time first confiscated the revenues of the Kälaṇi-vihāra, and twenty years later destroyed the vihāra ruthlessly. Paul E. Peiries (*Ceylon, The Portuguese Era,* Colombo, 1913, Vol. I. pp. 140) recounts the incidents as follows: "With the enthusiasm of the new convert Dharmapāla (in 1555) transferred to the Franciscans the Raja Mahā and Kit Siri Mewan Temples, which face each other across the river at Kälaṇiya; with the Daladā Māligāwa, and the incomes of all the temples in the Island, including the fields, gardens, rents and services which had been dedicated to their use, for the maintenance of the Colleges which they proposed to found in the country. St. Annaa in the Orta of Kälaniya,

8. This account clearly indicates that in the 14th century Kalyāṇi near Colombo was a celebrated Buddhist centre in Sri Lanka.
9. God Vibhīṣaṇa was a legendary Rākṣasa prince and was the brother of Rāvana who is said to have ruled in Sri Lanka long before king Vijaya. In the war between Rāma and Ravana Vibhīṣaṇa supported Rama against his brother. Rama is said to have been an incarnation of Viṣṇu. In appreciation of the support given by Vibhisaṇa against his brother Rama made him a god and he (Vibhīṣaṇa) seems to have ruled from Kalyāṇi. After being deified a shrine had been constructed for Vibhīṣaṇa at Kalyāṇi which the Portugese later destroyed. The present shrine of smaller dimensions was constructed at a later period (*cp. Mayura Sandesaya.* 45 f.).

and St. Bartholomew on the southern bank, at the site of the Pas Mahal Pāya where Bhuwaneka Bāhu VII was murdered (in 1551), were the speedy fruits of the new *sannas* of the king, while the beautiful Daḷadā Māligāwa gave way to the church of the Holy Saviour, the bell of which still rings out from Kayman's Gate rousing the citizens of Colombo with the alarm of fire."

In 1575, the Portuguese captain of Colombo, Diogo de Melo, after capturing Wallala from the forces of king Rajasinha I, and defeating his elder brother Mahā Rajjuru Bandāra at Kaduwela, turned on the general Wikramasinha encamped at Kälaṇiya and succeeded in burning the deserted encampment and destroying the temple, inspite of the resistance of the villagers, who rallied in defence of the sacred shrine, several of them being driven into the river and drowned.

The Dutch who occupied Colombo subsequent to the Portuguese would not allow free worship at Kälaṇiya but, at the same time they did not wish to antagonize the Sinhalese king at Kandy. With the object of checking Buddhist activities at Kälaṇiya the Dutch wanted to establish a Christian school there. The Dutch East India Company directed in 1692, that no Buddhist practices be allowed in the neighbourhood of Kälaṇiya. Accordingly the Christian clergy opened an establishment there and ordered the Buddhist monks to depart.

The above action led to occasional protests by Buddhist monks. In 1699 a monk tried to gain access to Kälaṇiya and the Dutch governer Gerrit de Heere appointed two officials to investigate the monk's professed objects. As his belongings were limited to a relic-casket, palanquin, three white flags, sun shade and fan with an escort of four drummers, and as he had no letter of authority the monk's credentials were mistrusted, but orders were finally given "for this occasion alone" to allow him to carry out his desire.

In 1750 A.C. a high priest, supported by Kandyan officials, tried to gain a permanent footing at the Kälaṇi-vihāra. The Dutch refused to believe the plea of sickness put forward as the reason. The attempt failed.

Evidently with the relaxaton of the attitude of the Dutch toward the end of the eighteenth century the Kälaṇi-vihāra was once more enabled to secure a renewed lease of life under Dehigaspe Atthadassi Unnānse, a pupil of Välivita Piṇḍapātika Saranaṅkara Saṅgharaja. In 1780 A.C. a *Sannasa* was granted by king Kirti Sri Rajasinghe of Kandy to Buddharakkhita Unnānse, pupil of Atthadassi implying an understanding between that king and the Dutch that no restrictions were to be imposed on the temple any more.

Under the British the Kälaṇi-vihāra was permitted further freedom of activity. There was a continued succession of the *sisyānusisya-paramparāva*, (succession by puliliary descent) and the *vihāra*, under them steadily assumed a recognised position though the buildings were bereft of the ancient architectural beauty (H.C.P. Bell and A. Mendis Gunasekara Mudaliyar, Kälaṇi Vihāra and its Inscriptions in Ceylon *(Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. I, Pt. III, January 1916, pp. 145 ff.).

The Kälaṇi-vihāra, as it is now, is reached by a short approach from the main road. Two flights of steps lead to the raised ground of the sacred precincts. On this sacred ground is the *stūpa* whose shape of the dome is rather unusual. It belongs to the 'paddy-heap' type. "Near the stūpa are the modern shrine rooms *(pilima-ge)*, the *bo-maluwa*, the monastery and the *Uposatha* house.

The modern shrine consists of two lofty, oblong rooms the inner and the outer shrines, and a verandah. In this shrine is a colossal statue of the *nāga* king Maniakkhika with two painted figures of *nāga* princesses on either side. The walls are decorated with delineations of well known *Jātakas* (eg. Vessantara, Dahamsonda, Mahāsīlava, Telapatta, Dhammapāla, Devadhamma etc.), the planetary gods *(nava-graha)* and the zodiacal signs. There are also representations of kings Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa and Kälaṇi Tissa, the first seven weeks of the Buddha after his enlightenment, the attack of Māra upon the Buddha, and the sixteen sacred shrines of Sri Lanka. Inside the inner shrine is a recumbent image of the Buddha, two sedent images and the standing images. The twenty-four assurances *(suvisi-vivaraṇa)* are painted on the wall. There are also figures of the gods Nātha, Viśnu and Skandha-kumāra, and coloured representations of Hanuman, Gaṇa-deviyo, Maheśvara, Saman and Vibhīṣana *(Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, I, pp. 145 ff.).

One feature that is new in the subject matter of the paintings at Kälaṇiya is the entry of Sinhalese history into the panels. D. B. Dhanapala *(The Story of Sinhalese Painting*, Saman Press, Maharagama, Ceylon, 1957, p. 55) observes that when almost all mural paintings were confined to events associated with the Buddha or the *Jātakas* the Kälaṇiya-vihāra presents a pleasant deviation in this respect. Of the elegance of the paintings at Kälaṇiya D.B. Dhanapala (loc. cit.) says, ".... when the new wing was built the walls were painted with pictures on the old art tradition of Ceylon coming down from Sīgiriya and Ajantā. Solius Mendis who had never undergone any technical training in the Western manner has done at Kälaṇiya a series of pictures that may be considered the best work done in Ceylon after the Polonnaruwa period, if not Sīgiriya.

"The Kälaṇiya frescoes are a throw back in easy but masterful handling of mass composition of the original Ajantā Art, while keeping to the regular rectangular

panels of the Kandyan Art, in the picturisation of a story. Line work has the same robustness and rythem while delineation of character by a sureness of modelling has been achieved to an amazing degree equalling in craftmanship to the Sigiriya frescoes or the Bodhisatva recently discovered at Polonnaruwa".

H. R. Perera

KALYĀṆI INSCRIPTIONS (1476 A.C.) record the very cordial relationship and co-operation that existed between Ceylonese (now Sri Lankan) Buddhists and Burmese (now Myanmar) Buddhists during the reign of King Dhammaceti of Burma (1472-1492 A.C.)

Dhammaceti was a Buddhist monk who subsequently gave up robes to become king in Burma. Buddhism was at a very low ebb in Burma when Dhammaceti assumed kingship and therefore he decided to restore Buddhism to its former glorious position with the assistance of King Bhuvanekabāhu of Ceylon and the Ceylonese Buddhist monks. So, with the concurrence of the Ceylonese ruler, Dhammaceti despatched a group of novices to Ceylon, to be trained in the pure Theravāda tradition of Buddhism. After undergoing a detailed course of study under elderly erudite *theras*, the Burmese *bhikkhus* were conferred the Higher Ordination *(Upasampadā)* at an ecclesiastical ceremony conducted in a special pavilion *(sīmā)* put up on the Kalyāṇi river, close to Colombo. When the *bhikkhus* returned to Burma, they were received with much honour and with royal patronage they set up several institutions to train *bhikkhus* in Burma, following the Ceylonese pattern.

Having given a new lease of life to Buddhist activities in Burma, king Dhammaceti set up the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions in Rāmañña to record the series of activities that resulted in the new revival.

The inscriptions were named 'Kalyāṇi Inscriptions' to commemorate the special Higher Ordination ceremony held on the river Kalyāṇi in Ceylon. In these inscriptions Dhammaceti not only gives details of the friendly relationship and co-operation that was built up by his own initiative and endeavour, between the two Theravāda Buddhist countries of Burma and Ceylon, but he also gives details of mutual co-operation and suavity that existed between the two nations in the field of Buddhism and its culture, from the time the two countries accepted Buddhism as their main religious teaching. Special reference is made in the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions to the visit to Ceylon of Uttarājīva Mahāthera of Burma during the reign of Narapatisithu (1173-1210 A.C.). It was during this period that a group of elderly monks from Ceylon went to Burma on the invitation of the Burmese Buddhists and established there the institution of Sīhala Saṅgha (the Fraternity of Ceylonese Monks - 1181 A.C.).

The Kalyāṇi inscriptions further mention about Chapata, the Talaing monk from Burma who, too, went to Ceylon with four other monks to master the Ceylonese Buddhist Tradition. Chapaṭa received his Higher Ordination in Ceylon and returned to Burma in 1181 A.C. Among the four monks who accompanied Chapaṭa to Ceylon was the son of the King of Cambodia, by name Shin Tāmalinda. This had happened during the reign of King Parākramabāhu the Great of Ceylon (Kanai Lal Hazra, *History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-East Asia*, Munshiran Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1982, pp. 8, 58, 65, 92, 107-10).

T. Ariyadhamma

KALYĀṆIVAṂSA NIKĀYA, SRĪ - a Buddhist sect that came into being in the Southern Province in Sri Lanka in the year 1810 A.C., headed by Kataluve Gunaratanatissa Thera. Kataluve Gunaratanatissa Thera who was conferred the Higher Ordination *(upasampadā)* by the Siamese sect (Siyam nikāya) earlier, was not very happy about the constitution of the *sīmā* in which the Higher Ordination ceremony was held and he decided to go to Myanmar (Burma) to receive the Higher Ordination anew from the *Saṅgha* (community of *bhikkhus)* of the Theravāda tradition in that country. Accompanied by seven novices *(sāmaṇera)* and three lay benefactors *(dāyaka)*, Gunaratanatissa Thera set sail to Myanmar in the year 1807 A.C. The King of Myanmar received the delegation with honour and respect and provided all facilities for Gunaratanatissa Thera and the novices to be conferred the *upasampadā* by the Myanmar Theravāda fraternity at the Kalyāṇi sīmā in the city of Haṃsavatī.

Having received the *upasampadā* and having spent sometime with the *bhikkhūs* of Haṃsavatī, Gunaratanatissa Thera and the members of his delegation returned to Sri Lanka and founded the Sri Kalyāṇivaṃsa Nikāya in the year 1810 A.C. with Gunaratanatissa Thera himself as its first Mahānāyaka (supreme head). From the inception of this Nikāya, Sailabimbārāma in Dodanduwa has remained as its head quarters. At present there are about one hundred and sixty monasteries, most of them in the Southern Province of Sri Lanka, with about four hundred resident *bhikkhūs* in them, affiliated to this Buddhist sect. From the inception of the sect and up to date (1996) there have been twenty *mahā theras* functioning as Mahānāyaka from time to time. They are:

1. Kataluve Gunaratanatissa (1810-1832 A.C.)
2. Baṭapole Kalyānatissa (1832-1841 A.C.)
3. Koggala-Dhammasāra (1841-1855 A.C.)

4. Mirisse Dhammānanda (1855–1877 A.C.)
5. Udugalpiṭiye Sirisumana (1877–1884 A.C.)
6. Dodanduve Piyaratanatissa (1884–1908 A.C.)
7. Alutgama Sīlakkhandha (1908–1925 A.C.)
8. Gintoṭa Medhaṅkara (1925–1940 A.C.)
9. Telwatte Medhā Srī Ariyawaṃsa (1940–1963 A.C.)
10. Polwatte Buddhadatta
11. Mātara Medhānanda (1963–1966 A.C.)
12. Dodanduve Dhammissara
13. Kataluve Paññāraṃsi (1966–1973 A.C.)
14. Harumalgoda Sri Ariyavaṃsa
15. Devinuvara Amarasiri
16. Dambagassāre Sumedhaṅkara (1973–1976 A.C.)
17. Baṭapole Anomadassi
18. Keraminiye Jinānanda
19. Koggala Sirivisuddhi
20. Dodampahala Candasiri (From 31st March 1996)

Most of the *mahā theras* who held the position of Mahānāyaka of this sect were erudite scholars in the fields of Sanskrit, Pali, Buddhist Philosophy and Sinhalese Literature and Language and some of them had achieved distinction in several other fields, too. Dodanduve Piyaratanatissa Mahānāyaka Thera was an educationist and a pioneer in the Buddhist schools movement in the latter half of the 19th century. He founded the first Buddhist school near Sailabimbārāma in Dodanduwa and prepared text books for use in Buddhist schools. He was in association with Colonel H.S. Olcott even before the latter came to Sri Lanka to help Buddhista to start schools for Buddhist children.

Dodanduve Sīlakkhandha Mahānāyaka Thera was a reputed Pali and Sanskrit scholar who was consulted by eminent foreign scholars such as Minayeff, Rhys Davids, Paul Carus, Satiscandra Vidyābhūsana and many others. He was the author of several authoritative treatises on Pali, Sanskrit and Buddhism.

Telwatte Medhā Srī Ariyawansa Mahānāyaka Thera was not only an expert exponent of Buddhadhamma but was also a reputed scholar and much sought after teacher of classical Sanskrit works and Sanskrit grammar, who critically edited with explanatory notes several classical Sanskrit works.

Keraminiye Jinānanda Mahānāyaka Thera who was a pupil of Telwatte Ariyawamsa Mahānāyaka Thera was another erudite scholar of classical Sanskrit works and Sanskrit grammar. His contribution to learning in this field, too, is remarkable and invaluable.

Polwatte Buddhadatta Mahānāyaka Thera was an internationally reputed authority on Pali, Buddhism and Buddhist literature and Philosophy. He was associated with the Pali Text Society of London and assisted that [illegible] many of its *Tripiṭaka* text editions and their English translations. The *Pālibhāṣāvataraṇaya* in the Sinhala medium and the *New Pali Course* in the English medium compiled by Buddhadatta Mahānāyaka Thera, several decades ago, are still the most widely used and popular guide books for the study of Pali in schools as well as in Universities. The *Tripiṭaka Sūciya*, compiled by the Mahā Thera is a popular 'key' to the study of the Pali *Tripiṭaka* Texts. He had the rare distinction of being selected as a member of the official delegation of erudite *bhikkhus from Sri Lanka to the sixth Buddhist convocation (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā)* held in Myanmar in 1956 A.C. in connection with the Buddha Jayanthi. At the conclusion of this Buddhist convocation Buddhadatta Mahānāyaka Thera was conferred the most prestigious religio-academic title – Aggamahāpaṇḍita – by the government of Myanmar.

Dambagasāre Sumedhaṅkara Mahānāyaka Thera is reputed as the fearless and energetic *bhikkhu* who spent many years in the wilds of the Eastern Province in Sri Lanka to trace the whereabouts of the ancient Seruvila Maṅgala Caitya. Having traced the ruins of this important *caitya* the Mahā Thera set up the Seruvila Development Society to help him in the restoration work and within a reasonable length of time restored the *Caitya* to its former glory. He did not stop at that. He persuaded the government of Sri Lanka to open up settlements in the dense forest around the *caitya* to make the whole area suitable for human habitation.

Baṭapola Anomadassi Mahānāyaka Thera was a scholar-cum-freedom campaigner and social worker. He was an active participant in the freedom campaign of Sri Lanka in the early part of the twentieth century and worked hand in glove with Marxist leaders to win for workers and farmers their rights and in these campaigns he had to undergo great hardship and sometimes imprisonment.

Dodampahala Candasiri Mahā Thera, the present Mahānāyaka (1996 A.C.) is an expert meditation master *(kammaṭṭhānācariya)* and has several *āraṇya senāsanas* (forest monasteries) functioning under his direction and supervision. They are: Gotama Tapovanaya in Mulleriyawa, Kaludiyapokuṇa Arahanta Tapovanaya in Mihintale, Abhayabhūmi Tapovanaya in Kegalle and Deviyaṅgekanda Tapovanaya in Padaviya. In these forest monasteries live many bhikkhus devoted to regular meditation and learning. Each bhikkhu is provided with a small hut *(kuṭi)* with basic facilities. There is an organisation of lay supporters *(dāyaka)* called *Mātikamātā Samitiya* to look after the management of the above mentioned forest monasteries and Candasiri Mahānāyaka Thera functions as its patron and guide. Candasiri Mahā-nāyaka Thera is also the patron and Director of the Kumārakāsyapa Home for Destitute Children at the

Gotama Tapovanaya and Kumārakāsyapa Vocational Training Institute at Kataragama – both institutes being run by the *Mātikamātā Samitiya.*

Sources

1. *Buddhadatta, Polwatte: Kalyāni Sāsana Vaṃsaya,* Kataluva (Sri Lanka), 1935
2. Paññāsīha, Madihe: *Buddhavaṃsaya Sāsanavaṃsaya hā Amarapuravaṃsaya,* Maharagama (Sri Lanka), 1990. Acts of appointment of several Mahānāyaka Theras, too, were consulted).

Kurunduwatte Ratanānanda

KĀMA. In Buddhist Pali literature the term *kāma* is used in two different but related senses. They are: (a) objects of sense gratification (b) desire for sense gratification. The evidently early secular usage of the term to mean 'objects of sense gratification' is witnessed in the *Kāmasutta* of the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* of the *Sutta-nipāta.* In the same context these objects are specifically mentioned, as land *(khettaṃ vatthuṃ),* gold *(hiraññaṃ),* cattle and horses *(gavāssam),* slaves *(dāsaporisam),* women *(thiyo),* kinsmen *(bandhū)* etc. (*Sn. vv.* 768, 769).

In relation to the senses which thrive on them, these objects in themselves, have an alluring, enticing and captivating power, Nevertheless, as they exist objectively in the external world, the Buddhists take great care not to mistake them for *kāma,* the defiling subjective attitude of man to the external world. While the former is designated *vatthu-kāma,* it is the latter, precisely termed *kilesa-kāma,* that the Buddhists are primarily interested in their psycho-ethical religious system. Clarifying this position the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* I, p. 22) says, that whatever beautiful things there are in the world they are not *kāma; kāma* really is desire generated towards them. The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (III, p. 411) reiterates this. *Kāma* (as *kilesa-kāma* in the Buddhist sense) is functionally operative at the stage of desiring an object *(kāmaṃ kāmayamānassa)* by which it is lured *(iṭṭhā kantā, mathenti cittaṃ* etc.) even before the responsive or reactive stage of experiencing it as *sukhā vedanā* (plessant feeling).

The sphere in which these twofold aspect of *kāma,* i.e. *vatthu-kāma* and *kilesa-kāma,* operate is called the sensuous-realm *(kāma-bhava, kāma-dhātu, kāmaloka, kāmāvacara).* From this it is apparent that *kāma* operate in infra-human spheres, too. In fact the *Petavatthu* and its commentary contain references to this. For example, the stock epithet *sabbakāmasamiddhiṃ* is often met with in these texts used to describe these beings in *infra-human* spheres all whose wishes are fulfilled (*Pv.* I, p. 10, *PvA.* p. 461). However, the better known division of *kāma,* in accordance with their sphere of operation, are worldly pleasure *(mānusaka-kāma)* and divine pleasures *(dibba-kāma).* The popular religious belief is that enjoyment of the pleasures of senses is obtained as a reward for virtuous living and good deeds performed either in this existence or in previous ones. Some, specially the brahmins, seem to have believed that even renunciation of household life was aimed at the attainment of divine-pleasures (*M.* II, 75), which to them was the attainment of the transcendental goal. Buddhists also accepted that divine-pleasures are superior to worldly-pleasures (*M.* I, p. 505; *S.* V, p. 409) evidently in the sense that they are rarified and less contaminating, as it becomes adequately clear from the reference in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya.*

Besides this general application of the term in the above given meanings there is to be found in Buddhist literature occurences of this term, in certain contexts, with its meaning limited to the sphere of sex gratification. This is the meaning assigned to the term in the traditional interpretation of the third of the five-precepts *(pañcasīla A.* V, p. 264, cf. *Sn. v.* 1041) in the phrase *kāmesu micchācāra,* meaning 'impropriety in the gratification of sex-desires'.

Viewed in relation to the goal i.e. Nibbāna and attainment thereof *kāma* undoubtedly is an obstacle. But considering from a purely worldly point of view enjoyment of sensual pleasures *(kāmassāda)* is a necessary constitument of day to day life. In Buddhist literature laymen are described as those enjoying sensual pleasures *(gihī-kāmabhogī: Vin.* I, pp. 203, 287; *A. IV,* p. 281). Accepting this position as a fact of life in the household the Buddhist lay society evolved for itself a code of morals and ethics by means of which the layman's life may, while still being in the process of enjoying *kāma,* be gradually elevated in course of time for the attainment of the transcendental goal. This, in effect, is the role of *sīla* in Buddhism. This is where *saṃvara* or restraint, in the enjoyment of worldly pleasures, plays its vital role. Thus, the precepts primarily meant for the lay folk call upon them to refrain from excessive indulgence in such forms of enjoyment. And this can appear to have been answered by many whom the Buddhist texts describe as white-clad lay-devotees who are given to sense gratification *(upāsakā gihī odātavasanā kāmabhogino: M.* I, p. 491). The texts refer to a still another category of layfolk who appear to have taken a further positive step towards the gradual giving-up sense gratification, and such ones are described as white-clad lay-devotees, the holymen *(ye upāsakā mama sāvakā gihī odātavasanā brahmacārino:* loc. cit.).

But in spite of such apparent concessions granted to lay-folk, it is very clear that, as pointed out before, when considered in relation to the goal, *kāma* is certainly an impediment *(antarāyikā dhammā): M.* I, p. 130: *MA.* II, p. 103) that has to be got rid of by all those who seek to attain the goal. The Buddha explicitly describes desire for

the gratification of sense-desire *(kāma-vitakka)* as being not conducive to the attainment of Nibbāna *(anibbānasaṃvattanikā: M.* I, p. 115). Hence, from this angle *kāma* is utterly denounced in Buddhism.

Viewing from this angle it is pointed out that *kāma* offers little enjoyment *(appassāda)* and causes much pain *(bahu dukkhā)* and anxiety *(bahūpāyāsā: M.* I, pp. 91, 130; cf. *Dhp. v.* 186). *Kāma* generates not only sorrow, but also fear (*Dhp. v.* 215). In the *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta (M.* I, p. 115) the Buddha points out that *kāma* is harmful to oneself *(attabyābādha),* to others *parabyābādha),* and both to oneself and to others *(ubhayabyābādha),* destructive of knowledge *(paññānirodhikā)* associated with distress *(vighātapakkhikā)* and also not conducive to Nibbāna *(anibbānasaṃvattanikā).* Though appearing as attractive *(citra),* sweet *(madhura)* and charming *(manorama: Sn. v.* 50) all sensual-pleasures are mean, impermanent *(anicca),* causing pain *(dukkha)* and subject to change *(vipariṇāmadhamma : A.* II, p. 177). Similarly they are mean, false, empty, illusory and are mere foolish babble (*M.* II, p. 261).

Looking upon the objects of sense gratification as *kāma,* the Buddhist texts assert that to the extent these objects serve the eye, the ear, the nose etc. are pleasant, attractive, alluring and enticing and produce states of comfort and joy *(sukhaṃ somanassaṃ)* men derive pleasure out of these *(kāmānaṃ assādo)* even in a limited way *(appassādā kāmā vuttā bhagavatā....).* But the Buddhist texts hasten to point out the ill-effects that almost inheres in this very process of enjoying the plesures these *kāma* provide. In a calculated relative estimation they say that the grief that comes in the wake of these pleasures *(kāmānaṃ ādīnavā)* out-weigh the enjoyment. This is what is held against the proneness to the enjoyment of the pleasures that the senses appear to provide. The very basic competitive struggle for existence and consequent quarrels and disputes, wars and strifes, attacks and offensives, crimes and punishments, are all part of the process of pursuing pleasure at various levels, personal or institutive, national or international. These are the worldly manifestations of the ill-effects of the pursuit of *kāma* on the social and domestic planes. Further to this the Buddhist texts deal also with the ill-effects on the religio-ethical side which result from the pursuit of the pleasures of *kāma.* The unethical behaviour which is prompted by the greed for *kāma (duccarita* i.e., transgression in thought, word and deed) has also its corroding effect on the life of the individual in the saṃsāric process. It degenerates his state of life (*M.* I, p. 87), determining his destiny even in the life-after.

Buddhist texts also contain numerous similes illustrative of the empty, harmful and beguiling nature of *kāma.* Thus, *kāma,* is compared to a skeleton *(aṭṭhikaṅkala),* lump of flesh *(maṃsapesi),* torch of grass *(tiṇukka),* pit of glowing ambers *(aṅgārakāsu)* and so on (*M.* I, pp. 130; 364; cf. *A.* III, p. 310; IV, p. 289). Illustrating further the obstructive nature of *kāma* it is pointed out in Buddhist texts that *kāma* is one of the four modes of clinging *(upādāna: D.* III, p. 230), one of the ten fetters *(saṃyojana: A.* III, p. 373), one of the three longings *(esanā, D.* III, p. 216). Above all, it is often referred to as a defiling influx *(kāmāsava : Vin.* III, p. 5). Sensual thoughts *(kāmavitakka, kāmasaṅkappa)* are described as unwholesome things *(akusalā dhammā : Nett.* p. 18; *Vbh.* p. 256). If one were to sum-up what *kāma* is, according to Buddhism, it could be categorically called a painful thing *(dukkhadhamma: S.* IV, p. 188).

Despite its most harmful nature, one finds *kāma* as being extremely difficult to give up (*Sn. v.* 772). This is because the natural inclination of individuals is to swim with the current *(anusotagāmi),* as the Buddhist texts put it, and pursue relentlessly the gratification of sense-desires, even though this gratification is shown to be vile *(mīḷha),* worldly *(puthujjana)* and ignoble *(anariya : M.* I, 454). The ignorant worldlings being unguarded with regard to the six gateways of contact *(phassāyatanaṃ)* gets intoxicated with the five constituents of sensual pleasures (*S.* IV, p. 196; cf. *A.* III, p. 410). How one gets intoxicated and subjected to what one perceives is clearly explained in the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta (M.* I, p. III f.). Therein it is explained how with the arising of feeling the whole process of sense-perception takes a very subjective tone and how one begins to perceive what one feels, reflect on what one perceives, and get obsessed with what one reflects, until ultimately one becomes subject to an objective order of things, thus becoming completely enslaved to *kāma.* Under such circumstances even when faced with painful objects one does not stop at developing a feeling of repugnance towards them, but instead goes still further and develop a liking for pleasant things. This is generally so for, one obsessed with craving for pleasure, sees no freedom from painful feeling save from enjoyment of sensual pleasures (*S.* IV, p. 208). This craving for gratification of sense-desires gradually eats one up and burns one up (*M.* I, p. 504; cf. *D.* II, p. 308; *S.* I, p. 31).

Now, questions arise as to whether it is possible to dissociate *(visaṃyoga)* oneself from being engaged with the pursuit of the gratification of sense-desires *(kāma-yoga: A.* II, p. 10 f.) and whether in fact there is any freedom *(nissaraṇa)* from this enslavement to *kāma.* In Buddhism both these questions are answered very clearly in the affirmative. It is explicitly stated that there is dissociation from engrossment to the gratification of sense-desires and there is also freedom from enslavement to *kāma* (ibid.).

Moderation with regard to gratification of sense-desires, the advice offered by the Buddha to lay householders, in itself is not sufficient either to bring about

complete dissociation from enjoyment of sensual pleasures or to effect one's freedom from enslavement to objects of senses. Renouncing the life in the household and entering the Order *(pabbajjā)* will undoubtedly provide a better atmosphere to achieve dissociation and freedom from *kāma* (*M.* III, p. 33). In fact both these modes namely, moderation and entering the Order, would be positive progressive steps in the process leading to dissociation and freedom from *kāma*. These steps would enable one to abandon the tendency to swim with the current i.e. to follow one's base inclinations, and turn out to be one who swims against the current *(paṭisotagāmī: A.* II, p. 5) or as the *Dhammapada* puts it, one who swims upwards the stream *(uddhaṃsotagāmi : Dhp.* v. 218). However, these are only preliminary steps in the process culminating in the total abandonment of all desire for the gratification of both worldly and heavenly pleasures *(nekkhamma: It.* p. 94). Life in the Order enforces upon oneself higher precepts which induce one to train to control one's sense-doors *(indriya-saṃvara, indriyesu guttadvāra)* more effectively. The practice of meditation which is a necessary constituent of life in the Order helps to bring about tranquillity of mind leading to sense-control. Yet none of these devices suffices in themselves to eradicate totally the craving for the gratification of sense desires. This has to be accomplished through insight *((vipassanā),* through the comprehension of the true nature of *kāma (kāmānaṃ pariññaṃ).* It is in order to help one to attain this comprehension that the Buddha teaches about the arising of, passing away of, enjoyment of, evil consequences of and finally freedom from *kāma* (*M.* I, p. 502 ff.). When there is full comprehension of *kāma* as they have come to be *(yathābhūta)* i.e. their true nature as impermanent, painful, providing little enjoyment and much anxiety and so on (*M.* I, pp. 91, 310; *A.* II, . 177; *Dhp.* vv. 277–79) one becomes able to utterly eradicate craving for gratification of sense-desires, for how could one who has seen suffering *(dukkha)* and wherefrom it arises, incline towards gratification of sense-desires (*S.* I, p. 177; cf. *Nett.* p. 61).

One who has gained comprehension of all objects of sensual-enjoyment *(kāmabhogesu paṇḍito – It,* p. 94), in the above said manner, could through introspection examine oneself and see whether objects of sense-desires yet assail his mind and whether his mind when confronted with them eagerly leaps at them. If by this self-analysis one finds that objects do not assail one's mind, that one's mind does not leap and cling to them, then one can rest content and assured that one's mind is free from all craving for gratification of sense-desires and free from all painful and burning defiling influxes (cf. *M.* III, p. 114; *A.* III, p. 245). Such an one, freed from all craving for the gratification of sense-desires, will consider the things seen just as the seen *(diṭṭhe diṭṭhamattaṃ),* the things heard just as the heard *(sute sutamattaṃ),* the things sensed just as the sensed *(mute mutamattaṃ)* and things cognized just as the cognized *(viññāte viññātamattaṃ).* And this indeed is the end of suffering *(anto dukkhassa Ud.* p. 8, cf. *Nett.* p. 24).

S. K. Nanayakkara

KĀMA-BHAVA, plane of sense-pleasures, the sphere or the realm where existence is characterised by consciousness of sense-pleasures *(kāmasaññā);* it indicates both the spiritual nature of consciousness and the plane where that consciousness obtains. Spiritually, it represents the lowest of the three qualitatively different types of mundane consciousness, the other two being the consciousness of fine matter *(rūpa-saññā),* and the consciousness of immateriality *(arūpa-saññā).* Spatially *Kāmabhava* represents the lowest of the three planes of temporal existence in the division of the cosmos, the other two being the fine-material plane *(rūpa-bhava)* and the immaterial plane *(arūpa-bhava D.* III, 215, 275; *S.* II, 3; IV. 258; *A.* III, 444). It is therefore possible to look upon this threefold division as indicating the gradations of the mental development in the Buddhist process of religious uplift. In this scheme, *Kāma-bhava* would indicate the level of existence which is totally plesaure-conscious.

The second member of the compounds i.e., *bhava* meaning becoming, as in *kāma-bhava* etc. is sometimes replaced by *dhātu,* 'element', *bhūmi,* 'sphere' or *loka,* 'world', with no significant difference in connotation. Thus, we find terms like *kāmadhātu (D.* III, 215), *Kāmabhūmi (Ps.* I, 83) and *Kāma-loka (Saddhammopāyana, JPTS.* 1887, Stz. 233, 261) in place of *kāma-bhava* etc. Also we find a third word, *avacara,* meaning 'moving in', being introduced in between the two members of the compound with the result that we get terms like *Kāmāvacara-bhūmi* etc. (*Ps.* I, 83 f.)

Kāma-bhava refers to that plane of existence in which consciousness of beings is conditioned, pervaded and governed primarily, by disire for sense-pleasures (*Ps.* I, 296). In spite of the fact that these beings have the potentiality to rise spiritually above *kāma*-level, they are possessed of unwholesome mental states such as the five mental hindrances to spiritual progress *(nīvaraṇa)* and the five mental fetters *(saṃyojana)* that bind sentient beings to the lower plane of temporal existence known as *orambhāga* which is none other than *kāma-bhava* itself. And that is the characteristic feature of *kāma-bhava.*

It is one of the seven stations of consciousness of the mind *(viññāṇaṭṭhiti, D.* II, 68) and also the nine 'abodes' of beings *(sattāvāsa, D.* III, 263); and the beings there are

described as having diverse bodies *(nānatta-kāyā)* and diverse consciousness *(nānatta-saññā;* ibid.).

The state of life in this place is sometime referred to as the gross personality *(olārika-attapatlābha)* because it has gross material form *(rūpī)*, made of the four great elements – *cātummahābhūtika* and partaking of solid food *(kabalihkārāhārabhakkha D.* I, 34, 195).

Life with such a personality and such state of consciousness obtains only in a part of the cosmos which, as already stated, is known also as *orambhāga;* and this comprises all four *apāyas* of the world of human beings and the six lower *devalokas* (*Ps.* I, 83; *DA.* III, 987; *PsA.* I, 296 f.). See RŪPA-BHAVA, ARŪPA-BHAVA and COSMOLOGY.

Upali Karunaratne

KĀMACCHANDA, variously translated as excitement of sensual pleasure (*PED.*), sensuous desire *(Buddhist Dictionary)*, will to sensual desire (*The Guide*, p. 27), lust for sense-desires *(The Path of Purification*, p. 658), generally connotes the desire for sense gratification, the defiling subjective attitude of man towards objects of sense gratification. It is a defilement of the mind *(cetaso upakkileso)*, and hence, occupies a prominent place in all enumerations of hindrances to mental culture and spiritual growth. Thus, it heads the list of five hindrances *(nīvaraṇa*, q.v.) that cripple the mind and weaken wisdom (*S.* V, pp. 92, 94, 97). Similarly, quite often, it is enumerated as the first item in the list of ten fetters *(saṃyojana*, q.v.), that bind man to the saṃsāric process of continued existence.

The term *kāmacchanda* is a compound made up of the two terms *kāma* (q.v.) and *chanda (q.v.)*. The term *kāma* has two different but related meanings; objects of sense desire *(vatthū-kāma)*, desire for sense gratification *(kilesa-kāma)*. The term *chanda* primarily connotes will or desire to act *(kattukāmatā: Vism.* p. 466). The same source also points out that the function of *chanda* is scanning for an object, and this function is described as the extending of the mind's hand *(cetaso hattha)* in the apprehension of an object (*Vism.* loc. cit.). Thus *chanda* represents a particular stage in the process of perception at which the percipient leaps, as it were, mentally at the object that is being perceived. Though primarily the term *chanda* is value-neutral it acquires a definite moral colouring, either good or bad, depending on the concept or activity with which it is associated. Thus, when combined with *dhamma* as *dhammacchanda* virtuous desire or desire for good, it obtains an ethically good colouring while when combined with *kāma*, it receives an ethically bad colouring, for it conveys the meaning of desire for sense gratification. Hence the *PED.* (s.v. *chanda)* says that the combination *kāmacchanda* is only an enlarged term of *kāma*.

The term *kāmacchanda* is given in exegetical works as a synonym for *kilesakāma (Nd.* I, p. 2). The *Majjhima-Aṭṭhakathā* (II, p. 287) while equating it with the term *kilesakāma* says that it is desire *(chanda)* because it causes desire *(chandakaraṇavasena chando)*. That in such contexts the term *chanda* connotes an ethically bad sense is clearly pointed out elsewhere by Buddhaghosa. Thus, in the *Atthasālini (DhsA.* p. 370 cf. *NdA. SHB.* p. 11) he says that in this particular context it is not mere will or desire to do, not even desire for the good but it is so called desire for sense gratification *(kāmasaṃkhāto chando)*.

An interesting definition of the term *kāmacchanda* is found in the *Saṃyutta-Aṭṭhakathā* (III, p. 263) wherein the term is defined as attachment *(rāga)* pertaining to the five propensities of sense pleasure. Herein apparently the term *rāga* is regarded as a synonym for *chanda*. It is also interesting to note, in this context that there are instances both in the canonical and non-canonical literature where the two terms *kāmacchanda* and *kāmarāga* are regarded as synonymous. For example, when enumerating the lists of five hindrances these two terms are used as synonyms (*S.* V. 92, 94, 96, 127). The term *kāmarāga* is frequently found in the list of ten *saṃyojanas* but occasionally the term *kāmacchanda* is used in its place *(Nett.* pp. 14, 15). In the list of synonyms for *kilesakāma* and *chanda* these two terms occur amidst numerous other terms. These synonymous terms are *kāmacchanda, kāmarāga, kāma-nandi, kāmataṇhā, kāmasneha, kāmapariḷāha, kāma-mucchā, kāmajjhosāna, kāmogha, kāmajjhosāna, kāma-yoga, kāmacchandanīvaraṇa (Nd.* I, pp. 2, 4, 52, *DhsA.* p. 370).

An examination of these terms makes it clear that all of them are not exact synonyms but terms close in meaning (*DhsA.* p. 370). It is also seen that of these numerous terms only the three terms *kāmacchanda, kāmarāga*, and *kāmataṇhā* are of frequent use in a regular technical sense.

Now, as shown above, though the two terms *kāmac-chanda* and *kāmarāga* are considered as being interchangeable, the two terms *chanda* and *rāga* when taken separately in their ethically bad meanings seem to convey allied but somewhat different nuances of meaning connoting two different stages of desire of varying intensity. In this connection it is relevant to note that *chanda* is at times defined as weak-attachment *(dubbalarāga)* and *rāga* as an intensified form of *chanda (NdA. SHB.* p. 11). The term *chanda* as defined in the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 466) also suggests that it represents an initial stage of desire. Buddhist Sanskrit tradition also speaks of a similar

difference between *chanda* and *rāga*. The former is defined as desire for things to be acquired and the latter as attachment to things already in possession (see *Mdhvr.* p. 52).

If *chanda* and *rāga* connote two different stages of desire, the question of the two terms *kāmacchanda* and *kāmarāga* connoting two different stages of desire for sense gratification has to be considered. As pointed out before, in canonical literature these two terms are used in interchangeable meaning and as such there is no evidence of any specific attempt to lay emphasis on the slight differences in the nuances of their meanings. This is generally so even in commentarial literature. Though the difference in the shades of meaning of *chanda* and *rāga* are pointed out, the two compounds are generally regarded as synonymous.

Not only *chanda* and *rāga*, even such terms as *taṇhā* and *upādāna* when combined with *kāma* as *kāmataṇhā* and *kāmūpādāna* are considered as conveying a meaning quite similar to that conveyed by the terms *kāmacchanda* and *kāmarāga*. Buddhaghosa while pointing out that *kāmūpādāna* represents a more intense stage of *taṇhā* generally, considers all four terms to be synonyms (*Vism.* p. 569). He also cites an interesting traditional definition of *taṇhā* (craving) as the aspiring *(patthanā)* to an object that one has not yet reached, which is compared to a thief's strectching out his hand in the dark and *upādāna* (clinging) as the grasping of an object one has reached, like the thief clinging to his object. According to this definition it is seen that *taṇhā* is more like *chanda* and *upādāna* is more like *rāga*. This similarity of meaning becomes further evident when this definition is compared with the Buddhist Sanskrit definition of *chanda* and *rāga* referred to above. Thus it is seen that while in the final analysis *kāmacchanda* might be taken as representing an initial stage of desire weaker in strength than that stage of desire represented by the *kāmarāga*, for general purposes of expression and enumeration of the list of mental defilements Buddhist literature considers them to be synonyms. In passing, reference also should be made to the term *chandarāga* (q.v.) which conveys a meaning very similar to that conveyed by *kāmacchanda (S.* IV, p. 163).

As pointed out earlier *kāmacchanda* connotes the defiling subjective attitude of man towards the objects of sense gratification. What is the cause of this subjective attitude? According to the Buddha's teaching it is the unwise attention *(ayoniso manasikāra)* directed towards objects of sense desire that causes *kāmacchanda* (*S.* V, pp. 84 f.; 93, 103). Due to unwise attention one's view gets blurred and perverted and hence one fails to see things in their correct perspective *(yathābhūta)*. Thus one considers things that are impermanent as permanent, painful as pleasurable, non-substantial as being with substance, unpleasent as pleasent (*S.* V, pp. 64, 103 *MA.* I, p. 281). Viewing so one becomes prone to consider only the alluring features *(subhanimitta)* of things, which are of a temporary nature, as constituting the true nature of all objects of sense desire. Hence the texts cite unwise-attention to the alluring features *(subhanimitta)* of things as the food for the arising of *kāmacchanda* that has not yet arisen and for the increase and growth of *kāmacchanda* that has already arisen (*S.* V, pp. 64, 103). Therefore it is said that when this 'food' is fully comprehended the fetter that binds one to the continuous saṃsāric existence will remain no more (*S.* II, pp. 90, 99); *Nett.* p. 83). To comprehend this one should employ wise-attention *(yoniso manasikāra)* and view the arising and passing of all things. When so viewed, desire for sense gratification will no longer remain (*S.* IV, p. 188 f. cf. *M.* I, p. 432, also *MA.* I, p. 282). See further KĀMA.

S. K. Nanayakkara

KAMAKURĀ, a city in Kanagawa prefecture situated about 45 km southwest of Tokyo. Its historical importance dates back to the twelfth century A.C. In 1180 A.C. *Minamoto no Yoritomo* organised forces in *Izu* province (now part of Shizuoka prefecture) against the *Taira* clan which had gained political control in Kyoto. The Minamoto finally emerged victorious at the decisive battle of *Dannoura* in 1185 A.C., paving the way for the first military government in Japan. The imperial court later gave official recognition to the military rule of Minamoto no Yoritomo in 1192 A.C. by conferring on him the title of *"Seii Tai Shogun"* ("Barbarian-subduing generalissimo", popularly abridged as *"shogun"*). The military government established by him, thus, came to be known as the shogunate. Historians generally consider the year 1185 A.C. to be the beginning of the Kamakura period which ends with the collapse of the Shogunate in 1333 A.C.

As a result of civil wars, fires and natural calamities recurring at sporadic intervals for a considerable period of time prior to the establishment of the Kamakura Shogunate, people in Japan realized that the age of *"mappo"* (degeneration of the *dharma*), a period in which none could be enlightened, was in force. The *"mappo"* period, according to the tradition, is believed to have commenced from 1052 A.C. Under these circumstances, Buddhism had to change itself to meet the needs of the day. There were, broadly speaking, three currents of Buddhist thought in the Kamakura period. All of them are the reaction of the continued thought of *"mappo"*. The most popular belief among the masses was a thought of rebirth in the Pure Land by placing firm faith in the might of the Amita or Amida Buddha. The major schools of this thought are Jodo and Jodo-Shin (q.v.) sects of Buddhism. the second type of Buddhist thought which received immense support mainly from the Samurai or Warrior

class was Zen (q.v.) Buddhism. The third type places emphasis on the revaluation of the true spirit of the Hokekyo *(Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra)*. This school came to be known as the Nichiren (q.v.) sect of Buddhism which was named after its founder Nichiren (1222–1282 A.C.).

Kamakura is the site of numerous Buddhist temples. It is also famous for a seated Buddha image popularly called the Daibutsu (q.v. great Buddha) measuring 11.5 metres or 37.7 feet in height, the second largest among such statues in Japan.

Tochiichi Endo

KAMALA-ŚĪLA (8th century A.C.), also called Kamala-śrilā, was a professor of Tantras at the University of Nalanda whence he was invited by the Tibetan king to visit that country. While there, he vindicated the ideas of Padmasambhava and Santaraksita and defeated a Chinese monk who professed opposite views. By expelling this Chinese monk from Tibet, Kamala-sīla left the way open for the complete Indianization of that country through Buddhism.

Kamala-śīla was a follower of Śāntarakṣita, the well-known Mādhyamika teacher, to the *kārikas* (memorial verses) of whose *Tattva-saṃgraha* he wrote a commentary *(pañjikā)*. The *kārikas* and the commentary are printed together in the *GOS* volume XXX and XXXI, published in 1926.

According to S.C. Vidyābhūsana, *(A History of Indian Logic*, Calcutta University, 1921, pp. 327–8) Kamalaśīla was the author of another work called *Nyāyabindu-pūrva-pakṣasamkṣipta,* which is available in Tibetan and is a summary of criticisms of the *Nyāyabindu* of Dharmakirti.

Some thirty works of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka are attributed to Kamalaśīla: (Taisho: See under Kamala-śila).

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

KĀMASUKHALLIKĀNUYOGA, 'persuit of sensual gratifications'; 'self-indulgence'; 'attachment to worldly enjoyment'; 'practice of enjoying excessive pleasures of the senses as the be all and end all of human living'.

The Pali compound *Kāmasukhallikānuyoga* is made up of several words *kāmasukha* (pleasures of the senses) + *allika* (attachment to) + *anuyoga* (practice of) which as a compound gives the above shades of meaning.

In the first discourse (*S.* V, 420–24) delivered to the five ascetics *(pañcavaggiyā)* with whom the Buddha aspirant Siddhartha Gotama practised six years of rigourous asceticism, the Buddha declares that two extreme practices – the practice of excessive sensual enjoyment *(kāmasukhallikānuyoga)* and the practice of tormenting the body by servere forms of asceticism *(attakilamathānu-yoga* q.v.) have to be given up by one who has forsaken worldly happiness *(pabbajita)* in order to achieve spiritual perfection.

From the point of view of Buddhism the above statement made by the Buddha, addressing the five ascetics, is very significant. Prior to leaving household life the Buddha, as Prince Siddhartha Gotama led a very luxurious life with all material comforts a man could imagine of. As the son of a wealthy feudal Indian Rājā, Siddhartha Gotama was provided with all luxuries of life. He lived in three magnificent palaces, built for him by his anxious father, to suit the three seasons. He was always surrounded by beautiful young ladies, musicians, dancers and attendants. He was provided with the choicest of food and clothing. At the age of sixteen years he married a beautiful and affluent princess and lived in luxury till he was twenty nine years old. It was while living this life of affluence and luxury that realisation dawned in him, through personal experience, that mental peace and enduring happiness did not result from that type of extravagant and luxurient living. With this realisation Siddhartha Gotama decided to bid farewell to that kind of life-style and adopt its opposite, namely the practice of tormenting the body by denying to it even the basic physical needs. He left behind all his worldly belongings and left the palace in secret and joined a band of five ascetics who were practicing severe forms of asceticism in a thick jungle in Uruvela (*J.* I, 67 ff.). For six years he practised asceticism in the company of the five ascetics. In practising rigid forms of asceticism he went to their extreme with undaunted courage and determination.

At the end of the six year period realisation came upon him that mental peace and happiness cannot be achieved by the pracitising of rigid forms of asceticism. So he gave up pracitising that type of asceticism, cleansed and refreshed himself by bathing in the river close by, draped himself in simple and clean robes and took in sufficient food to regain his lost physical strength.

At this stage the five ascetics deserted Siddhartha Gotama in disgust saying that Gotama had given up his exertion and reverted to his former life style of luxury and extravagance.

Gotama withdrew to a serene environment on the bank of the river Nerañja and sat cross-legged in the shade of a *pipal* tree and meditating strenuously and continuously, he developed insight into the true nature of things and attained Enlightenment *(bodhi)*.

When the Buddha went to convey to his erstwhile companions about the truth he had realised they were reluctant to listen to him, for they thought that the Buddha had gone off the tract. But later the Buddha was able to convince them about his attainment.

It is in the discourse delivered to these five ascetics *(Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta)* that the Buddha spoke about the futility of following the two extremes of self-indulgence *(kāmasukhallikānuyoga)* and self-mortification *(attakilamathānuyoga).* The Buddha decries self-indulgence as lowly *(hino)*, crude *(gammo)*, 'the way with the masses' *(pothujjaniko)*, ignoble *(anariyo)* and leading to degeneration *(anatthasamhito).* Having decried self-indulgence as a practice that debases man, the Buddha rejects its opposite, too - practice of self-torture or extreme forms of asceticism - with equal emphasis as painful *(dukkho)*, ignoble *(anariyo)* and conducive to degeneration *(anatthasamhito).* Having rejected the two extremes the Buddha recommends to the five ascetics the middle-path *(majjhimā paṭipadā)* and describes the middle-path as something that gives rise to clear vision *(cakkhukaranī)* to wisdom *(ñānakaraṇī)*, to pacification *(upasamāya)*, to Enlightenment *(sambodhāya)* to emancipation *(nibbāna).*

W. G. Weeraratne

KĀMĀVACARA. See KĀMABHAVA

KAMMA (Skt. karma): The doctrine of *karma* represents the Indian theory of moral responsibility. Even though it is part of the traditional Brāhmanical system of thought from the earliest period, the Brāmanical search for a permanent and eternal reality culminating in the conceptions of self *(ātman)* and moral ideal *(brahman)* overshadowed their reflections on the importance of the human individual's karmic responsibility. The eternal self as the inner controller *(antaryāmin)* was accorded the most significant position in philosophical discourse so much so that reflections on the psychophysical personality received a secondary place. The concept of self turned out to be a notion that is not so much different from the concept of a Supreme Being in a theistic system. Indeed the self assumed its latter position in the later Brahmanical literature, especially the *Bhagavadgītā.* For this reason the problem of individual human responsibility did not emerge as an important philosophical issue.

The Materialists and the Ājīvikas, both part of the ascetic *(samaṇa)* tradition, were hostile not only to the metaphysical conception of a self of the Brahmanical schools but also to any notion of a self that implies a conscious human person who could be held responsible for his/her behaviour. While the Materialists believed in strict physical determinism, the Ājīvikas proposed a theory of strict biological determinism (*D.* I, p. 55 f.). Both traditions denied the validity of human effort and free-will, the latter admitting the possibility of ultimate freedom determined solely by biological factors, a theory that came to be popularly designated "purity through the evolution of the life-process" *(saṃsārasuddhi: D.* I, p. 52 f.). Both came to be referred to as "non-action-theory" *(akammavāda)* or "non-activity-theory" *(akiriyavāda)*, i.e., theories denying moral responsibility (*M.* I, p. 405; *A.* I, p. 286). This leaves Jainism and Buddhism as the two major schools that grappled with the philosophical problem of accounting for moral responsibility while admitting the reality of the human psychophysical personality. Hence their views can be characterized as "action-theory" *(kammavāda)*, "activity-theory" *(kiriyavāda)* and "effort-theory" *(viriyavāda: A.* I. p. 287). Yet, when it came to the detailed elaboration of these two theories, they differed from one another rather extensively.

Mahāvīra, the leader of the Jains, was closely associated with the Ājivika teacher, Makkhali Gosāla.[1] This association has left its imprint on Mahāvīra's doctrine of "activity" *(kiriya).* In fact Ājīvika teachers like Pūraṇa Kassapa showed greater sympathy for Mahāvīra's doctrine of karma while condemning the Buddha's views on the same issue.[2]

There can be no doubt that Mahāvīra subscribed to a doctrine of karma. However, the question is: How did he conceive of karma? Mahāvīra had no difficulty in adopting the principle of certainty in regard to human knowledge and understanding, for he was the first Indian philosopher to claim omniscience, which also prompted him to claim objectivity to his theories. Laying claim to both certainty and objectivity in describing karma, Mahāvīra could not simply get involved in an empirical analysis of human psychology in order to justify the validity of free-

1. See B. M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy.*
2. Kassapa's theory of six species of human beings *(abhijāti)* is evidence for this. The six species are (1) black *(kaṇha)*, that is, those who are engaged in cruel occupations such as killing animals; (2) blue *(nīla)*, those monks who live with a sense of insecurity and who endorse a theory of human action or activity *(kammavāda, kiriyavāda)*, (3) red *(lohita)*, representing the Jains who wear one robe; (4) yellow *(halidda)*, the white-clad lay persons as well as naked ascetics; (5) white *(sukka)*, male and female Ājīvikas, and (6) pure white *(paramasukka* A. III, pp. 383-384). If the Jaina and Buddhist theories of karma were identical there was no need for a senior contemporary of Mahāvīra and Buddha like Kassapa to distinguish between the monks *(bhikkhu)* who upheld a theory of moral responsibility *(kammavāda, kiriyavāda)* and the Jains.

will. The theory of biological determinism would have sublated any psychological theory that is not equally objective. He needed a theory of psychology and morality that can lay claim to objectivity so that it can be compatible with biological determinism. His ingenuity lies in his formulating a doctrine of action *(kiriya)* that met such requirements without simply returning to the Upaniṣadic notions of *ātman* and *brahma*. Thus the conception of action *(kiriya)* emerges as the central conception in Jainism.

Action *(kiriya)*, according to Mahāvīra, is threefold: bodily, verbal and mental. The most important feature of this theory of action is that all three forms, bodily, verbal and mental were accorded equal status without at the same time concerning himself with the psychological springs of action as emphasized by the Buddha. Empirical psychology has more often been a spoiler of the purity of philosophical discourse.[3] Clarity and precision one can attain in the study of physical phenomena are not easily achieved in the analysis and explanation of human psychology. Therefore, Mahāvīra opted for a more physicalistic explanation of action rather than a psychological analysis. Here, instead of a theory of intentionality, we meet with, what may be called in modern philosophy, an action theory of mind. Action dictates what the so-called mind is rather than the mind determining what action is.

It is for this reason that Mahāvīra believed that any bodily action, whether intentional or unintentional, will produce consequences for which the agent of action is responsible. In ignoring the intentionality of human action Mahāvīra was able to give a more systematic and precisely formulated account of the relationship between action and consequence as well as action and responsibility. Arguing against the Buddhists, a disciple of Mahāvīra says:

> If a savage puts a man on a spit and roasts him, mistaking him for a fragment of the granary; or a baby, mistaking him for a gourd, he will not be guilty of murder!.... If anybody thrusts a spite through a man or a baby, mistaking him for a fragment of the granary, puts him on the fire and roasts him, that will be a meal fit for the Buddhas to breakfast upon.... Well -controlled men cannot accept your denial of guilt incurred by [unintentional] doing harm to living beings... It is impossible to mistake a fragment of the granary for a man; only an unworthy man can say it.[4]

According to this assertion, the responsibility for an action follows irrespective of whether it is performed with or without intention, with or without knowledge. Thus Mahāvīra is able to link up an action with its consequence without having to face the dilemma where the same action will appear to have two different consequences. A good action is invariably associated with good consequences, never evil ones. Similarly, an evil action will always be associated with evil results, never good ones. The relationship between action and consequence is never conditional, but always absolute.

By explaining action *(kiriya)* in this manner, Mahāvīra was prepared to contrast it with biological determinism. Because it is human action, it is internal to the person, whereas biological determinism is external. Action explains free-will, for every action is willed. It is free because it is not part of biological determinism. This is the sense in which Mahāvīra's statement that "There are things that are determined and things that are not determined *(niyayāniyayaṃ saṃtaṃ)*[5] can be understood.

The Jaina conception of freedom from karma as described in the early discourses is compatible with their doctrine of karma outlined above. Questioned about the purpose of the extreme forms of self-mortification practised by the Jains, one Jaina disciple responded as follows:

> Your reverence, Nātaputta the Jain is all-knowing, all-seeing; he claims all embracing knowledge and vision saying: "Whether I am walking or standing still or asleep or awake, knowledge and vision is permanently and continuously before me." He speaks thus: "If there is, Jains, an evil deed that was formerly done by you, wear it away by this severe austerity. That which is the non-doing of an evil deed in the future is from a restrained body, from a restrained speech, from a restrained mind here and now. Thus by burning up, by making an end of former deeds, by the non-doing of new deeds, there is no flowing in the future. From there being no flowing in the future is the cessation of deeds; from the cessation of deeds is the cessation of suffering; from the cessation of suffering is the cessation of feeling; from the cessation of feeling all suffering will

3 For example, Immanuel Kant described psychology as a "scandal to philosophy," Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, tr. N. K. Smith, London: Macmillan, 1963, p. 34.

4 Quoted in Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*.

5 *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* i.1.2.4,
Evaṃ eyāni jaṃpaṃtā bālā paṇḍiamāṇini,
niyayāniyayaṃ saṃtaṃ ayānaṃtā abuddhiyā.

be destroyed." And because this is appealing to us, is pleasing to us, we are delighted by it.[6]

A detailed analysis of the deterministic character of the above theory of karma (generally referred to in the Buddhist texts as *pubbekatahetu),*[7] its epistemological foundation as well as the nature of freedom, namely, the elimination of feeling, need not detain us here since our focus is on the Buddhist theory. What is important is that the Buddhist criticisms of the epistemological foundation of the theory of karma highlight the basic problems involved in any theory of karma. The Buddhist criticism is embodied in the five questions:

1. Do you, reverend Jains, know: "We ourselves existed in the past and not that we did not"?
2. Do you, reverend Jains, know: "We ourselves performed the evil actions in the past, not that we did not"?
3. Do you, reverend Jains, know: "We performed such and such evil deeds"?
4. Do you, reverend Jains, know: "So much suffering has been worn away, so much suffering has to be worn away; when so much of suffering has been worn away, all suffering will be worn away"?
5. Do you, reverend Jains, know the abandonig of unwholesome phenomena and the promotion of wholesome phenomena in this very life? [8]

The first question is about the philosophical problem of personal identity, a question of paramount importance in any discussion of moral responsibility. The second involves the relationship between the agent and the action. The third refers to the agent and the specific nature of actions, i.e., whether the actions performed are good or bad and how these actions relate to the agent of the actions. The fourth involves the connection between action and consequence, namely, suffering. The second, third and fourth are therefore questions that relate to psychology. The fifth pertains to the broader issues relating to karma and ethics. Since these questions were raised by the Buddhists, and since the Jains did not have answers for them, it is appropriate to ask for the Buddhist answers on the basis of which one can have a clear understanding of the Buddhist doctrine of karma. In fact, answers to the questions would involve an examination of the philosophical, psychological and moral content of the doctrine of karma.

Karma as a Philosophical Concept

The Buddha's rejection of the conception of an eternal self elicited criticisms even from his contemporaries. Their question was: What self will be touched by the actions performed by a non-self?[9] The Buddha's response is that a theory of personal identity does not require a conception of a permanent self either as a reality or as a presupposition. It is the principle of dependence *(paṭiccasamuppāda)* that explains personal identity and continuity. The five aggregates *(khandha)* analysed in terms of that principle will provide an account of the Buddha's concepts of self or person. The five aggregates are: Material form *(rūpa)*, feeling *(vedanā)*, perception *(saññā)*, dispositions *(saṅkhāra)* and consciousness *(viññāṇa* - q.v. Khandha). While these factors are themselves conditioned and therefore impermanent and do not represent any ultimate realities, each factor accounts for an important aspect of the human personality. Thus material form refres to the physical body providing a foundation for the physical identity of the person even though that body undergoes metabolic changes. Feeling and perception define the cognitive aspects. More significant than even the physical body are the dispositions in explaining personal identity. Dispositions are said to condition all aspects of the personality, including the dispositions themselves, thereby creating an individuality.[10] The accounting for the continuity of the person so individuated is the function of consciousness. When these factors function together harmoniously and dependently one can speak of a person.

The importance attached to the dispositions in the Buddhist doctrine cannot be over estimated. The term for dispositions, namely, *saṅkhārā* is etymologically and semantically related to the term *kamma*, and literally means "putting together" or "co-ordinating". The process of "putting together" is a conscious human activity and it explains not only how a human person maintains his personal identity but also why he is responsible for his conscious (but not unconscious) behaviour. Thus the philosophical problems of personal identity and moral responsibility are resolved without recourse to metaphysical assumptions.

Human dispositions, in addition to playing a role in maintaining personal identity also have their impact on the world of human experience. In other words, the process of "putting together" works not only in the context of the individual but also in the objective world,

6. *M.* I.92-93
7. Ibid., II.217; *A.* I.173
8. *M.* I. 93; II, 214-215
9. *M.* III. 19, *anattakatāni kammāni kam attānaṃ phusissanti;* see also *S.* III. 103
10. *S.* III. 87

whether it be the physical environment or the social, political and religious institutions. There cannot be much controversy regarding the manner in which social, political and religious ideas as well as institutions come to be influenced by human dispositions and behaviour. For the Buddha, even the physical environment does not escape the influence of dispositions. It is not something absolutely independent of human activity. Thus we come across instances where the Buddha would describe the material possessions of a universal monarch as dispositions *(saṅkhārā)*.[11]

The Buddha referred to three processes functioning in the world. They are "becoming" *(bhava)*, "dispositional conditioning" *(saṅkhārā)* and "dependent arising" *(paṭiccasamuppāda)*. Hence the three characteristics of existence, "the become" *(bhūta)*, "the dispositionally conditioned" *(saṅkhata)* and "the dependently arisen" *(paṭiccasamuppanna)*.[12] The last is the most general characteristic which defines the nature of existence both human and non-human. Indeed, the Buddha never admitted anything, event or phenomenon that is not dependently arisen *(appaṭiccasamuppanna)*.[13] The two other characteristics, "the become" and "the dispositionally conditioned", both involve human dispositions. The difference between them is that the former events are conditioned by various factors one of which is disposition, while the latter is almost wholly conditioned by dispositions. The implication is that part of the human world is dominated by human dispositions and is produced by human effort, that is, human action *(kamma)*, while the entirety of human experience is dependently arisen. This explains the distinction between the dispositionally conditioned *(saṅkhata)* and the dispositionally unconditioned *(asaṅkhata)*, the latter according to the Buddha's analysis represents the waning of greed, hatred, and confusion[14] or the attainment of freedom *(nibbāna)* which is also defined as the waning of karma *(kammakkhaya)*.[15]

Most importantly, theories about the self *(atta)* and the world *(loka)* are themselves influenced by dispositions.[16] Hence the Buddha's admonition against holding on to any view as being absolute,[17] and his insistence that a theory be adopted as long as it is fruitful *(atthasaṃhita)*, the fruitfulness itself being determined by a moral criterion (q.v., Ethics).

Thus, the self and the objective world as well as theories about them are not the creations either of a metaphysical self, as recognized by the Brahmanical tradition, or of purely external forces, as assumed by the heterodox schools. They are the result of a play of conditions *(paccaya)* one of which is human disposition *(saṅkhāra)* or action *(kāmma)*.

Karma as a Psychological Concept

The search for pure objectivity in explaining karma, it was pointed out, compelled the Jains to formulate a rather deterministic theory of *kiriya*. Renouncing such an enterprise, the Buddha was to embark on a project which was the first of its kind in the world, namely, a detailed analysis of human psychology. While admitting three forms of behaviour, bodily *(kāya)*, verbal *(vacī)*, and mental *(mano)*, the Buddha was interested in uncovering the psychological springs of such behaviour, for in doing so it could be possible to understand the relationship between karma and its agent and avoid any form of determinism like that advocated by the Jains. A step in this direction was taken when karma was identified with motivation or volition *(cetanā)*.[18] Following the principle of dependent arising *(paṭiccasamuppāda)* the Buddha defined the cause of karma or volition as sense contact *(phassa)* which is an indespensable ground of sense experience.[19] By relating volition or karma to sense contact and hence to sense experience, a further relationship is set up, i.e., between volition and disposition. The reason for this is that on occasions of sense experience (q.v., Empiricism) all the sensory stimuli available to the perceiver cannot be absorbed in order to gain an absolutely complete picture of the object. Instead, because of the limitations of the faculty *(indriya)* as well as consciousness *(viññāṇa)* which are both unable to deal with what may be called the "sensible muchness," [20] a human person is compelled to "put together" the object depending upon his interests. This "putting together" is *saṅkhāra*. By relating volition to sense contact the Buddha spoke of six categories of volition *(cha cetanākāyā)* associated with the six sense objects, material form *(rūpa)*, sound *(sadda)*, smell *(gandha)*, taste *(rasa)*, touch *(phoṭṭhabba)*, and concepts

11. *D.* II. 198
12. ibid. III. 275
13. This is an idea emphasized subsequently by Nāgārjuna, see *MK* 24.19.
14. *S.* IV. 359
15. *D.* III. 230
16. *Sn.* 784
17. *M.* II. 170 ff.
18. *A.* III. 415
19. ibid.
20. William James, *Some Problems of Philosophy*, ed. F. Burkhardt, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 32

(dhammā) and referred to them all as *saṅkhārā*.[21] In other words, the motivation for a bodily, verbal or mental act need not be traced back to a metaphysical self, as in the Upaniṣads, or to an ungrounded "conscience" or an equally metaphysical "will", as in the case of transcendental idealism of Kant in the modern world. Instead, it can be traced back to sense experience itself which continues to nourish human knowledge and understanding. Furthermore, by presenting the theory of karma in this manner, the Buddha can uphold the view that a person's karma affects not only the outside world but also his personality. Thus, each time a person performs a motivated evil action it can generate evil dispositions or if he performs a motivated good action it can generate good dispositions both of which, as pointed out earlier, will condition or process his personality. It is in this sense a person becomes an inheritor of his own karma.[22]

The Buddhist conception of personal identity has already been explained. That conception allows room for the recognition of the efficacy of past actions in moulding the life of an individual. The past actions may not be the past actions of the present life only. When personal identity and continuity are not based primarily upon the physical personality, and if dispositions *(saṅkhārā)* and consciousness *(viññāṇa)* are recognised as playing a vital role in maintaining such identity and continuity, the idea that a person's actions from a previous life can influence the present life is not too far fetched. According to Buddhist texts dispositions and consciousness are closely linked and sometimes they are together referred to as "becoming" *(bhava)* [23]. Thus the process of becoming can be continuous even where there is a discontinuity in the physical personality. Since consciousness functions in the wake of memory *(sati)*,[24] the most important evidence for the survival of the human personality is memory *(pubbenivāsānussati)*.[25] However, since the survival of dispositions and consciousness (including memory), sometimes referred to as *gandhabba*, do not take place automatically but is dependent upon various other conditions,[26] the Buddha was not willing to dogmatize on the idea that all human beings who die are invariably reborn, whereas in the Brahmanical tradition death is inevitably followed by rebirth.[27] Since the Buddha's doctrine of rebirth is not deterministic as its Brahmanical counterpart, and predicting survival with any certainty is not possible, in ordr to strengthen the idea he adopted the pragmatic moral argument that if one were to believe in rebirth and perform good karma one cannot be a loser. (This form of argument was used by Blaise Pascal to justify the belief in God, and came to be popularly known as "Pascal's Wager.").[28]

The recognition that karma is only one of the important factors that process a human life also enabled the Buddha to consistently uphold the view that one type of action can be replaced by another without advocating non-action or the expiation for past actions by the practice of penances as the Jains proposed.

The psychological analysis of karma coupled with a theory of motivation enabled the Buddha to account for differences in results or consequences of karma without accepting a deterministic one to one relation. Thus there are three types of karma distinguished by the way in which they produce consequences: those that produce consequences immediately or in the present life *(diṭṭh' eva dhamme)*, in the next life *(upapajje)* or in another life *(apare vā pariyāye)*.[29] In addition, there could be a karma that does not produce any consequences or whose consequence is barely evident because of mitigating circumstances or conditions. The discourse on the "effect of salt" *(loṇaphala)* represents the best illustration of this non-absolutistic character of the Buddhist doctrine,[30] a character elaborated in great detail in the two discources: *Mahākammavibhaṅga and Cūlakammavibhaṅga*.[31]

Karma as a Theory of Morals

Karma, it was pointed out, is one that affects oneself as well as others. A good or wholesome *(kusala)* karma would be one that is beneficial to oneself and others, and a bad or unwholesome *(akusala)* karma one that is inimical to oneself and others. It was this understanding of karma that served as the foundation of the ultimate moral principle in Buddhism, namely, the happiness of oneself and others or, negatively stated, the avoidance of suffering

21. *S.* III. 60
22. *M.* III. 203
23. *A.* II. 79
24. *D.* III. 134
25. ibid., I.82–83
26. *M.* I.265 ff.; II. 157
27. *Bhagavadgīta* 2.27,
    jātasya hi dhruvo mṛtyur
    dhruvaṃ janma mṛtasya ca.
28. *M.* I 402 f.
29. *A.* III. 415
30. ibid., I.249
31. *M.* III. 202–207

for oneself and others.[32] In presenting karma and the moral life in this manner Buddhism was underscoring the importance of the human person without subordinating him to any Supreme Being, and ultimate reality, a physical or natural law or even a moral law. The Buddhist doctrine of karma seems to endorse the idea that "man is not made for law; law is made for man." It emphasizes the importance of the human individual without encouraging individualism or egoism. Possessive individualism that has dominated Western philosophy since Thomas Hobbes[33] has no place in the Buddhist doctrine. The Buddha's middle path in the sphere of morality therefore avoids self-indulgence *(kāmasukhallikānuyoga)*, which is an off-shoot of possessive individualism, and self-mortification *(attakilamathānuyoga)*, which results from self-negation.[34] The specific character of the doctrine of karma, which is part of the middle path or the noble eightfold path, cannot be comprehended unless it is placed in the above background. Right living *(sammā ājīva)*, right action *(sammākammanta)*, right speech *(sammāvācā)*, and right effort *(sammā vāyāma)* are important constituents of a path intended to bring about both individual wellbeing and social welfare. This will give a utilitarian colouring to the Buddha's doctrine of karma. However, there is a significant diffrence. For the utilitarians the goodness or badness of an action is determined by the quantity of happiness or pain produced by such actions which compels them to recognize a majority-minority distinction where minority interests may be sacrificed for the sake of the majority. The Buddhist doctrine makes no such distinction because it extends compassion for all beings.

Once karma is evaluated as good or bad the notions of "ought" and "ought not" *(karaṇīyaṃ, akaraṇīyaṃ)* are immediately introduced. It should be clear that this notion of "ought" is also different from the conception of "duty" proposed by the absolutist thinkers, both classical and modern. For example, the classical Indian absolutists, namely, the Hindus, assumed that duty *(svadharma)* is based upon the inalienable rights and duties associated with the caste-system, while the modern absolutist views duty as what ought to be done without reference to anything else. It is an unconditional ought. In contrast to these, if there were to be a conception of duty in Buddhism, that duty is dependent upon the welfare of the individual and society.

One of the more cumbersome problems faced by moral philosophers throughout the centuries is the manner in which the efficacy of human action and the possibility of human freedom can be upheld in the context of theories of physical and natural determinism, the latter possessing an enormous gravitational pull toward certainty and objectivity. A brief reference to the Materialist and Ājīvika theories of determinism was made earlier. Even though the Ājīvikas, while denying human effort and moral life, recognized freedom, that freedom is predetermined. The more sophisticated rationalist thinkers of the modern world faced with similar theories of determinism tried to resolve this problem by following a different line of reasoning. They recognized that the physical world falls within the nomological net, hence the possibility of predictability in terms of physical laws. Yet, for them, morality and freedom are not meaningless. They were enthusiastic about preserving the usefulness of morals and the dignity of freedom. In contrast to the physical world, they characterized freedom as being anomalous.[35] Hence, the attainment of freedom requires an enormous "will" that can pierce through the nomological net.

The Buddhist conception of morality and freedom did not involve such a dichotomy, hence did not require such strained justification. The foregoing analysis underscored the fact that karma is not a purely ethical concept but also part of ontology that defines a huma person, the world of experience as well as theories about them. As such there was no need to look upon morality and freedom as anomalous. Instead, freedom becomes the more natural or nomological way *(dhammatā)* in the world where evil and unwholesome tendencies *(pāpakā akusalā dhammā)* replaced by wholesome tendencies *(kusalā dhammā)*. It is for this sense that the Buddha spoke of the greed *(lobha)*, hatred *(dosa)* and confusion *(moha)*, as well as absence of greed *(alobha)*, absence of hatred *(adosa)* and absence of confusion *(amoha)* as the conditions for the arising of karma, the former representing a person in bondage and the latter the freed one.[36] As an advocate of non-doing of evil actions the Buddha was an *akiriyavādin*, and as one promoting good deeds he was a *kiriyavādin*.[37] The simile of the lotus *(puṇḍarīka)* that springs and grows in the murky water but rises up to remain unsmeared by that water[38] best illustrates the status of the freed person. The avoidance of evil karma and the cultivation of good karma are inalienable parts of his behaviour.

32. ibid., I.341, 369
33. C. B. McPherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism. Hobbes to Locks. Oxford:* Oxford University Press, 1962
34. *S.* V. 421
35. This is Donald Davidson's interpretation of Kant; see his essay: "Mental Events," in Readings in Philosophical Psychology, ed. Ned Block, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980, pp. 107-119
36. *A.* I.134-135
37. *A.* VI. 182-183
38. ibid., II. 38

Finally, a problem that requires examination is karma and moral responsibility. Statements such as "Neither in the sky nor in the middle of the ocean nor having entered into a cleft of the mountains is there a place visible on earth remaining where a person might be released from his evil deeds,[39] are not uncommon in the early discourses. There is a tendency to interpret such statements as implying the indestructibility and permanence of karma and hence equivalent to the deterministic view proposed by the Jains. However, isolated statements such as the above can have a regulative effect of preventing evil rather than being constitive statements. Similar statements, whenever made in the latter sense, are always qualified in order to emphasize the idea of conditionality. In addition to the evidence from the discourses examined earlier, two of the prominent disciples of a later date have clarified this position. For example, Nāgārjuna spoke of the indestructible *(avipraṇāśa)* karma, comparing it to a promissory note.[40] Performing an action or falling into debt, according to him, is like signing a promissory note. It means not that the promissory note is indestructible but that so long as it is not redeemed the borrower is responsible. Even that responsibility is made conditional upon time *(kāla)* and harmony of conditions *(sāmagrī),* two conditions on which he wrote two chapters that follow the one on karma. Two centuries later Vasubandhu compiled a whole treatise called *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* ("Treatise on the establishment of karma") the thesis of which is summarised in one verse: "Karmas do not perish even after hundreds of millions of aeons. Reaching the harmony of conditions and the appropriate time, they produce consequences for human beings." [41]

The above is not the only way karma has been understood in the Buddhist tradition. There indeed are different interpretations. The more popular treatises like *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu* included in the *Khuddakanikāya* tend to give the impression that the karma and its fruit are invariably connected and that the character of the former solely determines that nature of the latter, an idea that came to be designated *kammasarikkhatā*.[42] In addition, the Vijñānavādins, especially of the Laṅkāvatāra school, tended to look upon the world as being "devoid of action and activity *(karma-kriyā-rahita)* because of the non-existence of all dharmas" *(asattvāt sarvadharmānām).*[43]

David J. Kalupahana

KAMMA (Skt. karma): In the language of early Buddhism and the Theravāda, *kamma* basically means action. It is used to refer to actions both ethically qualifiable and otherwise. In its a-ethical sense, the term is used to denote any kind of action or behaviour. However what is meant by *kamma* as one of the key concepts in Buddhism is ethically qualifiable action. Such an action is always accompanied with *Cetanā* or intention which is either good *(kusala)* or bad *(akusala).* It is according to the nature of the intention involved that an action may be qualified as either good or bad. The first two stanzas of the *Dhammapada* highlight, in the following words, the intimate connection between *kamma* and the mental factor which determines the nature of it and the *vipāka* or the result which is determined by the *kamma*: "Mind is forerunner of (all) states. Mind is chief; mind-made are they. If one speaks or acts with wicked mind, because of that, suffering follows one... If one speaks or acts with pure mind, because of that, happiness follows one..." Thus what is meant by *kamma* in Buddhism is one's behaviour and its psychological foundations. A study of this concept will show that it is one of the most fundamental concepts in the teaching of the Buddha.

The origin of the concept of *kamma* may be traced back to the Vedic religion. By the time of the Buddha, it was very much a standard view in Indian religion, particularly in Brāhmana and Śramaṇa traditions. Therefore the Buddhist view of *kamma* needs to be understood in its historical and philosophical contexts. The belief in *kamma* and its result being a very important and an almost universal aspect of Indian religions, the Buddha himself was particular in distinguishing his position from that of others. In the first place the Buddha dissociated himself from the view which denied ethical action and its result *(akiriyavāda).* What is rejected by this dissociation is the annihilationist view *(ucchedavāda)* which the Buddha identified as one of the two extreme forms of life. The *Sandakasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* (*M.* I, p. 513) makes this point. On the other hand, in accepting *kamma* he did not identify himself with the group of *ātmavādins* who believed in a soul which was believed to be the doer of the *kamma* and the experiencer of its result. What is rejected by the recognition of this distinction is the eternalist view *(sassatavāda)* associated with the belief in a soul. The 'middle' position of the Buddha becomes clear in the dialogue he had with the ascetic Acela Kassapa. The Buddha answered in the

39. *Dhp.* 127
40. *MK.* 17-14; see also David J. Kalupahana, *Nāgārjuna. The Philosophy of the Middle Way*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986, pp. 249-250).
41. For a translation of this treatise into English from the Tibetan, see Stefan Anacker, *Seven Works of Vasubandhu,* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984, pp. 93 ff.
42. See *DhsA* 247
43. *Lahkāvatāra* (Nanjio ed.) p. 20

negative to all the following questions put forth by him: Is suffering wrought by oneself? Is suffering wrought by another? Is suffering wrought by both oneself and another? Has suffering arisen by chance? Is suffering non-existent? Is it the case that Gotama does not know suffering? Having done so, the Buddha explained the reasons behind his denial:

> "One and the same person both acts and experiences (the results)' this, Kassapa, which you called at first 'suffering is self-wrought' amounts to the eternalist theory. 'One acts, another experiences (the result)' – this, Kassapa, which to one smitten by the feeling occurs as 'suffering caused by another' amounts to the annihilationist theory... the Tathāgata, not approaching either extreme, teaches the Norm by a middle (way)..." *(Kindred Sayings* II. *PTS.* pp. 15–16).

Strict determinism with regard to *kamma* too has been rejected by the Buddha. The *Mahātitthāyatanasutta* of the *Anguttaranikāya* (also *Vibhanga* p. 367), which classifies three views rejected by the Buddha, lists the view that one's all pleasurable and painful experiences are due to his past *kamma (sabbam pubbekatahetu)* as one of them. According to the *Devadahasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya (M.* II. pp. 214–228) Nigantha Nāthaputta, the Jaina leader, held this view. It seems that Jains believed that liberation results from the extinction of all past *kammas*, and for this purpose they tortured their body. In commenting on their practice the Buddha remarked that, if people experience happiness and unhappiness purely due to their past *kamma*, the Jains must indeed have done evil *kammas* in their past lives for they undergo extensive suffering in this life *(sace bhikkhave sattā pubbekatahetu sukhadukkham paṭisaṃvedenti, addhā bhikkhave Niganthā pubbe dukkatakammakārino yam etarahi evarūpā dukkhā tippā kaṭukā vedanā vediyanti* p. 222). Thus the Buddha distinguishes his position from that of others. While upholding the doctrine of no-soul-ness *(anatta)* Buddhism accepts *kamma* and its result as realities of life.

The most significant distinction in the Buddhist view of *kamma* is that it has been defined in terms of *cetanā* or intention. Its significance has been underscored by the Buddha when he said the following: "O, monks, I say that intention *(cetanā)* is *kamma*" *(cetanāhaṃ bhikkhave kammaṃ vadāmi A.* III, p. 415). The reason for this identification of intention with *kamma*, as revealed in the subsequent portion of the statement, is that having intended, one performs actions by body, speech or mind. As is clear from this, *kamma* by way of its 'doors' of performance may be divided into three, namely, physical, verbal and mental *(kāya, vacī, mano kamma)*. By whichever means the action is performed, what makes a particular action a *kamma* is its intention. In the Abhidhamma, *cetanā* has been identified as one of the seven universal aspects of any consciousness *(sabbacittasādhāraṇa cetasika)*. According to this, all conscious actions, including those that are not overtly ethical, has to be understood as *kamma*. This leads us to some intricate problems of the nature of *cetanā* with which the Buddhist scholastic traditions have struggled extensively. For the present purpose it would suffice to say that what the original discourses meant by *cetanā* is basically the intention which is ethically qualifiable.

The analysis of *kamma* as *kusala* and *akusala* is part and parcel of Buddhist soteriology. Equally, the analysis of *kamma* into *puñña* and *pāpa* occupies a key position in the eschatology of Buddhism. According to the *Sammādiṭṭhisutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya (M.* I, pp. 46 ff.) ethically qualifiable actions, *kusala* or *akusala*, are enumerated as ten. It has been further shown that it is the root *(mūla)* which makes a particular action *kusala* or *akusala*. There are three unskilful roots *(akusalamūla)*, namely, greed, hatred and delusion. There are ten unskilful actions which result from them. They are: killing, stealing and sexual misconduct which are physical actions; lying, slanderous speech, harsh speech and gossip which are verbal actions; and covetousness, wrath and wrong view which are mental actions. The opposite is skilful roots *(kusalamūla)* and skilful actions. The skilful roots are non-greed, non-hatred and non-confusion. The skilful actions are restraint from killing, stealing and sexual misconduct which are physical; restraint from lying, slanderous speech, harsh speech and gossip which are verbal actions, and non-covetousness, non-wrath and right views which are mental actions. Although *cetanā* or intention plays a crucial role in determining the *kusala* or *akusala* nature of an action physical, verbal or mental the mere *cetanā* alone would not qualify an action to be complete. In the commentarial tradition, the term *kammapatha* (course of *kamma*) has been used to underscore this matter. The term itself goes back to discourses (eg. *S.* II. p. 168; *A.* V. 57, 268) and has been used to refer to the ten *kusala* or *akusala kammas*. In the *Atthasālini* (pp. 89–90) Buddhaghosa makes a distinction between *kamma* and *kammapatha* in the following manner: with regard to the physical and verbal doors, mere activity without producing the desired result will not be *kammapatha;* but in so far it is an *akusala*, it will be only a physical misbehaviour *(kāya duccarita)* not a physical *akusala kamma*. With regard to the mental door, mere proneness *(manodvare samudācāraṃ patvā...)* to the killing motive will not be a *kammapatha;* only the arising of the thought of killing will make it so. This shows that the presence of *cetanā* is a necessary condition without which a *kamma* cannot come into being; but *cetanā* alone is not a sufficient condition for *kusala* or *akusala kamma* to result for the actual action has to take place for the karmic action to be deemed complete (cf...*cetayitvā kammaṃ karoti kāyena vācāya manasā* - having intended

one performs *kamma* with body, speech or mind' *A*. III, p. 415).

In analysing actions into *kusala* and *akusala* the emphasis is laid on the ethico-psychological character of the action. For example a *kusala* action whether physical, verbal or mental, signifies a state of mind which is 'undefiled' *(asaṅkiliṭṭha)* by defilements *(kilesa)*. The *akusala* represents the opposite. These two aspects have a direct bearing on the path to *nirvāṇa*. However, the analysis of actions into *puñña* (meritorious) and *pāpa* (evil) underscores more the experiential aspect of *kamma* which is more relevant to the life after death (eschatalogy). For example, the self-same actions that were described under *kusala* and *akusala* will mean 'happiness-producing' and 'unhappiness producing' when described as *puñña-kamma* and *pāpa-kamma*. The significance of the two groups of actions has something to do with the ultimate goal and the 'relative' goal of the Buddhist religious life, a distinction which is not usually made, nevertheless, one quite obvious in the practice. The eradication of *akusala* by means of the development of *kusala* helps one attain *nirvāṇa* which is the ultimate goal of Buddhism. However, for the ordinary people who are not able to shed their worldly ties all at once the goal is not *nirvāna* but rather the 'plane of pleasurable existence' *(sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ)*. The means for this end is accumulating as much *puñña* as possible and abstaining from all kinds of *pāpa*. The distinction between *kusala* and *akusala* and *puñña* and *pāpa* is that the former liberates one from the saṃsāric existence whereas the latter would keep one within it. *Puñña* makes one's existence within the 'realm of the Māra' *(māradheyya)* agreeable and pleasing *(sukho puññassa uccayo* – accumulation of *puñña* [causes] happiness); *pāpa* makes it sorrowful *(dukkho pāpassa uccayo*– accumulation of *pāpa* [causes] suffering). However both *puñña* and *pāpa* are similar in their act of prolonging one's saṃsāric existence.

In the discourses, there are various accounts of *kamma* presented on the basis of its *kusala* and *akusala* or *puñña* and *pāpa* character. The *Rāhulovādasutta* of the *Majjhimanikaya (M.* I, 416 ff.) begins with an admonition to the effect that one must thoroughly reflect before one performs a *kamma* with one's body, speech or mind *(paccavekkhitvā paccavekkhitvā kāyena kammaṃ kātabbaṃ...)*. Subsequently the discourse characterises the nature of the *kusala kamma* according to three criteria, namely, that an action should not be for the harm of oneself, the other, or both. While such a *kamma* is *kusala* its opposite is said to be *akusala*. This shows that, in determining the *kamma*, not only the intention *(cetanā)* but also the outcome of it, too, is taken into consideration. This idea is affirmed by the following two statements of the *Dhammapada (vv.* 67, 68). "That deed is not well done which, being done, one afterwards repents, and the fruit whereof one reaps weeping, with tearful face; that deed is well done which, being done, one afterwards repents not, and the fruit whereof one reaps with joy and pleasure."

Along with the idea of *kamma* occurs the idea of *vipāka* or the result of *kamma* (which literally means: ripening [of the *kamma*]). Buddhism teaches that *kamma* produces results which correspond to its good or bad character. Thus good *kammas* produce good results and bad *kammas* produce bad results. The phenomenon of *kamma* producing corresponding results has been explained in the teaching of the Buddha as an aspect of the general causal process operative in nature. There is no agent, human or divine, who is responsible for this process. It is a known fact that Buddhism denies the concept of God as the first cause of the universe or the creator of it. Being such a non-theistic system Buddhism explains the process of *kamma* and its result by appealing to a rational understanding of causation. This idea is highlighted in the fivefold classification of 'laws of nature' or *niyāma dhammas*, (which occurs in the commentarial literature: *Atthasalini* p. 272) namely, law of seasons *(utuniyāma)*, law of seeds *(bījaniyāma)*, law of kamma *(kammaniyāma)*, *law of nature (dhammaniyāma)* and law of mind *(cittaniyāma)*. The idea conveyed by this classification is that in all the above-mentioned fields there are no agents responsible for the activation of those phenomena but that they all come under the principle of causality *(paṭiccasamuppāda)*. The idea of causality is that when all the necessary causes and conditions meet the corresponding effect is produced. The correspondence between *kamma* and its result has also been explained according to this principle.

In the *Kukkuravatiya sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* (also in the *Aṅguttaranikāya-catukkanipāta)* the Buddha highlights this mutual correspondence by the following classification of *kamma*: a kamma which is (i) dark with a dark result, (ii) fair with fair result, (iii) dark and fair with dark and fair result, (iv) neither dark nor fair with neither dark nor fair result (see below for more discussion). This analysis shows that the nature of the *vipāka* is determined by the nature of the *kamma*. The selfsame idea is brought forth beautifully in the following wellknown statement: *yādisaṃ vapate bījaṃ tādisaṃ harate phalaṃ – kalyāṇakāri kalyāṇaṃ pāpakāri ca pāpakaṃ (Saṃyuttanikāya* I, p. 227): one reaps what one sows; the doer of good receives good and the doer of evil receives evil. In the subsequent commentarial literature, the concept of *kammasārikkhatā* or 'correspondence of *kamma* (to its *vipāka)*, was developed to highlight this phenomenon. The *Atthasālinī* (p. 272) describes the *kammaniyāma* (law of *kamma*) referring to *'kammasārikkhatā': kammasārikkhatāvipākavaseneva kammaniyāmo nāma hoti.*

The correspondence between *kamma* and its *vipāka* does not necessarily imply that one's future birth is determined exclusively by the nature of the *kamma* performed by that preson in his or her previous existence. This fact has been explained by the Buddha in the *Mahākammavibhaṅgasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya (M.* III, 207). In this discourse, the Buddha classfies into four categories people who are reborn due to their *kamma*: (i) those who engaged in ten *akusalas* has consequently born in woeful existence, (ii) those who engaged in ten *akusalas* but born in pleasurable existence, (iii) those who engaged in ten *kusalas* and consequently born in pleasurable existence, and (iv) those who engaged in ten *kusalas* but born in woeful existence. It is clear, according to this classification that one's next birth does not necessarily reflect one's predominent behaviour in his or her past life. In some exceptional cases, the predominant *kamma* may produce results immediately, subsequently or indefinitely (...*diṭṭheva dhamme vipākaṃ paṭisaṃvedeti upapajjaṃ vā apare vā pariyāye)* though it has been superceded by a *kamma* of the opposite nature.

The intimate connection between *kamma* and its result has been emphasized in the teaching quite often. In the *Dhammapada (v.* 127) the following statement occurs: "neither in the sky, nor in mid-ocean, nor in entering a mountain cave, is found that place on earth, where abiding one may escape from (the consequences of) an evil deed". In the *Dasadhammasutta,* which refers to ten factors that must be constantly reflected on by monks, *kamma* and its result has been mentioned in the following emphatic and definitive words: "I myself am responsible for my deed, I am the heir to my deed, the womb of my deed, the kinsman of my deed, I am he to whom my deed comes home. Whatever deed I shall do, be it good or bad, of that shall I be the heir" *(Kindred Sayings* V. p. 62). These statements undoubtedly sound deterministic. The reason for this emphatic and near-deterministic character of the statements need to be understood contextually: the admonition to those who have renounced their household life was meant to stress their soteriological goal; in the case of ordinary disciples, it was to underscore the keen interest Buddhism takes in their morality. A case in point is that the doer of any of five *kammas* which are considered most heinous, namely, killing one's mother, father, an arahant, or wounding the Buddha and causing a split among the community of monks, are described as *āpāyikā nerayikā parikuppā atekicchā.* These five *kammas* are called *ānantariya* in the sense that they bear result definitely in the next birth. The concept of obstructive *kamma*'– *kamma āvaraṇa* or the view that *kamma* becomes an obstruction for liberaton in that very life (A. III. p. 436) articulates this inevitableness of the result of the *kamma.* However it is only with regard to certain type of very powerful *kammas.* For example, if a person commits one of the five 'immediately resulting' (bad) *kammas* or if that person is extremely dull *(duppañño hoti bālo elamugo)* this state of affairs obstructs his ability to attain *nirvāṇa* within that particular birth. However this does not mean that he is obstructed for ever. Once he pays for his bad *kamma* it no longer becomes an obstacle. However the fact that Buddhism does not accept a strict determinism of this kind is shown by the following statement made with reference to Thera Aṅgulimāla who became an arahant overcoming all his bad *kammas:* "Whoever by good deeds covers the evil done, such a one illumines this world like the moon freed from clouds" *(Dhammapada v.* 127).

Although the exact mechanism of *kamma* is unpredictable, Buddhism has no doubt about the fact that *kamma* is responsible for one's birth in a particular existence and the (desirable or undesirable) quality of life one acquires at one's birth. According to the *Cūlakammavibhaṅgasutta (M.* III, 202) the youth named Subha asks the following question from the Buddha:

> Master, Gotama, what is the reason, what is the condition, why inferiority and superiority are met with among human beings, among mankind? For one meets with short lived and long-lived men, sick and healthy men, ugly and handsome men, insignificant and influential men, poor and rich men, low-born and high-born men, stupid and wise men.

To this, the Buddha answered in the following manner:

> Student, beings are owners of *kamma*, heirs of *kamma*, they have *kamma* as their progenitor, *kamma* as their kin, *kamma* as their homing-place. It is *kamma* that differentiate beings according to inferiority and superiority.

The intimate connection between *kamma* and rebirth has been explained in the *Sāleyyakasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* according to which those who do good are born in a pleasurable existence and those who do bad are born in woeful states. Nevertheless this general view need not be understood as identifying *kamma* as the sole reason behind one's present existence. Given the Buddhist assumption that one can change one's *kamma* for better or for worse, what this statement could mean is, that it is basically *kamma* that determines one's birth (into a certain social condition with certain physical and mental make-up). However the manner in which one subsequently moulds one's life depends largely on one's behaviour.

Kamma in General in Ethical and Non-ethical Sense

The fact that the Buddhist tradition has understood the course of one's life as not strictly determined by *kamma* is shown by the enumeration of a set of factors which are said to influence the *vipāka* in both a negative and positive manner. The *Manorathapūrani* (II, p. 218 ff.), the commentary to the *Aṅguttaranikāya* refers to this classification as one belonging to the Abhidharma

tradition. According to it, there are four factors, namely, the birth *(gati)*, physical appearance *(upadhi)*, time of the birth *(kāla)*, and behaviour *(payoga)* which may act as advantage *(sampatti)* or disadvantage *(vipatti)* with regard to both *kusala* and *akusala* results. For example, by being advantaged in either of the four factors, one's bad results may disappear or by being disadvantaged one's good results may disappear. In the like manner by being advantaged one's good results may appear and by being disadvantaged one's bad results may appear. This sixteen-fold analysis shows that a *vipāka* of a *kamma* may undergo changes due to these extra-kammic factors. It further shows that the relation between *kamma* and its *vipāka* is not always inevitable.

Discourses of ten classify *kamma* according to its result. For example, the following classification which classifies *kamma* according to the place in which one has to experience the *vipāka* is available in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (III. p. 98): *kamma* to be experienced in the 'hell' *(nirayavedanīya)*, to be experienced among the animals *(tiracchānavedanīya)*, to be experienced in the realm of hungry ghosts *(pettivisayavedanīya)*, in the human world *(manussalokavedanīya)* and in the divine world *(devaloka-vedanīya)*. In the same *nikāya*, *kamma* has been classified into three according to the time of its fruition: (i) (*kamma* to be resulted) in this very life *(diṭṭheva dhamme)*, (ii) in the next life *(upapajje)*, and (iii) any time subsequently *(apare vā pariyāye)*. However these classifications and analyses received more elaborate treatment in the hand of commentators and subsequent *abhidhamma* scholastics. A broad category the commentators have employed in analysing the result of *kamma* is *paṭisandhi vipāka* or 'relinking-result' which signifies the birth producing aspect of *kammavipāka* and *pavatti vipāka* or 'course-result' which signifies the results other than effecting birth. The Sarvāstivāda classification of *karma* into *āyur-vipāka-karma* or the *karma* that determines the length of life *(āyur)* and *bhoga-vipāka-karma* or the *kamma* that produces results other than *ayur*, which occurs in the *Vibhāsāsāstra* seems to be identical with this. In all the subsequent commentarial analyses of the Theravāda we see that this classification has been taken for granted.

The *Aṅguttaranikāya Aṭṭhakathā* (II. pp. 210–218) classfies *kamma* into three broader categories and eleven sub-categories:

(A) Kammas according to their time of fruition: (i) immediately effective *kamma (diṭṭadhamma vedanīya)*, (ii) subsequently effective *kamma (upapajja vedanīya)*, (iii) indefinitely effective *kamma (aparāpariya vedanīya)*. According to the commentary, in a thought-process, of the seven *javanas* (active phase of cognitive process), the first is immediately effective; the last is subsequently effective, and the rest of the five in-between *javanas* are indefinitely effective. The commentary gives two examples for *kusala* and *akusala* results that had produced immediate results, but it does not provide any specific clue to identify them. The subsequently effective *kammas* are more definite; for the *kusala*, it is eight attainments *(aṭṭhasamāpatti)* and for *akusala*, it is five heinous *kammas* known as *ānantariya kamma*.

(B) Kammas according to their nature: (i) weighty *kamma (yaggaruka)*, (ii) habitual *kamma (yabbahula)*, (iii) death-proximate *(yadāsanna)*, and (iv) reserve *(katattā)*. In producing results, particularly at birth, the weighty *kamma* (for *kusala*, a 'sublime' – *mahaggata kamma* or for *akusala*, one of the five *ānantariya kammas* will dominate over others. In the absence of such *kammas* habitual *kamma* or death-proximate *kamma* will dominate. In the absence of any of those three, a reserve *kamma* may produce results.

(C) Kammas according to their functions: (i) productive *kamma (janaka)*, (ii) supportive *kamma (upattham-bhaka)*, (iii) obstructive *kamma (upapīlaka)*, and (iv) destructive *kamma (upaghātaka)*. These four apply to both *kusala* and *akusala*. Productive *kamma's* major function is to give birth. According to the commentator's standard view, its sole function is to give birth. However, according to another view, it could produce results in the course of existence *(pavatti vipāka)*. The other three, both in *kusala* and *akusala*, affect the *kammas* in the course of existence in supporting, obstructing and destroying the *kammas*.

In the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (Ch. V. *Vīthimutta-saṅgahavibhāga*) what is called a defunct *kamma (ahosi)* has been added to the sub-categories which were included under the category (A). Although the commentary *(Manorathapūraṇī)* does not identify it as a separate category of *kamma*, it nevertheless accepts it. According to the commentary, a *kamma* could become defunct due to non-availability of opportunity to produce results. For instance, all the existing *kammas* of an arahant which are indefinitely effective can be defunt at his death *(pari-nibbāna)*. Immediately effective and subsequently effective *kammas* of any person could be defunct if they fail to produce results at due occasions.

The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* further divides *kamma* into another category, namely, by place of its ripening: (i) unwholesome *kamma (akusala)*, (ii) sense-sphere wholesome *kamma (kāmāvacara kusala)*, (iii) fine-material-sphere wholesome *(rūpāvacara kusala)*, and (iv) immaterial-sphere wholesome *(arūpāvacara kusala)*. The unwholesome *kammas* are availabe only in the sense sphere. Of the eighty nine thoughts *(citta)* recognized in the Abhidhamma, fifty four belong to the sense sphere, and twelve of them are unwholesome. Of the rest eight are *kusala*; and twenty three are *vipāka* and eleven are functional *(kiriya)*, the two last categories being neither *kusala* nor *akusala*. Of the thoughts belonging to fine material,

immaterial and transcendent spheres thirteen (5+4+4) are *kusala* and another thirteen are *vipāka* and eight are functional. Except two functional *cittas* that are operative in the process of sense perception all the other functional *cittas* are available only for the arahants. Functional *cittas* do not have any roots either *kusala* or *akusala* behind them. Therefore they do not produce any result. In the case of an arahant, there is no question about his not having unwholesome roots *(lobha, dosa* and *moha)* in him. But because he had wholesome roots *(alobha, adosa* and *amoha)* one may wonder as to what happens to *kammas* produced by them. Since he has eradicated the craving for existence without any residue, wholesome roots in him, too, are incapable of producing results; they merely perform the action. This tallies well with the early Buddhist explanation of *nibbāna* as the extinction of *kamma*-[*kammakkhaya*] (infra).

The *Aṅguttaranikāya Aṭṭhakathā* refers to another classification which analyses *kamma* and its *vipāka* according to time of its performance and presence or absence of its results. The classification, which is traced to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* by the commentary, is as follows: (i) past *kamma* with past result *(ahosikamma ahosikammavipāka)*, (ii) past *kamma* without past result *(ahosikamma nāhosikammavipāka)*, (iii) past *kamma* with present result *(ahosikamma atthikammavipāka)*, (iv) past *kamma* with absent result *(ahosikamma natthikammavipāka)*, (v) past *kamma* with future result *(ahosikamma bhavissatikammavipāka)*, (vi) past *kamma* without future result *(ahosikamma na bhavissatikamma-vipāka)*, (vii) present *kamma* with present result *(atthi-kamma atthikammavipāka)*, (viii) present *kamma* with absent result *(atthikamma natthikammavipāka)*, (ix) present *kamma* with future result *(atthikamma bhavissati-kammavipāka)*, (x) present *kamma* without future result *(atthikamma na bhavissatikammavipāka)*, (xi) future *kamma* with future result *(bhavissatikamma bhavissati-kammavipāka)*, and (xii) future *kamma* without future result *(bhavissatikamma nabhavissatikammavipāka)*. The analyses of this sort testify to the great depth the tradition was willing to go in order to understand the complex relation between *kamma* and its result.

A theoretically more advanced stage in the Buddhist understanding of *kamma* is shown by its inclusion among the twenty four conditions *(paccaya)* enumerated in the *Paṭṭhāna*. The Abhidhamma idea of twenty four conditions marks a sophistication of the early Buddhist idea of causation. It is an effort by the Buddhists to understand the mechanism of causation more precisely and more fully. In this process they seem to have recognized the great efficacy attributed to *kamma* in the early Buddhist discourses. As a result they have included *kamma* as one of the conditions. However in the early discourses, the efficacy of *kamma* has been recognized as a phenomenon applicable to life in a broad and unspecified manner. The Abhidhamma tradition is more specific in identifying the phenomena that are conditioned by *kamma (kamma-samuṭṭhānarūpa)*, namely, the first five sense organs, two faculties of sex and the physical basis of mental activity *(hadayavatthu)* and phenomena related to them. These are in fact the *vipāka* of the *kamma (kamma* as *cetanā* or intention which is a universal aspect of all forms of consciousness conditions all mental states and if these mental states give rise to matter [*cittasamuṭṭhānarūpa*] they also need to be considered as conditioned by *kamma*; however this simultaneous conditioning has not been thought to be applicable in this context for *kamma* and its results are not simultaneous).

The above mentioned analyses of the later scholastics bear evidence to the keen interest they have shown in understanding the nature of *kamma* and its *vipāka* inspite of the fact that the Buddha has included the result of *kamma* among the four matters that cannot be thought and must not be thought (for) they result in madness and frustration *(kammavipāko bhikkhave acinteyyo na cintetabbo yam cintento ummādassa vighātassa bhāgi assa A.* II. p. 80). This injunction cannot mean that the mere thought of these matters will drive the thinker mad; but could be understood as indicating the extremely vast and complicated character of the subject. For example, one could simplistically imagine that one's overt behaviour foretells one's plight in the next birth; nevertheless this forecast may be completely misguided for in producing results *kamma* is influenced by many factors. For example, in the *Mahākammavibhaṅgasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya (M.* III, 202) the results of *kamma* are shown to be characterized by four situations, two among which go against the usual pattern, namely, (i) evil-doer who is born in a woeful state; (ii) evil-doer who is born in a pleasurable state; (iii) doer of good who is born in pleasurable state; and (iv) doer of good who is born in a woeful state. This should indicate the complex nature of the *vipāka* process of *kamma*. Therefore by the above admonition the Buddha could well be reminding us of an inherent limitation in human cognitive capacity. However according to the commentary which interprets two key terms *acinteyyo nācintetabbo* as '(those) not proper to be thought' *(cintetuṃ na yuttāni)* and 'that must not be thought due to the fact that they are not proper to be thought' *(acinteyyattāyeva na cintetabbāni)* the injunction of the Buddha is based on ethical considerations *(Manorathapūraṇī* III. p. 108). However, *acinteyya* may more appropriately be interpreted as indicating to an epistemological limitation of the human mind. The second *(na cintetabbo)* may be understood as an ethical injunction. Therefore the statement has to be understood as indicating an inherent limitation of the human mind and as providing a piece of religious advice motivated by pragmatic considerations.

Beside the classificatory treatment of *kamma* and its *vipāka*, Thervāda scholasticism was also conscious of the problems of a more theoretical character. For example, the problem of explaining the consecutive occurrence of *kusala* and *akusala* which are incompatible with each other; the problem of explaining, in the face of the theory of momentariness *(kṣaṇavāda)*, The continuance of *kamma* and *vipāka* through *saṃsāra*, and the problem of explaining the continuity of a being (individual) with karmic potentialities without believing in an *ātma* which was popularly understood as the doer and the experiencer of the *kamma* were outstanding. These were the key issues that occupied not only the Theravādins but also many other Buddhist scholastics. As for the first problem, the Theravādins came up with the view that *kusala* or *akusala* thought processes never follow ach other without an intervention of a *citta* which is neither *kusala* nor *akusala*. According to the Theravāda view, at the end of every thought process there occurs a *bhavaṅga* which is a resultant *citta* and hence neither *kusala* nor *akusala*. The invention of *bhavaṅga* by the Theravādins is mainly due to various difficulties they encountered in explaining the exact mechanism of *kamma*. Here they use it in order to overcome this difficulty of explaining the apparent co-existence of *kusala* and *akusala*. Vaibhāsikas tried to solve the problem by postulating two *citta viprayukta saṃskāras*, namely, *prāpti* and *aprāpti* which are neither purely mental nor purely physical. *Prāpti* basically signifies a force which effects the connection of a *dharma* (mental phenomenon) with a thought process *(santāna)*. *Aprapti* is its opposite. These forces cause, respectively, a particular collection of elements to come together and prevent a certain collection of elements from coming together. For example, if an *akusala citta* follows a *kusala citta*, the latter is made possible by the *prāpti* of the *kusala* elements and the *aprāpti* of the *akusala* elements. The Sautrāntikas rejected both these solutions and came up with the theory of *bīja* or seed: they said that there are three kinds of seed, namely, *kusala bīja*, *akusala bīja* and *avyākṛta bīja*. According to them, these *bījas* are not destroyed, but exist in one's mind, not as a kind of separate *dhammas* but as powers. They arise whenever there is an occasion. It is this selfsame difficulty that the Vijñānavādins tried to address by postulating *ālaya vijñana* or the store-house consciousness which they claimed to contain, among other things, the seeds of *kamma*.

To provide a sufficient explanation for the continual existence of *kamma* and its *vipāka* without accepting an *ātma* (soul) was the other major challenge faced by the Buddhist scholastics. The answer to this problem is connected with the theory of momentariness which in turn created difficulties for the *karma* theorists. Other Indian systems such as Brāhmanism and Jainism did not have to face the problem of explaining the continuity of the individual for they believed in a permanent soul which transmigrates from existence to existence without any change. The early Buddhist teaching demonstrated the unreality of a permanent soul through its doctrine of three signata *(tilakkhaṇa)* of which impermanence is the foundation. The later Buddhist scholastics developed the idea of impermanence to a highly sophisticated theory of momentariness according to which both mind and matter are momentary, and there is no room for the existence of anything unchanging and permanent. However, the problem for the *kamma* theorist was to explain how it could persist through *saṃsāra* if there is no *ātma* and if the human mind had such a short duration of life. In responding to this challenge the Theravādins made use of their newly discovered notion of *bhavaṅga* which was believed to be the basic stream of thought that goes unbroken through *saṃsāra*. They also claimed that it is the *bhavaṅga* that contains the *kammas* and their *vipākas*. In this manner, for the Theravādins, it is *bhavaṅga*, not *ātma*, that effects the continuity of the person along with his or her karmic potentialities. Sautrāntikas in their effort to be more faithful to the *sūtras*(original discourses) rejected the idea of existence *(sthiti)* of phenomena, but accepted only arising *(utpāda)* and cessation *(bhaṅga)* of them. Nevertheless, in their effort to resolve the problem of *karma* they had to accept the theory of *bīja* (seed). As for the Vaibhāsikas, in order to solve the problem, they developed the idea of *avijñapti* or unmanifested or latent energy. They claimed that whenever one performs a *kamma* by means of body or speech, in addition to the visible action (which is called *vijñapti)* an invisible action *(avijñapti)* is produced by it and lies within the individual in the form of an energy. It is this latent element, according to them, that produces a future *vipāka*. Subsequently they developed the idea of *avijñapti* to account for the continuity of such mental states as making a vow to observe precepts or to become a bhikkhu and so on. The concept of *'sarvāstivāda'* or the view that all *dharmas* exist during all three phases of time *(sarvaṃ sarvadā asti)* is the overall philosophical expression of this view. An idea of a similar type of an underlying force was recognized by the Mahāsāṅghikas by the name of *upacaya* (accumulation) and by the Sammitiyas by the name of *avipranāsa* (indestructible). The Theravādins, however, do not seem to have felt the need for such a phenomenon.

As we may notice from the foregoing, the keen interest that has been shown on this subject by the Buddhist tradition testifies to its significance in their religious life. At the popular level of religion we can understand how *kamma* and its result may have directed the ordinary man into an ethical path. However the deeper significance of the phenomenon lies in its direct bearing on the saṃsāric predicament for which Buddhism is meant to provide a solution. *Saṃsāra* or continuous existence is caused by

the accumulation of *kammas*. As long as a person accumulates *kamma*, irrespective of whether they are *puñña* or *pāpa*, that person is bound to be born again and again. Repeated birth is suffering *(dukkhā jāti punappunaṃ)*. This shows that the way to end the suffering is to end the accumulation of *kamma*. Due to this fact *nirvāṇa* itself has been described as 'the cessation of *kamma*' *(kammanirodha)*. The Buddha has stated that *kamma* arises due to contact *(phassa)*, and therefore the cessation of contact is the cessation of *kamma (phasso kammānaṃ nidāna sambhavo...phassanirodho .... kammanirodho*: *A*. III, p. 415). The contact in this context comprises one's responses and reactions, motivated by defilements, to the external world. The path leading to the cessation of *kamma* is the Noble Eightfold Path.

For understanding this aspect of *kamma*, the following fourfold classification of it (referred to earlier), namely, dark *kamma* with dark *kammavipāka*, fair *kamma* with fair *kammavipāka*, both dark and fair *kamma* with both dark and fair *kammavipāka*, and neither dark nor fair *kamma* with neither dark nor fair *kammavipāka* is helpful. The first three represent bad, good and mixed *kammas* and their results respectively. The fourth which goes beyond these categories represent the kind of practice which leads to the cessation of *kamma (kammaṃ kammakkhayāya saṅvattati A*. II, p. 232; *M*. I, p. 391). The purpose of the fourth category which does not really represent the *kamma* process that prolongs the *saṃsāra* is to highlight the very soteriological significance of *kamma*.

An understanding of *kamma* is a necessary aspect of the attainment of arahanthood. According to discourses, the realization of *nirvāṇa* occurs with the realization of 'threefold knowledge' *(tivijjā)*, namely, the knowledge of one's past existence *(Pubbenivāsānussatīñāṇa)*, the knowledge of the death and the birth of beings *(Cutūpapātañāṇa)* and the knowledge of the destruction of influxes *(Āsavakkhayañāṇa)*. In the course of the first two knowledges the noble disciple comes to know, respectively, how oneself has been wandering in *saṃsāra* as a result of one's own past *kamma* and how other beings pass away and are reborn as a result of their own *kamma (yathā kammūpage satte....D*. I. p. 83). At this level of higher knowledge *(abhiññā)*, *kamma* is no longer a conjecture but a part of empirical reality, for he has seen it through his super-knowledge *(abhiññā)*. With the attainment of arahanthood, since one has cut off all one's atachments to existence one does not accumulate *kamma* which causes rebirth. The mental state of such a person has been described as *puñña pāpa pahīna (Dhammapada* 39) one who has given up both *puñña* and pāpa. His behaviour at this stage may properly be described as *kusala* or wholesome which technically means actions marked by the absence of attachment, hatred and delusion *(alobha, adosa* and *amoha)*. In this context it is illuminating to see that *nirvāṇa* has been described as the extinction of attachment, hatred and delusion *(rāgakkhayo dosakkhayo mohakkhayo nibbānaṃ)* which is nothing but *kusala*. This particular point has been underscored in the *Bahītikasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya (M*. II, p. 115) in which the arahant has been characterized as 'one who has abandoned all *akusala* and one who is endowed with *kusala' (sabbākusaladhammapahīno kho mahārāja tathāgato kusaladhammasamannāgato)*.

Asanga Tillekeratne

KAMMĀCARIYĀ. See KAMMAVĀCĀ

KAMMAPACCAYA. See PACCAYA

KAMMAPATHA, 'course of action', 'path of action'. In Buddhist texts the two terms *kamma* and *kammapatha* are sometimes used alternatively to designate two groups of actions, each consisting of ten items. The two groups of actions are: (1) ten wholesome courses of actions *(dasa kusala kammā, dasakusala kammapathā)* and (2) ten unwholesome courses of actions *(dasa akusala kammā, dasa akusala kammapathā A*. V, 57; *A*. V. 266). The ten courses of wholesome actions are (1) Refraining from killing, (2) Refraining from stealing, (3) Refraining from wrongful gratification of the senses, (4) Refraining from uttering falsehood, (5) Refraining from slanderous speech, (6) Refraining from harsh speech, (7) Refraining from frivolous speech, (8) Refraining from covetousness, (9) Refraining from habouring hatred and (10) Refraining from harbouring false views. The first three of these ten courses of actions are bodily actions *(kāyika kamma)*, the next four are verbal actions *vācika kamma* and the last three are mental actions *(mānasika kamma)*. The Buddha declares that a person can completely put an end to suffering in *saṃsāra* in this present existence itself by observing these ten courses of wholesome actions diligently (*A. V*. 57), and that the heavens, the human sphere and other good bournes *(sugati)* become meaningful because of these ten wholesome courses of actions (*A. V*., 268). They are also called 'the ten virtues' *(dasa sīla)*.

The ten courses of unwholesome actions are: (1) Killing, (2) Stealing, (3) Wrongful gratification of the senses, (4) Uttering falsehood, (5) Uttering slanderous speech, (6) Uttering harsh speech, (7) Uttering frivolous speech, (8) Harbouring covetousness, (9) Harbouring hatred and (10) Harbouring false views. As in the case of

the ten courses of wholesome actions the first three courses of unwholesome actions are bodily actions, the next four are verbal actions and the last three mental actions. When beings become inclined to pursue these ten courses of unwholesome actions their suffering in *saṃsāra* increases and they become prone to rebirth in the animal realm, the sphere of *pretas*, in hell and in other lowly states of existence.

D. Saddhasena

KAMMAṬṬHĀNA, literally means profession or occupation (*A*. V, 83–4) such as agriculture and trade (*M*. II, 197–8). Even household life and the life of a mendicant are described as professions (ibid). The two words *kamma* and *ṭhāna* constituting this term literally mean work and place respectively, although they are found to be used in a variety of meanings, both literal and technical. Thus *kammaṭṭhāna* literally means place of work. But in the Pali commentaries and *pakaraṇa* literature, the word is used in its developed sense as a technical term which refers to topics, both subjects and objects, on which one may work and concentrate one's mind. Thus *kammaṭṭhāna* is working-ground for meditation; it may, therefore, be rendered as "topics of meditation". We find this word rendered as "the instruments of meditation" (*PED*. p. 193), "the stations of exercise" (*The Expositor,* p. 224), "the stations of religious exercises" (*Compendium of Philosophy,* p. 202) and "subjects of mental training" (*BD*. p. 70).

The number of topics of meditation is given as 38 in the *Atthasālinī (DhsA*. I, 168), but its author, Buddhaghosa, refers the reader to his earlier work, the *Visudhimagga*, for a complete account. In the *Visuddhimagga* we find a list of 40 topics of meditation which consist of ten *kasiṇa* ten *asubha*, ten *anussati*, four *brahmavihāra*, four *āruppa*, one *saññā* and one *dhātuvavatthāna (Vism*. p. 89). The *Vimuttimagga* has a list of 38 *(The Path of Freedom,* p. 63) where the first two of the four *āruppa* are left out, namely, *ākāsānañcāyatana* and *viññānañcāyatana*, which the author seems to have considered identical with the last two *kasiṇa*, namely, *ākāsa-kasiṇa* and *viññāṇa-kasiṇa* (ibid. p. 130). As the *Visuddhimagga* has superseded the earlier work *Vimuttimagga*, the number of topics of meditation has been accepted as 40 by later writers such as Buddhadatta *(Abhvt*. pp. 90–92) and Anuruddha (*Abhs*. p. 41).

All these forty together with more topics are to be found, scattered in several places of the Pali canon. They are not specifically designated as *kammaṭṭhāna* . It is in the Pali commentaries that the name *kammaṭṭhāna* is used in the sense of topics of meditation, and, furthermore, it was Buddhaghosa who selected forty from among them, named them *kammaṭṭhāna* and explained them in detail. About two fifth, i.e., nine chapters (iii–xi) of the entire book *Visuddhimagga* are devoted to an exhaustive description of *kammaṭṭhāna* (*Vism*. pp. 68–313).

While some of the forty topics of meditation are well known and are of popular appeal to Buddhists, some others are not so; e.g. popular topics of meditation such as *satipaṭṭhāna* have not found a place in Buddhaghosa's treatment of *kammaṭṭhāna*. It might, therefore, be useful to examine both sources from which Buddhaghosa drew material for his treatment of *kammaṭṭhāna* and the nature of his scheme, i.e., the place it occupies in the Buddhist scheme of emancipation.

Of the forty topics the ten *kasiṇa* are very popular; they occur at *D*. III, 268, 290; *M*. II, 14–15; *A*. I, 41; V, 46 and at *Ps*. I, 49, 95 etc.

We do not find ten *asubha* given in one place in the *suttas,* although the term *asubha-saññā* occurs in a number of places (e.g., *D*. III, 253, 289, 291 etc.). We find six of them given in three places. There is a list of three, *uddhumātaka, vinīlaka* and *vipubbaka* at *A*. I, 140; a list of five, the first two of the above three plus *aṭṭhika, pulavaka*, and *vicchiddaka* at *(A*. I, 42, *S*. V, 129–31; and all six of them at *A*. III, 17. A complete list of ten *asubha* is found for the first time at *Ps*. I, 49, 95 and at *Dhs*. p. 55. The list may have been made complete in collaboration with the nine charnel ground meditations *(nava sīvathikā)* which are given in the *suttas* as nine of the fourteen items of *kāyānupassanā*, the first of the fourfold application of mindfulness *(satipaṭṭhāna*, q.v.). As far as the *anussati* are concerned, only the first, six, namely, *Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha, sīla, cāga* and *devatā*, seem to have been originally accepted as *anussati* meditation, because only these six are found in the early *suttas* (*D*. III, 250, 280). This list is found repeated in several works of the *Sutta-piṭaka* (e.g. *A*. III, 284, 312; *Ps*. I, 48). The last four, namely, *maraṇānussati, kāyagatāsati, Ānāpanasati* and *upasamānussati*, may have been added later, for in the first place, two of them, viz., *kāyagatāsati* and *ānāpānasati*, do not go by the name of *anussati* but as *sati*; secondly *kāyagatāsati*, according to *M*. III, 89 ff. 198 is identical with the first of the four applications of mindfulness *(satipaṭṭhāna)*, namely *kāyānupassanā (D*. II, 291 ff.; *M*. I, 58 ff.) which includes *ānāpānasati* also; and finally a complete list of ten *anussati*-meditations is however found at *A*. I, 42 and *Ps*. I, 95.

It is interesting to note that Buddhaghosa has here split the first of the four applications of mindfulness *(kāyānupassanā)* into a number of seperate topics of meditation: e.g. *ānāpānasati, dhātu-manasikāra* as *catudhātuva-*

vatthāna; paṭikkūlamanasikāra as *kāyagatāsati;* and *nava sīvathika* as *dasa asubha.*

The four *brahmavihāras,* also known as *appamaññā,* are well known topics of meditation found in the *suttas* (*D.* III, 223–4 etc.). The same is true of the four *āruppa* meditations (*D.* III, 224).

Buddhaghosa has singled out one *saññā*-meditation (*eka saññā*), i.e., *āhāre paṭikkūla-saññā*-meditation given in lists at *D.* III, 289, 291; *A.* I, 41, 42; V. 105, 106 etc. He has likewise selected *catudhātu-vavatthāna* from among the fourteen items of *kāyānupassanā* (*D.* II, 294; *M.* III, 91).

The texts give a number of other topics of meditation under the common names of *saññā* and *anupassanā.* Some of these topics occur in lists from which Buddhaghosa has drawn material for his collection of forty *kammaṭṭhāna.* The *saññā*-meditation such as *anicca-saññā, dukkha-saññā, anatta-saññā, pahāna-saññā, virāga-saññā* and *nirodha-saññā,* (*D.* III, 289–91; *A.* I, 41 etc.) are not included in Buddhaghosa's list of forty *kammaṭṭhānas.* The following *anupassanā*-meditations are also left out: *aniccānupassanā, dukkhānupassanā, anattānupassanā, nibhānānupassanā, virāgānupassanā, nirodhānupassanā, paṭinissaggānupassanā,* (*Ps.* I, 10, 96 etc.), *khayānupassanā, vayānupassanā, vipariṇāmānupassanā, animittānupassanā, appaṇihitānupassanā,* and *suññatānupassanā* (*Ps.* I, 20).

Even the well known fourfold application of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), except for some items of *kāyānupassanā,* does not find a place in Buddhaghosa's scheme of *kammaṭṭhāna;* the last three applications of mindfulness, namely, *vedanānupassanā, cittānupassanā,* and *dhammānupassanā* are not at all incuded in that scheme. The reason for this ommision is not far to seek.

Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga* explains the path to freedom in three successive stages called the threefold training (*tissosikkhā*), namely, morality (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*). He carefully selected all those topics of meditation which produce concentration of the mind and called them *kammaṭṭhāna.* As their practice produces concentration, they are also called 'tranquility' meditations (*samatha-bhāvanā*) or *samatha-kammaṭṭhāna*). There is also another kind of meditation designated as 'insight-meditation' (*vipassanā-bhāvanā*) which produces wisdom. This latter kind of meditation is not classed as *kammaṭṭhāna* in the *Visuddhimagga* *Saññā*-meditations such as *anicca saññā, anupassanā*-meditations such as *aniccānupassanā* and also the last three of the four applications of mindfulness, as they produce insight, do not find a place in Buddhaghosa's scheme of *kammaṭṭhāna.*

But, Anuruddha has treated all the meditations, concentration and insight, as *kammaṭṭhāna* in his *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (pp. 41–6). After giving the forty *kammaṭṭhāna* of the *Visuddhimagga* under the name of *samatha-kammaṭṭhāna* (ibid. p. 41), he goes on enumerating other topics of meditation under the name of *vipassanā-kammaṭṭhāna* which consists of contemplation on the three characteristics of existence (*tilakkhaṇa*), namely, impermanance (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*) and unsubstantiality (*anatta*); the tenfold insight-knowledge (*dasa-vipassanā-ñāṇa*) and the threefold emancipation (*vimokkha: Abhs.* 43–4). These latter kinds of meditation are on a higher level than the former as they produce the wisdom which is essential for emancipation.

There are certain basic requirements to be accomplished by one who wishes to practise meditation. The most important among them is purity of morality (*sīlavisuddhi*), which is brought about by a fourfold purification called *catu-pārisuddhi-sīla,* namely, restraint with regard to the monks' disciplinary code (*pātimokkha-saṃvara-sīla*), restraint of the senses (*indriya-saṃvara-sīla*), purity with regard to one's livelihood (*ājīvapārisuddhi-sīla*) and morality with regard to the four requisites (*paccaya-sannisita-sīla*).

One whose morality is pure should first go to a monk who is competent to instruct one on the practice of meditation. The instructor who is a noble friend (*kalyāna-mitta*) is called "the giver of the topics of meditation" (*kammaṭṭhāna-dāyaka: Vism.* 79).

After carefully studying all aspects of meditation, the beginner should go to a place suitable for meditation; to the forest (*arañña*), to the foot of a tree (*rukkhamūla*) or to an empty house (*suññāgāra: D.* II, 291 etc.). The chief concern is that the place must be calm and quiet, free from disturbance and interruption.

The person must also be physically fit to practise meditation; he must be free from ailments (*ābādha: Vism.* 73) and be in good health. Buddhaghosa enumerates ten impediments to concentration, namely, a dwelling (*āvāsa*), a family (*kula*), gain (*lābha*), company (*gaṇa*), work such as repairs to buildings (*kamma*), travel (*addhāna*), kin (*ñāti*), affliction (*ābādha*), books (*gantha*) and supernormal worldly powers (*iddhi: Vism.* 79 ff.).

It is also of primary importance that the beginner should, with the help of the instructor, select a topic which is the most suitable for his temperament (*cariyā*). There are six types of men classified on the basis of their temperament. Buddhaghosa explains these temperaments in detail and assigns the *kammaṭhāna* that suit the different temperaments of men.

Now the beginner is well qualified to practise his meditation. He must sit cross-legged, his spine kept erect

(*D.* II, 291). Being mindful he starts contemplating on the topic. The practice of these meditations, according to *Visuddhimagga*, forms the means by which the full concentration and absorption of the mind is achieved. The eight attainments *(samāpatti)*, namely, the mental absorption of the material sphere in four stages, *(rūpāvacara-jhāna)* and the non-material sphere in four stages *(arūpāvacara-jhāna)* are their final result. But, in the Pali commentaries, the practice of these meditations is placed on a higher level, as leading to the attainment of arahantship, *(yāva-arahattaṃ kammaṭṭhānaṃ kathesi: DhpA.* I, 8, 96; *kammaṭṭhāna anuyuttō na cirasseva arahattaṃ pāpuni:* I, III, 36). The apparent discrepancy is due to the fact, as was stated above, that Buddhaghosa has included under *kammaṭṭhāna* those topics of meditation which produce concentration alone. It should be mentioned in this context that Anuruddha's treatment of *kammaṭṭhāna* (*Abhs.* 41-6), unlike that of Buddhaghosa, fully agrees with the Pali commentarial tradition; he included the two kinds of meditation topics, concentration and insight, in his scheme of *kammaṭṭhāna*.

It is also important to emphasise the fact that in the Buddhist scheme of emancipation concentration of the mind *(samādhi)* does not stop at that; it is a means to an end which is emancipation *(vimutti, nibbāna)*. *Samādhi* inevitably leads to insight *(paññā)* by which emancipation is realised. On attaining concentration of mind the monk may contemplate on existence as dependent and therefore, impermanent. What is impermanent is suffering and unsubstantial. These are the three characteristics of existence the realisation of which amounts to the attainment of insight.

The occurrence of the phrase *catu-sacca-kammaṭṭhāna-bhāvanā*, meaning "contemplation by taking the four noble truths" as the topic of meditation at *PvA.* p. 98 is interesting because it does not occur in any of the enumerations of *kammaṭṭhānas* in the texts, both in the commentaries and in the treatises. It is in fact not a separate topic of meditation, but, primarily, contemplating on existence as suffering *(dukkha)*, the first truth, the realisation of which leads to the realisation of the other three truths (*S.* V, 437; *Ps.* I, 119; II, 107). Any of the forty topics which are derived from existence, i.e., five aggregates *(pañcakkhandhā)*, may be contemplated on as *dukkha*. Existence is miserable *(kukkha)* because it is impermanent. Impermanence is the basic conclusion arrived at on realising the law of conditionality *(paṭicca-samuppāda)*. By its very nature the whole existence is dependent. The four noble truths *(cattāri ariya saccāni)* are nothing but an elaboration, on an ethical basis, of the law of conditionality. See BHĀVANĀ, MEDITATION.

Upali Karunaratne

KAMMAVĀCĀ (Skt. *Karmavākya)* are formulae or texts of Official Acts that are read at the ecclesiastical formal meetings of *bhikkhus* where matters of vital importance to the Order of *bhikkhus (bhikkhu saṅgha)* are discussed and decisions taken. The *Pali English Dictionary (PED)* says that there are eleven such officially recognised *kammavācā*, but it does not give any further details about them. Reading of *kammavācā*, at formal gatherings of *bhikkhus* is popularly followed by *bhikkhus* in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Thailand and they have these *kammavācā*, culled from the *Vinaya* texts and printed in separate booklets. The present writer has seen a booklet printed in the Sinhala script containing thirty one of these *kammavācā*,. The text is in the Pali language, and they are as follows: (1) *Upasampadā kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act for the conferment of the Higher Ordination); (2) *Kaṭhinakammavācā* (The text of the Official Act for the holding of the *kaṭhina* ceremony); (3) *Kaṭhinuddhāra-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to withdraw privileges of the *kaṭhina* cloth); (4) *Samāna-saṃvāsasīmāsamūhanakammavācā* (The text of the Official Act for the removal of boundary limits of those *bhikkhus* living together); (5) *Samānasaṃvāsasimāsammutikammavācā* (The text of the Official Act for the Agreement of boundary limits of those living together); (6) *Avippavāsasīmāsammutikammavācā* (The text of the Official Act for the agreement of boundary limits of those who live afar); (7) *Uposathāgārasammutikammavācā* (The text of the Official Act pertaining to the agreement of the hall where *pātimokkha* is to be recited); (8) *Uposathāgārasamūhana-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to agree upon the discontinuance of a particular monastery as an *uposathāgāra)*; (9) *Thera-sammuti-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to agree upon the seniority of *theras)*; (10) *Nāmasammuti-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to agree upon a name); (11) *Nissayamutta-sammuti-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to agree upon relaxation of the requisites); (12) *Kappiya-bhūmisammuti-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to agree on a suitable storehouse); (13) *Kuṭivatthuolokanasammuti-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to search and agree upon a site for a hut); (14) *Gilānupaṭṭhakānaṃ kālakatabhikkhuno pattacīvaradāna kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to bestow the bowl and robes of a dead monk to those who attended on him); (15) *Sāmaggikaraṇa-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act regarding settlement of disputes); (16) *Pavāraṇasaṅgahakaraṇa-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to sanction the use of an abridged form of *vassa* termination ceremony); (17) *Parivāsadānakammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to allow a period of probation); (18) *Mānattadāna-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to decide the maximum combined probation); (20) *Suddhanta-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act regarding the ending of

the purificatory period); (21) *(Parisuddhiuposatha-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act pertaining to the holding of the *uposatha* for purification); (22) *Adhiṭṭhānuposatha Kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act regarding resolution to hold *uposatha*); (23) *Āpattārocana-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to formally declare an offence committed); (24) *Cīvarādhiṭṭhāna-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to agree on the proper type of robe to wear); (25) *Parikkhāracoḷādhiṭṭhāna-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to agree on other requisite clothes); (26) *Cīvaravikappana-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act pertaining to the apportioning of robes); (27) *Vikappitacīvaraṃ sāmikassa punadānam-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act to formally return the apportioned robe to its owner); (28) *Paccuddharaṇa-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act read at the wiping out of the *kaṭhina* cloth); (29) *Vassūpanāyika-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act read at the ceremony to commence the *vassa* retreat); (30) *Vassika-sāṭikādhiṭṭhāna-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act read at the ceremonial meeting to decide about the *kaṭhina-cloth*); (31) *(Pavāraṇa-kammavācā* (The text of the Official Act read at the ceremony to conclude the *vassa* retreat).

When the *bhikkhus* meet formally regarding a particular *saṅghakamma* a competent senior *bhikkhu*, with a good voice, who can pronounce words distinctly, plays the role of leader of the ceremony and he is designated as *kammācariya*. For instance, in the *upasampadā saṅgha-kamma* (ceremonial meeting of *bhikkhus* to confer Higher Ordination) the leader of the ceremony presents the candidate for Higher Ordination to the assembly of *bhikkhus* saying thus: May the *bhikkhus* listen to me. I desire that the monk Nāga be conferred the Higher Ordination. If it is allright by the *bhikkhus*, I shall examine Nāga: 'Listen to me Nāga, this is the time for you to tell the truth. I shall question you in the presence of the assembled *bhikkhus* regarding some matters. If you have them you have to admit them; if you do not have them you have to say so. Do not keep mum or waver. I shall now question you regarding the following diseases. Do you suffer from leprosy? Do you have abscesses? Do you suffer from consumption and epilepsy? Are you a human being? Are you a male? Are you a free men? Are you free from debt? Have you been a king's soldier? Have you obtained the consent of your parents? Are you now twenty years old? Have you a bowl and robes? What is your name? Who is your preceptor?

These questions have to be repeated three times by the *kammācariya* in that assembly of *bhikkhus* and after ensuring that the candidate is free and clean, he is presented to the assembly of *bhikkhus* for the conferment of the Higher Ordination.

The *kammavācā*, for the dedication of the *kaṭhina-cloth* is as follows: 'Honoured sirs, let the Order listen to me. This material for *Kaṭhina-cloth* has accrued to the Order. If it seems right to the Order, the Order should give this material for *kaṭhina-cloth* to the monk so and so for making *kaṭhina-cloth*. This is the motion *(ñatti)*. Honoured sirs, let the Order listen to me. This material for *kaṭhina-cloth* has accrued to the Order. The Order is giving this material for *kaṭhina-cloth* to the monk so and so for making the *kaṭhina-cloth*. If the giving of this material for *kaṭhina-cloth* to the monk so and so for making *kaṭhina-cloth* is pleasing to the Venerable ones, let them be silent. He to whom it is not pleasing should speak. This material for *kaṭhina-cloth* is given by the Order to the monk so and so for making *kaṭhina-cloth*. It is pleasing to the order, therefore, they are silent. Thus do I understand this (*SBB*. Vol. 14, pp. 353-4).

T. Ariyadhamma

KAMMAVAṬṬA, the round of action. Dependent origination *(paṭiccasamuppāda)* comprises of three rounds or stages *(te-bhūmaka-vaṭṭa), kammavaṭṭa* being the first of them. See VAṬṬA.

KANAUJ, the capital of Harśavardhana (q.v.), who was the last Buddhist emperor who united the whole of Northern India reminiscent of Asoka (q.v.), the Maurya Emperor who preceded him by several centuries.

Kanauj is the present name of the town where once stood the great city popularly known as Kanyakubja in historical times, according to literary evidences. It has both been referred to as the kingdom and the capital of Harśavardhana, who had enhanced its glory by selecting it as his imperial capital.

It is not difficult to identify Kanauj or Kanyakubja of mediaeval times with the city Kannakujja mentioned in early Buddhist texts. This identification was considered as acceptable by several authorities on the grounds of site location and phonetic resemblance of the name as well.

Kanauj lies on the west bank of the Kālinadī, about six miles above its confluence with the Ganges, in the present Uttar Pradesh. Before Emperor Harsavardhana transferred his capital to this place, Kanauj had been the capital of the Maukharī kings who had matrimonial alliances with the family of Harśavardhana (R.C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychandhuri and K. Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, London, 1961, pp. 151 ff.).

Taking Hsuan-tsang's estimate of 667 miles as approximately correct, the probable limits of the kingdom of Kanauj must have included all the country between Khairabad and Tanda on the river Gogra and Etāwa and Alahabad on the Jumna, which could give a circuit of about 600 miles (S. Beal *Si-yu-ki, Chinese Accounts of India,* Indian Edition, Calcutta, 1958, Vol. II, p. 232; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India,* edited by S. M. Sastri, Calcutta, 1924, p. 431).

Cunningham surveyed the area for remains of archaeological interest and observed that the existing remains of the city are few and unimportant *(Cunningham's Ancient Geography,* loc. cit.). This estimate was not unusual in the case of a city that was subject to visissitudes of various political upheavals of North India which proved disastrous to monuments of both religious and cultural importance, especially after the pillaging conquests of the Muslims, from the North-west. History bears evidence for the destructive hand of the conqueror that spelled doom to the many religious centres in India since the days of Mohammad of Gazni (eleventh century A.C.).

When he approched Kanauj, the historian relates that he saw there a city which raised its head to the skies, and which in strength and structure might justly boast to have no equal (Briggs *'Farishta',* I, 57; *Cunningham's Ancient Geography* loc. cit.). Just one century earlier or in 915 A.C., Kanauj is mentioned by Masudi as the capital of the kings of India and about 900 A.C. Abu Zaid on the authority of Ibn Wahab calls, "Kadiye a great city in the kingdom of Gozar," *(Cunningham's Ancient Geography,* loc. cit.).

Fa-Hsieun in the fifth century A.C. had arrived at the city of Kanauj (Ki-jou-i), which bordered on the Ganges and which had two Saṅghārāmas both belonging to the "Little Vehicle" (S. Beal, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 25). Kanauj is also mentioned by Ptolemy, about 140 A.C. as 'Kanogiksa' (Κανογιζα).

The most graphic account of Kanauj was however recorded in the seventh century A.C. by Hsuan-Tsang who stayed there as the guest of Emperor Harsavardhana and witnessed two great Buddhist synods convened by the emperor himself (S. Beal, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 223 ff.).

According to Hsuan-Tsang, the kingdom of Kie-jo-kio-she-kwo (Kanyakubja) was 4000 li (about 667 miles) in circuit, the capital was about 20 li (nearly 4 miles) in length and about 5 li in breadth. The city was strongly defended with lofty towers everywhere. Beautiful flower gardens and parks with ponds and tanks had enriched the beauty of the city. Rarities from strange lands were collected in the city and the inhabitants were opulent with many wealthy families.[1] The citizens had a refined appearance and dressed in glossy silk attire. They were devoted to learning and the arts.

Hsuan-Tsang relates the legendary history of Kanauj and how the city was so named 'Kanyakubja' after the curse by a certain ṛsi on the hundred daughtes of the king of the country, who all had become hump-backed.

The Chinese monk had noticed that there were several hundred *saṅghārāmas* with about 10,000 monks who were devoted to the study of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. He had also witnessed the great quinquennial assembly at Kanauj as Mahāmokṣapariśad held by Harśavardhana.

Hsuan-tsang's description of the political history of Kanauj is well substantiated by other authorities. He gives details of the lengthy war Harśavardhana had to wage before bringing final peace to his empire. It was in these campaigns that he conquered the territories as far as Kashmir in the Northwest, and the Gangetic plain in the East.

Having elaborated on the glories of Imperial Kanauj and its emperor, Hsuan-tsang describes the great religious assembly held in Kanauj which was specially convened in his honour.

On the instructions of Harsavardhana, twenty kings of his subject territories had participated at the great assembly with Sramaṇas and Brāhmanas, the most distinguished of their country, and with magistrates and generals. The emperor had constructed on the west side of the river a great *saṅghārāma,* and on the east of this a precious tower about 100 feet in height, in the middle he had placed a golden statue of the Buddha of the same height as the emperor himself. On the road leading up to the *saṅghārāma* he had set up decorated pavilions, and platforms where musicians were stationed. For the emperor a mobile palace was constructed. A grand procession was held daily in which a golden statue of the Buddha was carried on the back of a gorgeously caparisoned elephant followed by hundred other elephants. The emperor and his principal royal ally, the king of Kāmarūpa (in Assam) riding on two elephants and followed by an escort of five hundred war elephants flanked the Buddha statue and went on scattering pearls, and golden flowers in honour of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

After the conclusion of the great assembly Hsuan-tsang was greatly honoured by the emperor who provided

1. This was the case in regard to all the ancient cities that stood on the great northern highway (Uttarapatha, from Sankissa to Taxila and beyond), that joined the silk route from the Far-east with the Middle-east and the Mediterranean lands.

him with all facilities to carry his books and images and gave him expenses for his journey back to China. (S. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 242; A. Aiyappan, P. K. Srinivasan, *Story of Buddhism with Special Refrence to South India*, Madras, 1960, pp. 37 ff.)

Hsuan-tsang had seen a *stūpa* built by Asoka to the north-west of Kanauj. By the side of this *stūpa* were traces where the four past Buddhas are said to have sat and walked for exercise. There was another little *stūpa* containing the Buddha's hair and nail relics, and a 'preacher's seat' *(dharmāsana)*.[2]

On the south side of the city and by the side of the Ganges river there were three *saṅghārāmas* all within the same enclosure, seen by Hsuan-tsang. In this Saṅghārāma compound, there stood the great temple of the Buddha's Tooth Relic.[3] Not far from the Tooth-Relic temple there were several other monasteries and temples enshrining valuable images of the Buddha and other relics.

A temple of the Sun god (Sūrya) and god Maheśvara[4] too have been mentioned by the pilgrim within close proximity to the Buddhist temples, thereby showing the religious tolerance of the Buddhist monarch Harśavardhana (S. Beal, *op. cit.* p. 245).

The imperial splendour of Kanauj, that Harsavardhana did so much to augment was hardly dimmed in succeeding ages, and rulers of the remotest corners of India counted it their proudest boast to have "captured Mahodaya Sri", i.e. Kanauj (R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Raychandhuri and K. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 160).

After Harsavardhana there was no powerful hand to unite the whole of Madhyadesa under one authority and win for Kanauj that proud position which was once held by Harsa.

Efforts of a few rulers like Yasovarman were frustrated by the warlike potentates beyond the limits of the Madhyadesa to whom the acquisition of the Imprial city of Harsa was the goal of political ambition. After a brief period of independence, Kanauj finally fell before the invading Muslim armies.

A. D. T. E. Perera

KANDARAKA SUTTA, the first sutta of the first of the five divisions *(gahapati vagga)* of the middle fifty discourses *(majjhima paṇṇāsaka)* of the Majjhima Nikāya, (*M.* 1. pp. 339–349), was preached by the Buddha to Pessa (the son of an elephant-trainer) and Kandaraka (a wandering ascetic) when he was once staying near Campā on the bank of Gaggarā lotus pond, with a large following of bhikkhus. Kandaraka observing the well-disciplined and silent bhikkhus praised the Buddha for the clever manner he trains his disciples. The Buddha, acknowledging the compliment of Kandaraka, said that many in that congregation of bhikkhus are Arahants who have achieved the goal of their religious life and the rest are trainees *(sekhā)* whose minds are well directed on the four stations of mindfulness *(cattāro satipaṭṭhānā)*. When the Buddha spoke thus, Pessa said: Wonderful, Sire, is the way the Buddha has understood clearly what is harmful to human beings and what is beneficial to them. The world of humans is a massive thicket *(gahana)* whereas the world of animals is simple and open *(uttāna)*. Human beings say one thing and do another and harbour a thought quite different to what they say and do. In such a state of affairs it is extremely wonderful that the Buddha has clearly understood what is beneficial to them and what is harmful to them. Approving what Pessa said the Buddha declared: "There are four categories of human beings in the world, Pessa. They are (1) those who torment themselves (2) those who torment others (3) those who torment themselves and others and (4) those who neither torment themselves nor torment others".

When Pessa left, the Buddha addressed the bhikkhus and further explained to them about the four categories of human beings thus: People like the naked ascetics, who torment themselves by practising servere forms of asceticism, belong to the first category of human beings; those who engage in other types of cruel occupations belong to the second category of human beings; those brahmins and kṣatriyas who undergo various penances and at the same time causes the death of many heads of cattle, grown up and young, and causes the destruction of many valuable trees and plants for sacrifices belong to the third category of human beings; those who listen to Tathāgata's *dhamma* and renounce the worldly life to become homeless bhikkhus to live the *dhamma* and thereafter achieves various stages of spiritual develop-

2. Cunningham says, of Kanauj, "In comparing Hsuan-tsang's description of ancient Kanauj with the existing remains of the city, Iam obliged to confess with regret that I have not been able to identify even one solitary site with any certainty; so completely has almost every trace of the early occupation been obliterated by the Musalmans. (Cunnigham's *Ancient Geography*, op. cit., p. 434).
3. The Tooth Relic referred to in this temple was brought from Kashmir by Harśavardhana after his northern campaign. The description of the Tooth-Relic temple at Kanauj and the ceremonies connected therewith, as given by Hsuan-tsang strikes a close similarity to the temple ceremonies of the Tooth-Relic Shrine in Kandy, Sri Lanka today.
4. This could be of either the Hindu God Śiva or the Mahayana Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

ment culminating in the attainment of Arahantship belong to the fourth category of human beings.

D. Saddhasena

KANDY, the modern name of the last capital of the Sinhalese kings of Sri Lanka, renowned for its Temple of the Tooth (q.v. Daḷadā Māligāva) where the Tooth Relic of the Buddha is deposited and also for the annual Daḷadā-perahära, the pageant connected with the same relic. The city is located in the central highlands 72 miles from Colombo, and is a centre of scenic beauty and great attraction on account of its mild climate and religious and cultural interest. PLATE XVI.

The city came into prominence in mediaeval times, and was then known as Seṅkaḍagala (Pali Senkhaṇḍasela) and Srivardhanapura (Pali Sirivaḍḍhanapura). Tradition has it that it was founded by a king named Vīravikkrama (*Mhv.* xcii, 7), also known as Senāsammata Vikramabāhu (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon,* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 680–1), on a site originally occupied by a hermit named Seṅkhaṇḍa. Another tradition says that the city was named Seṅkaḍagala because the queen of its founder bore the name Seṅkhaṇḍa (A. D. P. Karunatillake, *Seṅkaḍagalapura Itihāsaya,* Kandy Printers, 1955, p. 4).

The modern name is an adaptation of the Sinhalese word *kanda* meaning 'highland' in the Phrase *kanda-uda-pasraṭa,* 'The five countries of the Highlands', referring to the Kandyan kingdom, but now refers to its capital.

For some time before the emergence of the city of Seṅkaḍaḍagala into prominence the neighbouring city of Gampola was the capital of the SInhalese kingdom of central Sri Lanka. It was in about 1540 A.C. that the capital was transferred to Seṅkaḍagala which was also called Maha Nuwara.

The Kandyan kingdom did not have a peaceful existence. From the time of its isception it had to struggle against rival Sinhalese kings of the low-country kingdoms on the one hand and the European invaders on the other. In their efforts to withstand the invasions of the Sinhalese kings of the low-country kingdoms, Vikramabāhu and his successor Karalliyadde Bandāra, sought the assistance of the Portugese who were at this time in occupation of the region around Colombo, but nevertheless, King Rājasinha I of Sītāwaka annexed the Kandyan territories to his kingdom in 1582 and possessed them until his death in 1592.

In 1592 Konappu Bandāra, the son of a petty chieftain became king of Kandy under the name Vimaladharmasūrya I and legitimised his right to the throne by marrying the daughter of King Karalliyadde Bandāra. He showed great zeal for Buddhism by erecting religious edifices and above all, by setting up a Daḷadā Māligāwa within his palace complex. He revived old customs and held the religious festivals like the *perahera.* Vimaladharmasūrya even procured monks from abroad to restore the higher ordination.

When Vimaladharmasūrya's brother Senarat succeeded him to the throne of Kandy in 1605 A.C. his kingdom was attacked by the Portugese and the king made a treaty with the Dutch who had arrived in Batticaloa at this time. Later, in 1617 Senarat had to make peace with the Portugese and allow Roman Catholic friars to come to his realms and build churches. Senarat's son Rājasinha II who succeeded him in 1635 also favoured Christianity and permitted Christian priests to live and build churches in his dominions.

From 1687 until 1706 A.C. Rajasinha's son Vimaladharmasūrya II ruled in Kandy. He erected a three-storeyed Daḷadā Māligāva and restored the *Upasampadā* ordination by obtaining monks from Siam. After his death his son Sri Vīraparākrama Narendrasinha became king. He was, incidentally, the last Sinhalese king of Sri Lanka for, the four kings who succeeded him belonged to the Nāyakkar clan from South India.

Vimaladharmasūrīya II's queen was a Tamil of the Nāyakkar clan in South India and Narendrasinha was her son. Narendrasinha himself married a princess from South India and died without an heir. As a result his queen's brother, following the traditional custom prevalent among the Nāyakkars, succeeded him to the throne under the name of Sri Vijaya Rājasinha, thus ending the royal line of Sinhalese kings and giving rise to a new dynasty of Nāyakkar kings from South India. Sri Vijaya with his queen professed Buddhism and repaired and erected temples in order to placate the subjects. He also celebrated the religious and social festivals and made efforts to procure monks from Siam to restore the *Upasampadā* (Higher Ordination).

Sri Vijaya Rājasinha was succeeded in 1747 A.C. by his brother-in-law Kīrti Sri Rājasinha. His reign is noted for the religious and literary revival in Ceylon. He erected several Buddhist monasteries and, at the request of Välivita Saranaṅkara Thera sent an embassy to Siam in 1750 A.C., in Dutch vessels, to procure monks for the restoration of the *Upasampadā.* The embassy returned in 1751 A. C. with some Siamese monks led by Upali Thera and ambassadors. Saranankara and others were given higher ordination and thus began the Siamese Nikāya of Sri Lanka. Saranaṅkara Thera was also made the Saṅgharāja and under his direction religion and education flourished. He was the author of many religious works.

The shrines like the Nātha Devāle and the Viśnu Devāle were the products of the Nāyakkar period. The insignia of the gods were carried in procession with pomp and majesty at the Daḷdā Perahera as was introduced by Srī Vijaya. Kirti Sri directed that the insignia of the Daḷadā and other Buddhist emblems should have a place of honour in the *perahäras.*

Kirti Sri Rājasinha died in 1782 A.C. and was succeeded by his brother Rājādhi Rājasiṅha in whose reign the inevitable struggle for supremacy between the Nāyakkar ruler and the Sinhalesee chiefs precipitated. As a result, the king was deposed by Pilima Talāve, the first *adigar* in 1798 A.C. but when he was unable to seize the throne he himself set on the throne a prince named Kannasāmy, who took the name Srī Wickrama Rājasinha as king.

Srī Wickrama Rājasinha was the last king of Sri Lanka. In his reign the British invaded Kandy and, with the help of the Sinhalese chiefs captured the king who had fled from his capital and deported him to the fortress of Vellore and annexed Kandy to their territory, thus bringing the whole Island under British Rule. The Kandyan Kingdom was annexed on March 2nd 1815 at a convention held in the great Audience Hall and agreed upon between the British officials and the Sinhalese chiefs and remained a British possession until February 4th 1947, when Sri Lanka gained Indepencence.

This is then the history of Kandy in brief, both as kingdom and city. The city of Kandy, it is noteworthy, picturesque as it is, has preserved several monuments of Buddhist interest belonging to the period described above. Of prime importance among them is the Daḷadā Māligāva or the Temple of the Tooth where the sacred Tooth of the Buddha brought to Sri Lanka from Kāliṅga in South India in the reign of King Kirti Sri Meghavanna (303-31 A.C.) is deposited. The temple, magnificent in its appearence with its beautiful *pattirippuwa,* i.e. the octagon, on the right of the main entrance, is protected by a [illegible] ornamental stone wall and a moat. The shrine where the Tooth Relic is deposited is itself concealed by other buildings within the enclosure. Two imposing festivals are connected with this temple, one, the exposition of the Tooth Relic, and the other, the Daḷadā Perahera (q.v.) a pageant held annually in August.

In the grounds adjoining the Temple of the Tooth is the Audience Hall, a historic building associated with the ceremonial of the Kandyan court which served as the Supreme Court of Kandy till recent times. Its wooden architectural features are noteworthy. The hall is said to have been begun in 1784 by King Rājādhi Rājasinha.

In the same locality is an old building said to have been a part of the palace of the queens, but now used as a museum for treasures of Kandyan art and craftsmanship.

All these buildings including the Temple of the Tooth Relic come within the complex of the old palace of the Kandyan kings.

Opposite the old palace is a walled enclosure of temple buildings. Here are found the Nātha Devāle, a *dāgäba,* a Bo-tree with a *Bodhi-maluva* and several halls. In the *dāgäba* mentioned above is said to be deposited the Bowl relic *(Pātra-dhātu)* of the Buddha which, along with the Tooth Relic was kept in the royal palace. The Nātha Devāle, though not very large, is remarkable as it is the only building in Kandy built entirely of stone. In architecture, it differs from the other religious edifices of Kandy, and resembles, externally a Hindu shrine. This devāle could be the earliest historical building now existing in Kandy. The city seems to have enjoyed a certain amount of fame as an abode of this deity even before it became the capital of the later Sinhalese kings. It was at this Nātha Devāle that an important ceremony connected with the anointing of the Sinhalese kings, namely, the choosing of a name and putting on of the regal sword was held. Another important ceremony was performed at the Nātha Devāle during the New Year celebrations. During this time one thousand small pots were filled with juices of wild medicinal plants and were sent to the palace for distribution among other temples. PLATE XVII.

The massive brick wall in front of the Nātha Devāle along the boundary of the palace and the Daḷadā Māligāva is of a typical Sinhalese design having triangular holes intended for lighting lamps on festival days.

Beyond the enclosure of the Nātha Devāle is the Pattni Devale and on the opposite side is the Visnu Devale (also called the Mahā Devāle). The Pattini Devāle is a small rectangular building standing on a stone platform. The Viśnu Devāle is a brick and stone monument without much architectural embelishment and having a steep flight of steps for access.

The Kataragama Devāle is the last of the four devales in Kandy and is located further away from the other three devāles, and situated in the present Castle Hill Street. It consists of four compartments, the innermost forming the sanctum with an image of god Skanda or Kataragama. The image is contained in a wooden cabinat or almirah fitted with a pair of doors.

The architectural monuments in and around Kandy, belonging to the Kandyan period have distinct features somewhat different from those of the more ancient period of Ceylon, that, they are therefore described as belonging to the Kandyan style. The most striking of such features are the carved pillars and beams of wood and the sloping roofs with a peculiar type of tiles. This style of architecture is quite prominently seen in the Audience Hall and certain sections of the Temple of the Tooth. The

Audience Hall consists of a high-pitched roof supported by four rows of wooden pillars, supported on a stone platform and without walls, the building being open on all sides. The pillars are partly square and partly octagonal and are richly carved in different patterns. These carvings consist of conventional floral and other artistic designs. PLATE XVIII.

The roofs of the buildings of this Kandyan style are also of a peculiar type. The wooden beams are artistically designed and sometimes beautifully sculptured with foliage patterns. The roofs project considerably over the pillars. The slope of the roofs over the aisles is at a less acute angle than that of the roof of the main part of the building. The whole roof thus assumes a more or less concave appearance.

The peaks of the roofs are covered with metal finals which are elaborate. Those of the Temple of the Tooth are said to be made of gold; they are more probably gilded. Some finals are made of bronze and in less important buildings they are earthenware, sometimes mere pots.

The Malwatte Vihāra and the Asgiri Vihāra, too, are located in Kandy. The Malwatte Vihāra is situated on a slightly elavated site on the borders of the lake, about a third of a mile from the Queen's Hotel. Its chief building is the *poya-ge* or Chapter House in which Acts of the Order including confession and Higher Ordination are conducted. The Asgiriya Vihāra is reached by crossing the Matale railway line at the north end of Daḷadā Vīdiya and proceeding about half a mile leading to its buildings. At Asgiriya there are two *vihāras* known as the old *vihāra* and the new *vihāra*. The old *vihāra* was built in 1766 A.C. by Pilimatalāwa Disāwa of the Satara Korale. The new *vihāra* was built in 1801 by his son, also named Pilimatalāwa, the first Adigar.

In the outskirts of Kandy are other Buddhist monasteries of significance, namely the Gaṅgārāma, Galmaḍuva-vihāra and the Degaldoruwa-vihāra, belonging to the period of the Nāyakkar kings. Of them the Degaldoruwa-vihāra is significant for its wall-paintings and the unfinished Galmaḍuwa-vihāra is noteworthy for its peculiar style, resembling a Hindu shrine.

H. R. Perera

KĀṆHERI, site of a group of Buddhist rock-temples in the island of Salsette or Ṣaṭṣaṣṭhi, at the head of the Bombay harbour. In this group are about 109 separate caves, mostly small however, and architecturally unimportant. These caves are excavated 'in one large bubble of a hill', situated in the midst of an immense tract of forest country.

The style of most of these caves is certainly primitive. One small cave, a monk's abode consists of a very narrow porch, without pillars, a room with a stone bench along the walls, and a cell to the left. It has an inscription of Yajña Srī Sātakarṇi of the Andrabhṛtya race. This and many others have been assigned to the period from the 2nd to the 4th century A.C. Caves of the more ornate type contain sculptures showing Mahāyāna influence, and some have inscriptions which can be dated as late as the middle of the 9th century A.C.

Among the Kāṇhēri caves the first one met on the way up the hill is the great Caitya-cave, the most important one in the whole series. On the jamb of the entrance to its verandah is an inscription of Yañja Srī Sātakarṇi or Gautamīputra II. According to inscriptional evidence it was excavated in 180 A.C. This cave is 86½ feet long and 39 feet 10 inches wide from wall to wall, and has 34 pillars round the nave of the *cāitya*. Only 17 of them have bases and capitals. Others are plain, octagonal shafts. The *caitya* too is a very plain one, nearly 16 ft. in diameter. Its capital and all the woodwork of the arched roof are destroyed. At the end of the verandah of the Caitya-hall are two colossal figures of the Buddha, about 23 ft. high. These appear to be considerably later than the cave itself. In this verandah is also an inscription containing the name of Buddhaghosa, in letters belonging to about the sixth century A.C.

In front of the verandah is a courtyard on each side of which is an attached pillar. On the top of the pillar on the west side are four lions and on the other are three fat squatting figures. On the left side of the court are also two rooms, one entered through the other. The outer one has a good deal of sculpture in it. On the left of the court is also a small circular cell containing a solid *caitya*. On the right is a long cave which once contained three *caityas*. On the rock surrounding the *caityas* are sculptures of the Buddha, probably of a later date. To the south of the last of the above caves is another *caitya*-cave, but quite unfinished and of a much later style of architecture, probably of about the 9th or 10th century A.C.

The *caitya*-hall at Kāṇhēri is said to mark the end of the Hīnayāna epoch in India as far as its rock architecture is concerned. This *caitya*-hall is described as a decadant copy of that at Karli, but only two-thirds its size. The cave was probably never completed, but it was in use by the Hīnayāna Sangha for some time. Subsequently it fell into disuse for several centuries. With the revival of the Buddhist religion in its Mahāyāna form from about the

5th century A.C. it was again taken over and occupied by monks. It was at this stage that its exterior was made suitable for theistic ritual then prevailing, by means of additional sculpture. Some of these sculptures are now its most striking features. At each end of the vestibule there is a colossal statue of the Buddha over 25 ft. high. The interior of the *caitya*-hall remains as originally designed. The impression conveyed by this *caitya*-hall is, that, while the architectural technique shows signs of deterioration, the sculptural embelishments have maintained their quality.

The Kāṇhēri *caitya*-hall is rather bare and obviously unfinished. But it provides some useful information as to the disposition of the exterior of *caitya*-halls. In front of the exterior at Kāṇhēri is a well-defined courtyard, contained within a dwarf wall, and entered by a flight of steps. This wall is decorated with a rail-pattern in bas-relief with figures of door-keepers on either side. The whole scheme forms an attractive frontal approach. Within the fore-court, on each side are the octagonal lion-pillars *(siṃha-stambha)* attached to the rock. Beyond these lion-pillars is the outer facade with three openings and a range of five windows.

To the north-east of the great *caitya*-cave is another cave known as the Mahārājā or Darbār Cave. This is the largest of this class in the group and the most interesting after the *caitya*-cave. It has several cells like in a *vihāra*, but it appears to be a *dharmaśālā* or an assembly-hall.

There are two inscriptions in this cave, assigned to the 9th century A.C. The pillars of the verandah are plain octagons without base or capital.

Several smaller caves in the vicinity can be assigned to the 9th or 10th century A.C. These generally contain a verandah, a hall and a cell with a *caitya* or some sculptures, a stone bench or a bed.

Some way further up is a *vihāra* with a large, advanced porch supported by pillars. On the back wall are remains of paintings of Buddhas. In the large recesses to the right of the porch is a seated figure of the Buddha, and on his left is Padmapāṇī or Sahasrabāhu Lokiteśvara.

On the hill to the north is a temple in ruins and near it the remains of several *stūpas*. On the south side is a range of about nineteen caves, the largest of which is a beautiful *vihāra*-cave with cells in the side walls. The walls of the verandah, sides and back of the hall of this cave are covered with sculptured figures of Buddha in different attitude and accompanied by female figures indicating that it is a work of the Mahāyāna school.

Behind these is another range of caves remarkable for the profusion of their sculptures, consisting chiefly of Buddhas with attendants, *caitya* etc. These are also works of the Mahāyāna school.

Most of the caves in Kāṇhēri are each furnished with its own cistern. All over the hill, steps are cut on the surface of the rock from one set of caves to another.

The caves and other ruins at Kāṇhēri betoken the existence at some period of a large community of monks there.

H. R. Perera

KANIṢKA, the great Kuṣāna king of India, a renowned patron of Buddhism. His name is spelt as Kāniṣka in inscriptions. On coins it appears, in Greek script, as Kanērki, or in the genitive Kanerkou which some scholars read as Kanēshki and Kanēshkou. Kāśmīr tradition gives the variant Kaniṣtha which become Kanit'a in Chinese. Alberuni refers to him as Kanik.[1]

There are different theories regarding the nationality of Kaniṣka. It is widely accepted that he is of Yuch-chi origin. It is said that during the 2nd century B.C. the Yuch-chi, a Mongoloid nomadic tribe of Central Asia, was forced out of their pasture lands by their more powerful neighbours, the Hiung-nu. Being thus driven out they migrated westwards and in the course of their migration conquered the Wu-sun tribe and settled down in the basin of the Ili river. Here they were divided into two branches of which the minor branch (Siao-yueh-chi) deflected southwards and settled down along the Tibetan border while the major branch (Ta-yueh-chi) proceeded forwards, defeated the Sakas and settled down in the conquered territory. From there they were again expelled by the son of the dead Wu-sun chieftain. Resuming their march, they finally occupied Bactria and Sogdiana and by about the 1st century B.C. gave up their nomadic habits and adopted a more settled life. Here they were divided into five groups of whom the Kuṣāṇas (Kuei-shuang) overpowered the rest and united the whole tribe under Kadphises I (i.e., Kujula Kadphises) who captured some regions of North West India. He was succeeded by his son Kadphises II (i.e., Wima Kadphises) who annexed further Indian territory. Kaniṣka, whose connection with Kadphises II is not known,[2] is said to have succeeded

1. *ERE.* VII, p. 652
2. Kaniṣka was the son of Kadphises II, (*JRORS.* V, p. 511; VI, pp. 12-22)

him.[3] Sten Konow and Fleet consider that Kaniska belonged to a separate clan of the Kuṣāṇas which originated from Khotan.[4] B.N. Puri[5] says that the Kuṣāṇa and the Yueh-chi are two different racial groups and that the former is of Iranian-Śaka stock while the latter is of Mongoloid origin.

There is no consensus among scholars regarding the date of Kaniṣka. The earliest and the latest dates assigned to his accession are 5 B.C. and 278 A. C. S. Levi suggested 5 B.C.[6] Fleet who places it in 58 B.C. also considers him to be the founder of the Vikrama Samvat.[7] According to Professor Van Lohuizen de Leeuw Kaniṣka acceded to the throne between 71–86 A.C.[8] Cunningham places him in 80 A.C.[9] Fergusson, Oldenberg, Rapson, Thomas, Banerji, Jayaswal, and later, even Marshal and Levi place Kaniṣka in 78 A.C. and some of them regard him also as the founder of the Śaka era.[10] Vincent Smith, Sten Konow favours one of the two dates 120 or 128–29 A.C.[11] Ghirshman suggests the date 144 A.C. which is endorsed by Benjamin Rowland and B.N. Puri.[12] The date put forward by R.C. Majumdar is 248 A.C.[13] D.R. Bhandarkar first suggested 278 A.C. but later adopted 128 A.C.[14]

Of these numerous dates the most widely accepted is 78 A.C. though some modern scholars like Benjamin Rowland and B. N. Puri prefer the date 144 on the ground that the latest archaeological discoveries made at Begram in Afghanistan by Ghrishman add more weight to it.

The view put forward by Fleet, and supported by R. Otto Franke and J. Kennedy, that Kaniṣka preceded the two Kadphises, is no longer held as valid.[15] The excavation done at Taxila has shown that the coins of the Kaniṣka group of the Kuṣāṇa kings were found in the upper (i.e. later) strata of earth while those of the Kadphises group were in the lower (i.e., earlier) strata. The connection between Kadphises II and Kaniṣka is not known. However, the evidence provided by the coin-finds in which the coins of Kadphises II and Kaniṣka were found together proves that they were close to each other in time. It is plausible to hold that Kaniṣka succeeded Kadphises II after a short interregnum.[16]

It is quite certain that Kaniṣka succeeded to a fairly large kingdom of Kadphises II. He expanded this kingdom by annexing more territory both in India and in Central Asia. Inscriptions of Kaniṣka found at Kosam (Allahabad),[17] Sarnath,[18] Mathura,[19] Sui-vihar (Bhavalpur),[20] Zeda (Und),[21] Manikiala (Rawalpindi)[22] and his coins, found in Bihar and Pataliputra, suggest that he ruled over a vast Indian territory.[23] Chinese and Tibetan tradition record that he conquered Sāketa and Magadha and carried off the eminent Buddhist scholar Aśvaghoṣa.[24] He also conquered Kaśmīr, Punjab and Sind. In

3. See Vincent Smith, *The Early History of India,* Oxford, 4th ed. ch. x; R.S. Tripathi, *History of Ancient India,* pub. Motilal Banarsidas, 1960, 11.221 ff.
4. *CII.* p. lxxvi.
5. See B.M. Puri, *India Under the Kushāṇas,* pub. Bhāratiya Vidhyā Bhavan, 1965, p. 36; for a detailed discussion see chs. i and iii of the same work.
6. *JA.* Nov. Dec. 1896, pp. 444 ff.; Jan. Feb. 1897, p. 5 ff.
7. *JRAS.* 1913, pp. 911 ff.
8. *The Scythian Period – An Approach to History, Art, Epigraphy and Paleography of North India from the first century B.C. to the Third century A.C.* p. 64 (as quoted by B.N. Puri, op. cit.).
9. *Book of Indian Eras.* Calcutta, 1883, p. 42.
10. *IA.* X, pp. 213 ff. *JRAS* 1879–80, pp. 259 ff.; JBORS 1937, pp. 113 ff.
11. *CII.* p. lxxv; *JA.* IX, 1897, pp. 26 ff; Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 271; cp. Marshal's earlier view in *ASIAR.* 1929-30, pp. 56 ff.
12. *Cashier's D'historic Mandiale-Journal of world History* II, No. 3, 1957, p. 698 (as quoted by B. N. Puri, op. cit.); Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist Hindu–Jain,* 1st ed. 1956, p. 71; B. N. Puri, op. cit. p. 49.
13. *JRAS.* 1905; pp. 566 ff.
14. *JBRAS.* 1900, pp. 269 ff; *IC.* VII, p. 140 n.
15. *JRAS.* 1903, pp. 325 ff; 1905, pp. 357 f., 1906, pp. 979 ff. 1913, pp. 911 ff. O. Franke, *Beiträge Aus Chinesischen Quallen zur Renntniss der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens,* Berlin, 1904 (as quoted by Vincent Smith, op. cit. p. 274 n. i).
16. R.S. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 224; Vincent Smith, op. cit. p. 274; see also *The Age of Imperial Unity,* (p. 141) "Kaniṣka may have originally been one of the several Kuṣāṇa chieftains who tried to make their fortune in India and may have come out successful in the struggle for supremacy that seems to have followed the death of Wema" (i.e., Kadphises, II).
17. *Calcutta Review,* July 1934, pp. 83 ff.
18. *EI.* VIII, pp. 196 ff. Nos. III a, III b, III d.
19. Appendix, *EI.* X, Nos. 16, 17, 18 etc.
20. *CII.* II, pt. 1, pp. 138 ff.
21. ibid. pp. 142 ff.
22. ibid; pp. 145 ff.
23. *ASIAR.* 1911–12, pp. 34, 63; 1912–13, pp. 79, 84
24. See B.N. Puri, op. cit. ch. iii, n. 96; Vincent Smith, op. cit. p. 276 and n. 1 on the same page.

Kaśmīr he erected numerous monuments and founded a city called Kaniṣkapura, now represented by the village Kanispor. Outside India his rule extended to Afghanistan, Bactria, Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkand.

Though he seems to have cherished a marked preference for Kaśmīr he had his capital at Puruṣapura, the modern Peshāwar which lay in the main route from Afghanistan to the Indus plain.

Kaniṣka was a renowned warrior. His most daring military feat is his conquest of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan, which were dependencies of China. Kadphises II is also said to have tried to accomplish this feat without success and consequently had to pay tribute to China. Kaniṣka not only freed his kingdom from this obligation, but also took away hostages from a dependency of China.[25] Some scholars are of opinion that on a previous occasion Kaniṣka, too, tasted defeat at the hands of the Chinese general Pan-chao.[26]

Kaniṣka treated his hostages with utmost consideration, providing them with places of residence suitable for each season. These hostages are said to have resided in the Sha-lo-ka monastery probably situated in the hills of Kapisa (modern Kafiristan) and in monasteries at Gandhāra and Eastern Punjab (Cinabhukti).[27]

Buddhist tradition describes Kaniṣka as a great patron of Buddhism comparable to Asoka. Legends about his conversion closely resemble those of Asoka, and it is probable that these legends were based on stories detailing Asoka's conversion. Tradition represents Kaniṣka, before his conversion to Buddhism, as one who had no faith either in right or wrong and as a person who did not pay any attention to Buddhism. It is also said that the immediate cause of his conversion was the deep remorse he felt over the bloodshed in his numerous wars.[28] Though this tradition is based on facts it could be surmised that it was built up by the Buddhists making Kaniska to emulate Asoka and show the ennobling influence of Buddhism on him.

Epigraphical and numismatic records do not provide clear testimony regarding his conversion and religion. Vincent Smith surmises[29] that his coins show that his conversion to Buddhism did not take place until he had been on the throne for some time. The finest and presumably the earliest coins bear legends, Greek in both script and language, with images of the sun and moon under the names Helios and Selene (spelt Salēnē on the coins). On later issues, the Greek script is retained but the language is Knotanese, while the reverse of the coins represents gods worshipped by Greeks, Persians and Indians.[30] The coins that bear the images of Sākyamuni are considered to be the latest. Some Indian scholars think that if numismatic evidence proves anything, it is only his eclecticism, or that his coins only depict the various forms of faith prevailing in his vast empire.[31] Despite attempts to adduce evidence to prove that he was not a Buddhist, the testimony provided by the numerous monuments he has built, as well as his association with the Buddhist Council held during his reign show that, even if he was not a Buddhist, he was more bent towards Buddhism than towards any other religion. An inscription found on a relic-casket, too, is taken by some scholars as evidence to establish that he favoured the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism.[32]

Tradition records that Kaniṣka studied Buddhism in his leisure hours under the guidance of Pārśva. Tradition also states that he carried off Aśvaghoṣa from Pāṭaliputra.[33] Even if this story is not acceptd it is plausible to hold that Kaniṣka and Aśvaghoṣa were contemporaries and that these two were associates.

Two eminent Buddhist scholars Vasumitra and Nāgārjuna, too, are said to be his contemporaties.[34] Buddhism at that time was a force to reckon with, and despite the possibility that Kaniṣka was doing his best to consolidate his vast empire, he adopted Buddhism to keep abreast of the trends prevalent at the time.

According to the Buddhist tradition the greatest service rendered to Buddhism by Kaniṣka is his convening

25. Much weight cannot be attached to the tradition which says that there was a son of the Hun Emperor among the hostages. He may have adopted the titles, Mahārāja, Rajātirāja and Devaputra after these successful campaigns.
26. R.S. Tripathi, op. cit. p. 255; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 142 f.; but cp. Vincent Smith, (op. cit. p. 269, who regards this as an event connected with Kadphises II.
27. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trsl. S. Beal, London, I. pp. 57 ff.
28. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, ed. T. W Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell, London, 1904, I. 203
29. op. cit. p. 281; Charles Elliot, too, thinks that Kaniṣka embraced Buddhism late in his life *(Hinduism and Buddhism)* London, 1921, II, p. 77).
30. Some of the deities represented are Oesho (Śiva), Oado (Persian Vādo; Indian Vāta), Atsho (Persian Atash) Sun-god Miiro, Summerian Mother-goddess Nana and others.
31. B. N. Puri, op. cit. p. 136; R. S. Tripathi, op. cit. p. 228
32. S. K. Dutt, *The Buddha and Five after Centuries*, London, 1957, p. 247.
33. There are different traditions regarding this.
34. Besides them he had a chaplain called Saṅgharakṣa, a minister called Māṭhara; Caraka an eminent physician, too, is said to have been a member in Kaniṣka's court.

of the Buddhist Council during his reign. There are different accounts of this council. The best known is that of Hsuan-tsang.[35] Paramārtha in his *Life of Vasubandhu* gives another version which, though generally considered to be the same as that of Hsuan-tsang, contains different information.[36] Tārānātha also records an account, which, though confused, contains important information. It is not relevant at present, to extract facts from these legendary accounts which are confused and often discrepant.

It is said that Kaniṣka, greatly puzzled by the conflicting teachings found in different schools, suggested to Pārśva to summon a council of eminent monks to obtain an authoritative disposition of the doctrine. There was some difference of opinion among them as to the venue of the council and they finally decided to hold it at the Kuṇḍalavana-vihāra in Kaśmīr.[37] Vasumitra was elected president with Aśvaghoṣa as the Vice-president. The members, five hundred in all 'composed 100,000 stanzas of *Upadeśa Śāstra* explanatory of the canonical *sutras*, 100,000 stanzas of *Vinaya-vibhāṣā-śastra* explanatory of the *vinaya* and 100,000 of *Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-śastra* explanatory of the Abhidharma. Kaniṣka is said to have caused these treatises to be written on copper plates and enclosed them in stone boxes which he deposited in a *stūpa* specially constructed for that purpose.

It is not possible to form a clear idea about the work accomplished at the Council. Some scholars think that the chief business of the Council was to collect canonical texts, and to prepare commentaries of different schools of Buddhism.[38]

Tradition seems to connect the rise of Māhānāna with Kaniṣka and with the Buddhist Council held during his reign.[39] The fact that this Council is recognised by the Mahānānists[40] is also taken as evidence on this point. But a close scrutiny of the available information regarding the Council as well as the Buddhist activities carried out by Kaniṣka shows that this tradition cannot be relied upon. It is a fact that Tārānātha observes that all kinds of Mahāyānist writing appeared at this time and that the Theravādins raised no objection. But he neither clearly states nor implies that Kaniṣka personally took any interest in promoting Mahāyāna teachings, or that any Mahāyāna treatises were composed at that Council. On the other hand, it is generally regarded that this Council was exclusively a council of the Sarvāstivādins of northern India and that the Mahāyānists did not take part in it.[41] It is apparent that after holding this Council the Sarvāstivādin school of Buddhism gained more importance than before.

Whatever the tradition is there is no reasonable ground to hold that Kaniṣka was responsible for the rise and rapid spread of Mahāyānism and that the Council held during his reign was a Mahāyāna Buddhist[42] Council. It is plausible to hold that he was more bent towards Sarvāstivāda teachings and this is established by the inscription on the relic-casket.

Of the numerous *stūpas* he is said to have built, the most famous is the one at Shah-ji-kī-Dheri near Peshāwar. From the accounts of the Chinese travellers of the fifth and seventh centuries it appears that it was one of the wonders at the time. This *stūpa* is said to have been 130 metres in height, resting upon a stone substructure 50 metres high, topped by an iron mast 10 metres high with gilded metal discs. It is assumed that the original form of the *stūpa* as it appeared in the days of Kaniṣka, looked quite different from the form that could be reconstructed from the ruins. It is also believed that it was rebuilt many times.[43]

The reliquary enshrined in the Kaniṣka-caitya is also worthy of note. The object is a round phyxis, made of an amalgum of precious metals. The lower hand of the drum consists of representation in relief of garland-bearing erotes and Kuṣāṇa sovereign, identified by scholars as Kaniṣka, between the divinities of the sun and moon; on the side of the lid is a flock of geese *(haṃsa)*. To the top of the cover are fastened free standing statuettes of the Buddha, flanked by Indra and Brahmā. The most interesting feature of the object is the Greek name of the maker, agesilas, the overseer of works at the Kaniṣka-caitya. The inscription found on the reliquary also states that it was made "for acceptance of the teachers of the Sarvāstivādin school" and this is cited as evidence to prove that Kaniska was an adherent of this school of Buddhism.[44]

35. Watters op. cit. pp. 270 f.
36. Quoted by C. Eliot, op.cit. p. 78, n. 4
37. There is yet another tradition which gives the venue of the council as Jalandhara.
38. See *Buddhistic Studies*, 1931 ed. B.C. Law, p. 71 cp. C. Eliot, op. cit. p. 80.
39. Ibid. pp. 71, 76; M G. Rawlinson, *India A Short Cultural History*, London 1954, p. 96
40. The Buddhist tradition of Ceylon does not recognise this council.
41. *Buddhistic Studies* p. 72
42. R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, London, 1953, p. 32.
43. *ASIAR*. 1908-9, pp. 38 ff.
44. Ibid. loc. cit.; Benjamin Rowland, op. cit. p. *JRAS*. 1909, p. 1058.

During Kaniṣka's reign his empire was enriched through trade carried on with countries outside India, specially with Rome and Asia Minor, and as such he had the necessary resources to patronise the arts. Many scholars believe that Gandhāra art attained its peak during his reign.[45] Tradition which credits Kaniṣka with having built many stūpas, also seems to support this contention. According to Benjamin Rowland "The Art of Gandhāra is, properly speaking, the official art of the Kushān emperor Kaniṣka and his successors[46] (see also, GANDHĀRA).

Like Asoka, Kaniṣka also helped missionary activities. It was during his reign that Buddhism spread and became firmly established in central and eastern Asia. There are no records of any missionaries sent by him. But it is accepted that under his patronage Buddhism greatly flourished and spread throughout his vast empire. One writer has observed that "there was ceaseless missionary activity throughout his vast empire which extended from Madhyadeśa in India to Central Asia. A truly integrated Asian culture came into existence at this time...'[47] Vincent Smith[48] observes that the legend regarding his death possibly may be founded on fact.

A statue of Kaniṣka was discovered by Tokritīla, in the village of Māt. In this headless statue the king is represented with his right hand resting on a mace and the left clamping the hilt of the sword. He is dressed in a tunic reaching down to the knees, and held round the loins by a girdle. He wears heavy boots with straps round the ankles. Though headless, an inscription found on it proves conclusively that it represents Kaniṣka.[49]

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S. K. Nanayakkara

KANJIN (687 A.C. - 763 A.C.), also referred to as Kanshin or Ganjin, was a Chinese monk (Chien-Chen) from Yangchou who came to Japan in 754 A.C. and founded the Ritsu *(vinaya)* school of Buddhism.

It appears that ever since the inception of the Buddhist Order in Japan Japanese monks seem to have been somewhat lax in disciplinary matters. To remedy this shortcoming emperor Shomu tried to invite an able teacher from China. For this purpose he in 738 A.C. sent out the two monks Eiei and Fusho to China. These two met Kanjin and invited him to Japan. But as the reigning Chinese emperor was not favourably disposed towards Buddhism Kanjin could not obtain imperial sanction for this journey. However, Kanjin being determined to make the trip secretly made several unsuccessful attempts to sail to Japan. It is said that on the fifth attempt he lost his sight. Yet, undaunted he tried once more and successfully reached Japan in April 754 A.C. He is said to have been accompanied by fourteen monks, three nuns and twenty-four lay male disciples. Kanjin and his followers are said to have brought along with them a number of *vinaya* commentaries and important texts of the Tendai School.

On his arrival in Japan Kanjin was ceremonially received by Shomu and a special monastery called Toshodaiji was built for his residence. At Kanjin's request a special Ordination Hall *(kaidān)*, the first of its kind in Japan, was built in the precincts of the Todaiji temple in Nara.

The establishment of the *kaidan* at Todaiji in Nara is a significant event in the history of Japanese Buddhism. At the first ordination ceremony itself over fourhundred are said to have taken part. Since the *kaidan* was at Nara all who wished to obtain ordination had to go there. Official permission was not granted to establish any *kaidan* outside Nara, and hence, schools of Buddhism that

45. But cp. *JRAS.* 1913, pp. 945 ff.
46. Benjamin Rowland, op. cit. p. 72.
47. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, ed. P. V. Bapat, pp. 199 f.
48. Vincent Smith, op. cit. p. 285.
49. *ASIAR.* 1911-12, p. 122, *Marg* XV, March 1912.

prevailed at Nara enjoyed an almost monopolistic influence over the ordination. This was finally put to an end only by the zealous efforts of Degyo Daishi (q.v.).

S. K. Nanayakkara

KANJUR (Kangyur): Tibetan Buddhist literature, which is mainly made up of translations into the Tibetan language of Sanskrit Buddhist texts and Buddhist literature in the Chinese language, consists broadly of two divisions the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*(q.v.). These two terms are not really Tibetan names for the two divisions of their religious literature, but terms coined by European scholars for their convenience. The Tibetan orthography is *bkaḥhgyur* (the translated command) for *Kanjur* and *bstan-ḥgyur* (the translated explanation) for *Tanjur*. Some European writers spell the words differently as *Kah-gyur, Kandjour, Bkahgyur* etc. The *Kanjur* contains works esteemed as canonical and this includes the *tantras*. The second consists of exegetical or commentarial literature and many treatises on such subjects as medicine, astronomy and grammer. Sir Charles Eliot *(Hinduism and Buddhism* Vol. III, p. 372) opines that the two divisions, together correspond roughly to the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* though the Tibetan works are more bulky. The Kanjur does not contain any of the Theravāda *Abhidhamma* works or the *Nikāyas* such as the *Dīgha Nikāya*, but some of the *suttas* occuring in the *Nikāyas* are incorporated in it as separate books. Sir Charles Eliot (op. cit. p. 373) further says: "The Tibetan scriptures reflect the late Buddhism of Magadha when the great books of the Hinayānist canon were neglected, though not wholly unknown and a new *tāntric* literature was flourishing exuberantly."

The *Kanjur* is made up of seven divisions: (1) The *Dulva* (q.v.) is the equivalent of the Theravāda and the Chinese *Vinaya*. It is mainly the Mūla-sarvāstivāda (q.v.) *Vinaya* which agrees with the Chinese translation of Kumārajīva and also with the Sanskrit *Prātimokṣa*; (2) *Ser-chin* corresponds to the *Prajñā Pāramitā* (q.v.) and Tibetans value it as their *Abhidhamma*. The *Prajñāpāramitā*, the Tibetans believe, was preached by the Buddha in his fifty first year and has been first collected by Venerable Kāsyapa. This section contains shorter and longer versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* seems to be the most popular of these *Prajñāpāramitā* versions; (3) *Phal-chen* corresponds to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (q.v.) with many subdivisions; (4) *Dkon-brtsegs* or *Ratnakūṭa* (q.v.) consisting of forty eight or forty five *sūtras* is similar to the corresponding section of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*; (5) *mDo* is equivalent to *Sūtra*. This section contains miscellaneous *sūtras* that cannot be generally categorised under subjects, as well as important Mahāyāna *Sūtras* as the *Lalitavistara* (q.v.) *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* (q.v.) and *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (q.v.). This section contains 270 works and of them about 90 are identical with works in the *Ching* division of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. It also contains several *sūtras* translated from the Pali; (6) *Myang-ḥdas* or *Nirvāna* which is a description of the passing away of the Buddha, forms a special section of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*; (7) *rGud* or *tantra* (q.v.) is fairly extensive consisting of twenty-two volumes containing about 300 treatises.*

KAṄKHĀ. See **DOUBT**

KAṄKHĀVITARAṆĪ, containing "comprehensive rulings on the *Vinaya* aimed at clearing doubts" *(kaṅkhāvitaraṇatthāya paripuṇṇa-vinicchayaṃ)* alternatively named as *Mātikaṭṭhakathā*, 'the commentary to the basic rules (of the *vinaya)* is *ācariya* Buddhaghosa's (5th Century A.C.) commentary on the text of the *Pātimokkha* as contained both in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas* of the Pali *Vinaya Piṭaka*. *Mātikā* as the basic text of the *Pātimokkha* as opposed to ancillary matters such as *padabhājanīya*, 'analysis (or definition) of terms' is mentioned in the text of the *Kaṅkhavataraṇī* (Dorothy Maskell *Kkhv*. ed. PTS. London, 1956, p. 95). It is not clear as to whether Buddhaghosa treated the *Pātimokkha* as an independent text even though the practical needs of the Order for the recital of the *pātimokkha* at the *uposathakamma* so demands it. It is now treated as an independent text. The *Kkhv*. deals with both the *bhikkhu* and *bhikkhunipātipmokkha*.

In the prologue to the work it is stated, that it was written at the request of a *thera* named Sona *(Kkhv.* p. 1). The work is remarkable for the restraint and mature judgement that characterise Buddhaghosa's style. While commenting on the precepts of the *Pātimokkha*, he has incidentally brought in much new informaton throwing light on the later development of the monastic life of the Buddhists (Law, B.C., *A History of Pali Literature,* Vol. 2, p. 409).

In the colophon which contains a summary, a kind of *uddāna* of the contents, Buddhaghosa declares most emphatically that there is not even a single word in the book which is not in conformity with the canon or the

*This note has been prepared in consultation with Sir Charles Elliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*

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commentaries of the Mahāvihāra (Hewavitarana Bequest Series, Vol. XXXX, p. 204), *GV.* pp. 59,69).

What gives to *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* its unique feature is the synopsis of the salient points of the exegesis at the conclusion of every rule of the *pātimokkha*, in the form of a recapitulation of the gist of each of the 227 pieces which in *Vinaya* proper go under the title of *dhamma* in the summaries. *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* does not comment only on the rules of the *Pātimokkha* as such but also on the *Pātimokkha* commentary, whenever opportunity offers. In doing so it remarks that it is done briefly and refers to *Samantapāsādikā* for detailed comment. Its relation to *Samantapāsādikā* is very close. There are more than a dozen lengthy parallel passages in common between the two *(Kkhv.* pp. X–XI).

This work according to Maskell (ibid) is a mine of information about civic and communal economies in the Buddhaghosa period in bewildering multitude and variety. Here belong descriptions of the building of huts and houses, preparation of soup and gruel, instruments, social formalities, dressing, begging meals *(bhikkhā)*, drinks and eatables, daily habits, sickness and medicines, bathing, utensils required in house, kitchen and field, most of them with special reference to *Sīhala* (Sinhalese). All these descriptions are characteristic of a communal life punctiliously observing the rules which control the daily routine of its members down to the minutest detail" (ibid. p. XI).

The *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 61) and *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa* Vimalasāra Thera, Colombo, 1929, p. 121?) mentions a commentary on the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* named *Vinayattha-mañjusā*, written by Buddhaghosa at the request of Sumedha.

I. Karunaratne

KAṄKHĀVITARAṆAVISUDDHI, purity achieved by dispelling doubts, the fourth of the seven stages of purity outlined in the *Rathavinītasutta (M.* I, 147 f.) and elaborated in the *Visuddhimagga* (Ch. XIX). It is founded on wisdom *(paññā)* as the base (*MA. SHB.* II, 131) and consists in the knowledge which, by grasping the causes and conditions, dispels all doubt about the complex of mind-and-matter *(nāma-rūpa)* with regard to its occurrence in the three periods of time the past, the present and the future and its continuity due to *karma. (Vism.* 513 ff.).

By this knowledge, one realises the truth of the origin of suffering *(samudaya-sacca: Vism.* 548). The other terms used with reference to this knowledge are *dhammaṭṭhiti-ñāṇa, yathābhūtañāṇa* and *sammādassana* (Vism. 518).

Kaṅkhavitaraṇavisuddhi, like other forms of *visuddhi*, is not an end in itself, it is only the means to the attainment of the next higher purity, called the *maggāmaggañāṇadassana-visuddhi (Kaṅkhāvitaraṇa-visuddhi yāvadeva maggāmaggañāṇadassanavisuddhatthā)* which, together with other six purities, constitutes the means to the final goal, i.e., the attainment of absolute freedom *(anupādā parinibbāna: M.* I, 149 f.). *See VISUDDHI).*

Upali Karunaratne

KANNON (var. Kwannon) is the name by which Avalokiteśvara (= Kuan-yin q.v.) is generally known in Japan. There are, however, numerous forms of Kannon, both as male and female, divinities which are distinguished from one another by prefixing descriptive epithets e.g. She Kannon, Ju-ichi-men Kannon, Koyasu Kannon etc.

Worship of Kannon may be co-eval with the introduction of Buddhism to Japan. However, the tradition is that Kannon worship was introduced during the reign of Suiko (593–628 A.C.). Even if this is accepted, the gap between the date of introduction of Buddhism and the date of introduction of Kannon-worship cannot be anything more than half a century. Ever since his introduction, Kannon as the personification of compassion, almost a god of mercy, has remained the most popular of all bodhisattvas in the Japanese Buddhist pantheon. All Japanese Buddhists hold Kannon in high esteem.

A legend concerning the introduction of Kannon-worship to Japan says that in the ninth month of Suiko's reign the ruler of Shiraki (a region in Korea) sent an ambassador of good-will to the Japanese court with a statue of Avalokitesvara as a gift. Shotoku, who was the prince-regent at the time, reverentially accepted the gift and ordered Hata-no-Kawakatsu to build a shrine for it. Subsequently, more shrines were built and more statues of Kannon enshrined in them. Shotoku is said to have become such a devotee of Kannon that he, when faced with grave problems connected with the affairs of state, used to shut himself up in one of these shrines particularly in the Yumedono or the Hall of Dreams (or Visions) in the Horyu-ji and pray to Kannon for guidance and help, and also meditates to gain peace of mind.

This particular statue of Kannon enshrined in the Yumedono, and hence called Yumedone Kannon or sometimes referred to as Guze Kannon, is considered by some to be a creation of Shotoku himself. Whoever the sculptor was, it undoubtly is a masterpiece of the early Asuka period. The statue which is 197 cms. in height is of camphor-wood and covered with gold leaf. It stands erect on a double petalled lotus pedestal, though when seen in

profile it appears to be somewhat curved. It holds with both hands the precious gem, perhaps the wish-granting-gem *(cintāmani)*, in front of its chest. It wears a crown of gilt-bronze and it is also adorned with a pointed, oval shaped halo decorated with patterns of woodbine and arching flames. Somewhat the over-tall and slender propertions give the figure an austere, superhuman appearance without, however, effacing the benign look from its face. On the whole, the statue seems to reveal influence of Korean style.

Early Korean influence on Japanese sculpture, particularly on Kannon statues is further evident from an equally famous statue of Kannon called the Kudara Kannon. This is posterior to Yumedone Kannon whose influence on it can be seen. The name Kudara (one of the three parincipal states of ancient Korea) itself is suggestive of Korean origin. In this statue made of wood, and 209 cms. in height, the body appears to be even slenderer than in the Yumedone statue. Yet, there is an apparent rounded and columnar shape, both in its limbs and the torso, which gives it a three dimensional effect not seen in the Yumedone statue. The thick coating of priming seems to produce a soft, warm and a more earthly expression in contrast to the cool and more austere expression seen in the Yumedone figure.

Thus, the early influences, both with regard to the belief and art connected with Kannon, appear to have flowed in the wake of the introduction of Buddhism to Japan from Korea. But subsequently the sphere of influence widened, and somewhere during the middle of the 7th century the Japanese monk called Dosho who went to China to study Buddhism under Hsuan-tsang (the founder of the Hosso school), himself an ardent devotee of Kuan-yin, seems to have brought along with him numerous statues of Kuan-yin, both male and female forms. This may have opened the door for Chinese beliefs regarding Kuan-yin to flow smoothly into Japan. Alice Getty *(The Gods of Northern Buddhism)* p. 91) by saying that Amoghavajra came to Japan and brought along with him Buddhist images attempts to credit him also with the popularization of Kannon worship in Japan. However, this idea is quite untenable for, there is no evidence to prove that Amoghavajra ever visited Japan.

In spite of its popularity, Kannon worship had not even by the end of the 8th century, become an independent cult. It is with the rise of Shingon and especially owing to syncretic methods adopted by Kukai (Kobo Daishi, q.v.) who returned from China and founded the Shingon sect in Japan that Kannon worship grew into an independent religious cult. Kukai attempted to popularise his new teaching by fusing it with local beliefs. With this end in view he proclaimed that the Shinto deities are mere manifestations of Buddhas, bodhisattvas and divinities of the Japanese Buddhist pantheon. Once this idea got firmly established in the minds of the masses they naturally tended to adopt Kannon, the most compassionate, merciful, wish-granting bodhisattva as their benefactor. As Kukai brought along with him Tantric teachings, it is very likely that he also brought into the country numerous forms of Kuan-yin associated with Tantrism. Thse new additions must have undoubtedly increased the popularity of Kannon worship and widened its range of influence.

Kannon, being polymorphic like his prototypes Avalokitesvara and Kuan-yin, appears in numerous forms adopted to suit the function he is expected to perform. Though all the 108 forms prevalent in Nepal and India are not found in Japan there are at least seven forms which have gained considerale popularity among the Japanese Buddhists. They are: She Kannon, Ju-ichimen Kannon, Senju Kannon, Puku-Kenjaku Kannon, Bato Kannon, Nyoi-rin Kannon and Jun-tei Kannon.

Out of these seven the Tendai sect excluded the Juntei Kannon while the Shingon omits the Puku-Kenjaku form. A group of thirty-three (or sometimes even thirty four) is made up of these seven. This group first came into being somewhere in the 8th century. Thirty three shrines in Kyoto and the neighbouring provinces were assigned to these forms. The monk Tokudo is considered to be the first person to have gone on pilgrimage to these shrines. Subsequently this practice fell into disuse until revived and reestablished by the Emperor Kavazan in the 10th century. Even at present, pilgrimages to these shrines form a part of the popular religion. Popularity gained by these shrines is seen from the establishment of similar sets of shrines in other provinces.

She Kannon: This is the simplest of all forms of Kannon, and appears to have been modelled on the Indian prototype Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara. Though details differ from period to period and from artist to artist, this form is, in general, represented as a graceful slim, youthful figure. The ears are usually long and lobed and the eyes are generally half-closed *Vitarka* and *varada* are the two *mudras* generally displayed by his hands. Often he is made to hold a lotus *(padma)* in his hand, and hence his Sanskrit epithet Padmapāṇi. In many representations the hair is drawn up in a mitre-shaped *uṣṇisa*. The normal attire is that of an Indian prince. But sometimes he may appear without any ornaments. Some statues of She Kannon, as the one in the To-in-do of Yakushi-ji, display influence of the Chinese T'and style which is derived from the Indian Gupta style. There are some statues which, according to Alice Getty (op. cit. p. 92), resemble more closely the Tibetan type than any of the other Japanese forms.

Ju-ishi-men Kannon: The chief feature that distuinguishes this form from Sho Kannon is the eleven heads,

whence the Sanskrit name *Ekādasamukha* (eleven-headed). In Japanese statues these heads, which are represented in miniature size, appear in the form of a crown. The arrangement of these heads is usually in two rows of three each with a row of five heads in between. The head of Amitābha usually protrudes from the *uṣnīṣa.* Ju-ichi-men Kannon usually had two arms and generally holds a vase with a lotus flower in the left hand while the right may be in *varada-mudrā* or may hold a rosary or a staff. There are some beautiful statues of this Kannon belonging to the early Heian period. One such is the 100 cms. high sandal-wood statue in the main hall of Hokke-ji. There are two other specimens, one in the Horyu-ji and the other in the Kogen-ji (= Togan-ji).

Sen-ju Kannon: This is the thousand-armed form of Kannon. He too, often wears the crown of eleven heads or sometimes a high crown without heads. Occasionally he is represented as wearing a low crown with a standing figure in the centure. His thousand arms are outstretched except for two pairs of which one pair, held at the breast is clasped together in the posture of worship while the other, brought together near the naval, is made to hold a bowl of ambrosia. The other pâir of outstretched hands is made to carry various symbols.

Puku-Kenjaku Kannon (var Puku-Kansaku Kannon = Skt. Amoghapāṣa): This is another form of Kannon and he is generally represented as having three eyes and six arms. Though he was not held in high esteem by the Shingon sect at one time, at present a more prominent position is assigned to him.

A typical representation of Fuku-Kenjaku Kannon, is the one found in the Hokke-do of Todai-ji at Nara. This is said to belong to the Tempyo era. In this he is represented as having one head, three eyes and six arms and stands on a lotus-pedestal. He wears an elaborately designed crown. The halo around him is simple but elegant. The two main hands are held in front of the breast in the posture of worship *(namaskāra-mudrā).* With the remaining hands he holds numerous symbols. There is another wooden statue of Puku-Kenjaku Kannon in the nan-en-do of the Kokufu-ji at Nara. This is said to have been made by Kokei in 1189 A.C. Here Puku-Kenjaku Kannon is represented as being seated cross-legged on a lotus pedestal. He has one head and six arms. The two main hands are in the *namaskāra-mudrā*, while the other hands are made to hold symbols, such as the staff. Though he wears an eloborately designed crown the upper-part of his body is bare. Besides these well-known forms he is sometimes presented as three-faced, each face with three eyes and as having eight or sometimes eighteen arms. In these representations he is made to wear the eleven sided crown which is normally worn by Ju-ichi-men Kannon; (see AMOGHAPĀSA).

Ba-to Kannon (= Sanskrit Hayagrīva): He is modelled on the Tibetan Hayagrīva. Though hideous in appearance, he is merciful by nature and is regared as the patron-god of horse-dealers. Perhaps this is why Ba-to Kannon is more popular in northern Japan where horses are raised. The Japanese artists seem to have modified the original Tibetan representation which had a human body terminating in a horee's head by giving the human body a human head surmounted by a small horse's head.

Ba-to Kannon is usually represented as being seated with legs locked on a lotus-pedestal. Sometimes, the right-knee is raised in the attitude of royal-ease *(mahārāja-līlā)* he may have one or three heads, the extra two heads being on either side of the central head. In his forehead is a third eye. He usually has eight arms and they carry symbols similar to those held by the Tibetan representation of Hayagrīva.

There is an eleventh century painting of Ba-to Kannon now preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In this the triple-headed, eight-armed hideous looking figure is painted in deep red. The horse's head is visible above the crown.

Nyo-i-rin Kannon (= Sanskrit, Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara): There are various representations of this **Kannon** of which the most common are those that were prevalent before and during the Nara period in which he is in a half cross-legged posture, and the one adopted after the Heian period is the one in which he is seated with the right knee raised and the left leg bent and resting horizontally *(hanka shiyui).* In this image in the latter posture he is usually represented as having six arms. The cheek is made to rest on his right hand, presenting a somewhat pensive mood. The mudras he adopts may vary from figure to figure, the most common one being the *varada-mudrā* displayed by his main left hand. With the other hands he holds his usual symbols, the wish-granting gem, the wheel, the lotus bud and the rosary. In paintings Nyo-i-rin Kannon is often represented as being seated on a rock eigher by the sea or at the water's edge. The Japanese refer to such representation as Suigetsu Kannon, Kannon reflected in the waters like the moon.

The wooden statue in the Kanshin-ji in Osaka is a clear illustration of Nyo-i-rin Kannon in this pose. This *hanka shiyui* pose adopted by Nyo-i-rin Kannon has led to a confusion between Nyo-i-rin Kannon and Miroku (Maitreya) who is also represented in a somewhat similar pose, but with two arms and less paraphenalia.

Jun-tei Kannon (Sanskrit, *cardi*): This is the only feminised form of Kannon among the group of seven referred to above. She is presented in various forms as two-arrmed, four-armed, six-armed, eight-armed and so on. Some are of opinion that, she is modelled on Durga,

the consort of Siva. But she has a vague resemblance to Hariti as well. She is occasionally presented as a hideous goddess; but usually appears in a benevolent form. She has a third eye and carries numerous symbols in her hands. The usual mudra adopted is the *padma-mudrā* (Jap. renge-no-in). She is represented as be'ng either seated or standing on a lotus-pedestal. Often she wears a crown and is dressed in flowing draperies. There is a Jun-tei Kannon statue made of wood, and belonging to the latter part of the 10th century enshrined in the Shin Yakushu-ji in Nara. It is a benevolent form with fourteen arms but without the third eye.

Koyasu Kannon: Besides the seven forms described above there is another female form popularly known as Koyasu Kannon, the Kannon of easy delivery. It is not quite certain when this form was first introduced to Japan. There is however, enough evidence to believe that she was worshipped at least from the eighth century. The lengendary account of the indtroduction of Koyasu Kannon worship to Japan traces its beginnings to the reign of Komyo (710–760 A.C.). It is said that Komyo, who was with child, prayed to the Shinto goddess Amaterasu for easy delivery. One night she is said to have dreamt of Avalokiteśvara, and when she awoke she found a small image of the bodhisattava lying beside her. It is said that she, after her easy delivery, enshrined this image in the Taisan-ji (Temple of Easy Delivery) in Kyoto. The popular belief jis that this temple was founded by Komyo herself who dedicated it to Koyasu Kannon. The legend also says that the empress caused the statue to be modelled after her own image.

Whether one accepts this legendary account or not, it is quite clear that soon after the introduction of th belief in Koyasu Kannon, it became popupar all over Japan, specially through the itinerant monks (roku-bu) who, according Peri (Hariti, la Mirede-Demons, *Bulletin de l' Ecole francoise d' Extreme-Orient*, Vol. XVII, 1917), carried portable altars on their backs in which were enshrined small images of Koyasu Kannon.

Koyasu Kannon is undoubtedly the Japanese version of the Chinese Sung-tzu Kuan-yin who is modelled after Hariti. (See also Kuan-yin). After the Tendai sect first introduced into Japan the worship of Hariti (= Kishimo-jin, i.e. the demoniacal form of Hariti) the way was paved for the rapid spread of her benevolent aspect in the form of Koyasu Kannon.

Besides the Jun-tei Kannon and Koyasu Kannon forms there are numerous other female forms of Kannon. The Butsuzo (a Japanese manual of Buddhist divinities) refers to a group of thirty-three feminised forms. All these forms display effeminate characteristics and are repre-sented as wearing flowing draperies, and elaborate head-dressess. Several of these forms suggest, either by their names or by some distinctive features they display, their connection to either Kuan-yin or the legendary Chinese primes Miao-sha.

Of these forms the most well known is the Byaku-i Kannon the white-robed Kannon which was perhaps first brought to Japan from China in the 15th century.

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S. K. Nanayakkara

KANTHAKA: The horse on which Prince Siddhartha *(bodhisatta)* fled from the palace to renounce worldly life at the age of twenty nine. Kanthaka was a majestic horse, pure white in colour like a clean conch-shell and well-built. It was eighteen cubits long from neck to tail and proportionately broad. When Kanthaka was saddled for the journey he neighed loud for joy on realising the importance of the bodhisatta's impending renunciation and the gods muffled the sound of the neighing so that no one would be awakened. Seating the bodhisatta on its back, with Channa in attendance, Kanthaka started for the journey, but the place gates were thoroughly locked. Knowing its own prowess Kanthaka was ready to leap over the high protective ramparts, but gods slowly opened the main gate without disturbing the sleeping security personnel and Kanthaka sped through the gate, in leaps and bounds. Having gone out of the boundaries of Kapilavatthu, the bodhisatta stopped the horse and turned back to have a departing look at the city. Kanthaka darted through a distance of thirty leagues and by dawn reached the river Anoma, and in one leap crossed over to the further shore. The Bodhisatta alighted from the horse, removed all his princely ornaments and handed them to Channa requesting him to return to the palace with Kanthaka. On hearing the Bodhisatta's words Kanthaka was deeply sad-stricken and died then and there, and was reborn as Kanthaka devaputta in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. (*J.* I. 62–5; *Mhvu.* II, 159, 165, 189; *VbhA.* 34 ff.; s.v. *DPPN.).*

KAPILAVATTHU (Var. Kapilavastu), an ancient city near the Himālaya Mountain in the sub-continent of

India, the capital of the country of Sakyas (q.v.) in the Kosala Mahājanapada (*Sn. vv.* 422, 423). A legendary account attributes the founding of Kapilavatthu to the sons of a king named Okkāka, on the site of the hermitage of a sage by name Kapila.

In a former birth the *bodhisatta* was a sage named Kapila. During this time several sons of King Okkāka were banished from the kingdom and they withdrew to a thick forest where they happened to meet sage Kapila. Kapila was versed in the science of *bhūmicāla* and was therefore acquainted with the qualities associated with various sites. Kapila advised the princes to found a settlement on the site of his hermitage as he foresaw that in the distant future that settlement would come to fame as the capital of Jambudīpa. The princes followed the sage's advice and named that settlement Kapilavatthu (*DA.* I, 259–60).

The *bodhisatta* in his penultimate birth in saṃsāra, as a deity in the Tusita Devaloka, reflected regarding the most suitable country for him to be born next and he decided to be born in Kapilavatthu, a country in the Majjhadesa in Jambudīpa, where former Buddhas were born (*J.* I, 49).

During the sixth century B.C. Suddhodana was king of Sākyas with Kapilavatthu as the capital city. Mahāmāyādevi was the queen of Suddhodhana and the *bodhisatta* was born to them as son and was named prince Siddhattha.

In the city of Kapilavattu prince Siddhattha grew up amidst great luxury. King Suddhodana built for his son, three magnificent palaces Ramya, Suramya and Subha to suit the different seasons. At the age of sixteen Siddhattha married princess Yasodhara, the daughter of Suppabuddha,another Sākyan chief and lived in Kapilavatthu until the day he renounced worldly life at the age of twenty-nine. Security arrangements were strong in Kapilavatthu with a high wall round the city and with a strong iron gate, but prince Siddhattha, riding on his favourite horse Kanthaka, with Channa in attendance, had no difficulty in leaving the city of Kapilavatthu unobserved by his people, as the gods opened the gates for him to leave the city. Having reached the river Anomā which was thirty leaques *(yojana)* away from Kapilavatthu, prince Siddhattha handed over all his royal garments and ornaments to Channa and requested him to go back to Kapilavatthu with the horse Kanthaka, (*J.* [illegible]).

An year after attaining Enlightenment the Buddha, with a following of twenty thousand monks, went from Rājagaha to Kapilavatthu to visit his ancestral home. Having reached Kapilavatthu the Buddha, with his alms bowl in hand, went from house to house in the city to collect alms food. Horrified by this sight Suddhodana went up to the Buddha and requested him not to bring disgrace to him and his family by begging for food from house to house. The Buddha explained to Suddhodana that he was only following a custom followed by all Buddhas and Suddhodana became a stream-entrant *(sotāpanna)*.

Suddhodana invited the Buddha to visit the palace the following day, and after the meal there the Buddha preached to many women of the palace with the exception of Yasodharā who did not come to see him. Buddha visited Yasodharā, subsequently, in her dwelling and preached to her. Several days later Nanda, half brother of Siddhattha Gotama, and Rahula, Siddhattha Gotama's son, were ordained. It is also said that during this visit of Buddha to Kapilavatthu eighty thousand Sākyas joined the Buddhist Order (*J.* I, 87 ff.).

The Buddha visited Kapilavatthu several times, subsequently and two of them are considered specially significant. Once the Sākyans of Kapilavatthu were at loggerheads with Kolians regarding the sharing of water of River Rohinī. The dispute developed to such an extent that the two parties assembled their armies on either side of the river, to fight one another. The Buddha made his appearance between the two belligerent parties in the nick of time, preached to them and convinced them of the folly of destroying human lives for the sake of a little water and thus brought about a peaceful settlement of the problem (*J.* V. 412 ff.).

The second visit of significance of the Buddha to Kapilavatthu was when Viḍūḍabha, a prince from the adjoining kingdom, came to invade Kapilavatthu to avenge the Sākyans for an insult done to him. The Buddha twice intervened in time and prevented Viḍūḍabha, from massacring the Sākyans, but on a third occasion Viḍūḍabha over-ran Kapilavatthu and killed many Sākyans (*J.* IV. 152). Buddha did not visit Kapilavatthu after this incident. The massacre of the Sākyans and the destruction of their city must have taken place towards the end of the Buddha's life, for no more is recorded in literary sources about Kapilavatthu after this incident.

Vincent A. Smith (*ERE.* Vol. VII, p. 660) writing about Kapilavatthu says that after the destruction of the city by Viḍūḍabha, Kapilavatthu passed almost out of existence, and it is certain that the first authentic record of the site at the beginning of the 5th century A.C. represents the town and its neighbourhood as a wilderness nearly uninhabited.

In the third century B.C. Emperor Asoka, under the guidance of his preceptor Upagupta, is said to have visited the sites associated with the life of the Buddha.

Asoka visited Lumbini (now Rumindei) which was supposed to have been in the outskirts of Kapilavatthu and erected there an inscribed pillar in memory of his visit and this pillar is to be seen there even today. He is said to have next visited Kapilavatthu and erected a similar pillar, there too. Vincent A. Smith mentions (*ERE*. Vol. VIII, p. 660) that this pillar now lies by the side of the Nigali tank, which is not the original site where it was erected and the insription on this pillar does not mention Kapilavatthu. "The earliest definite description of the town Kapilavatthu and the surrounding country," says Vincent A. Smith, "is that given by the first of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien who was shown round the reputed holy places at the beginning of the 5th century A.C.

W. G. Weeraratne

KAPPA. See **KALPA**

KARLI, a rock-cut Buddhist shrine in western India which marks a turning point in the evolution of rock-cut *Caityagṛha* architecture. Karli along with Bedsa have been assigned to the final phase of development of Buddhist rock-cut shrines in western India belonging to the Hīnayāna tradition in contradistinction to the later sophisticated rock-cut sanctuaries founded by the patrons of Mahāyāna Buddhism at such places like Ajanta, Ellora etc.

The *Caityagṛha* at Karli like other western Indian rock-cut *caitya* halls and *vihāras* of Buddhists, is situated in the Western Ghats.

The original name of the site by which the sanctuary, too, was named in the past was 'Veturaka' (Vaturaka) according to several donatory lithic records discovered at the site *Arch. survey of Western India* Vol. IV, p. 101). These records also prove that the early benefactors of this shrine include the royalty of the Śaka Satrapas as well as the *Sātavāhanas*. These records again bear evidence on palaeographic grounds that the Karli monastic establishment was in existence during the early centuries of the present era. Although the sanctuary would have had unpresentious beginnings, its development in subsequent centuries had culminated in the creation of one of the most elaborate massive rock-cut Buddhist *Caityagṛhas*.

Karli is situated not very far from Pune and is about 50 miles from the city of Bombay. Other Buddhist rock-cut shrines, Bhaja, Bedsa and Kondane which are in the same locality ar situated forming with it a triangle. The main attraction at Karli is the exquisitely artistic *Caityagṛha*, which, according to many antiquarians is the finest and the loveliest among all *Caityagṛha* type of architecture in the whole of western India.

The hall which is the *garbha* (naos) proper is entered through a vestibule *(antarālaya)*, with a massive facade. Two titanic monoliths (one has completely disappeared now) with addorsed lions on their abaci had once stood in front of vestibule. It is believed that the lions had borne a stone wheel (the *dharmacakra)* originally. Hindus who have appropriated the Karli site in the past few centuries have built a fane for the goddess Durga on the very place where once stood the great lithic column on the left side of the *Caityagṛha*. This Durgālaya has reduced the original grandeur of the Buddhist shrine as it appeared from the outside.

These massive pillars surmounted with addorsed lions on a companiform capital reminds one of the huge lithic columns erected by Asoka at various sites in his empire to commemorate Buddhist events. The erection of such massive pillars in front of a temple could be traced back to very early times.

Behind the two lion columns was the vestibule to the hall, the front wall of which was formed by a rock-cut screen having a triple entrance below and pillared elerestorey above (S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India*, London 1962, p. 1, 8). On the space between these upper and lower openings, corresponding in some respects to a triforium, numerous mortice holes may be seen for the attachment of a (minstrel's) gallery of wood which extended right across the front. The wooden addition has completely perished but it was an important feature in the design of the facade and would improve its effect. Access to this hanging gallery was obtained by means of a stairway at the back of a lion column on the left side. Passing through this, one enters the highly decorated vestibule which lays open the great Bo leaf shaped (often called horse-shoe shaped) archway entrance to the inner shrine (naos).

It is the inside of the *Caityagṛha* that still emanates the mesmeric captivation it had produced on the votaries who had gathered when the site was a place of lively pilgrimage more than a millennium ago. It is this part of the shrine that still calls for the admiration of the visitor both the layman and antiquary.

The terraced tiers of the walls of the vestibule provide an imaginary storeyed building with innumerable windows and doorways with the usual horse-shoe archway like tympanum. The doorway proper to the *Caityagṛha* (naos), too, is of similar design and is flanked on either side by sculptured figures of donor couples, probably those of the very patrons who commissioned the construction of the major part of the shrine. The two side aisles,

too, have been provided with an arched doorway each, which though similar in design to the main entrance, yet is smaller than it. The sculptures in the verandah or vestibule *(antarālaya)* provide *tableaux vivants* of Mahāyāna interpolations on original non-religious relievo carvings of the early Hīnayāna phase.

The panel of elephant frieze in the first tier (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Art of India and Indonesia*, Pl. X. fig. 35) which has its counterpart at the later Hindu shrine, the famous Kailāsa at Ellora is reminiscent of an architectural device adopted in ancient Sri Lanka.

The interior consists of a nave and an apse or semi-dome round which the aisle is carried. The general dimensions of the interior are 124 ft. 3 inches from the entrance to the back-wall, by 45 ft. 6 inches in width. The height of the shrine is only 46 ft. from the floor to the apex. Fifteen pillars on each side separated the nave from the aisles. These pillars are quite erect n position unlike those at Bhaja or Kondane which show an inward rake, a sign of closeness to wooden prototypes, hence also of greater antiquity. Thus the Karli interior provides evidence of another step forward in rock-cut architecture of the Buddhists.

These pillars on either side of the nave (30 in all) are shown as the octogonal shafts that stand on an ornamental base in the form of a pot. The shafts are crowned by a companifom capital on which kneel two elephants each bearing two figures, generally a man and a woman, but sometimes two females, all well executed. The male and female riders on elephant back wear resplendent head dresses and are loaded with a wealth of jewellery. On the reverse side of these groups, within the side aisles, they are also richly carved, but here the horses take the place of the elephants, the horses having originally been decked with metal trappings and the elephants provided with silver or ivory tusks. The seven pillars at the apsidel end behind the stūpa are plain octagonal shafts without either base or capital. The sculptures on the capitals supply the place usually occupied by frieze and cornice in early Greek architecture. Above this spreading abscus of sculptured figures springs the roof, semicircular in general section.

The arched vault of the roof is defined by the narrow projecting ribs or wind-braces, not carved out of the rock, but fashioned out of separate pieces of wood attached to the surface by means of plugs or socketed into grooves. These braces are wide flat planks with a curved outline approximating its shape of an inverted ships hull. At the apsidal end they converge to a centre as do the ribs of a Gothic vault.

Burgess and Fergusson observe that the type of roof is not a copy of the masonry arch, but of some of timber construction which we cannot now very well understand. Under the semi-dome of the apse stand the object of worship in the shrine, that is the *stūpa* which is of plain, yet dignified, composition. The drum is composed of two tiers in diminishing order similar to the *pradakṣināpatha* of the early Sinhalese *stūpa* architecture.

The hemispherical dome is plain and elegantly simple similar to that at Bedsa, Bhaja and Kondane. The *stūpa* is surmounted by a massive *harmikā* or finial decorated with a rail pattern in low relief resembling an inverted pyramid and high up over the whole stands the large wooden *chatra* carved in the pattern of a lotus in full bloom. The petrified remains of soot on the *chattra* and on the drum of the *stūpa* is proof of offering incense and lamps by the votaries. The device adopted through rock-cut architecture to illuminate the interior is the sun window (often referred to as the *caitya* window or the house-shoe window). The interior owes much of its appearance to the position and the treatment of this feature which alone controls the dim rays of sunlight that are filtered through the wooden ribs of this mullioned window to be further distributed into the various parts inside, the nave, aisle and the apse, thus producing a lively effect on the elegantly carved figure sculptures of the abaci. The Karli complex also is endowed with several simple rock-cut chambers of modest design with cells that have been used primarily as the living quarters of the resident monks.

The Hīnayāna phase of rock-cut architecture seems to have come to an end with the great effort at Karli, despite the fact that monastic cells for the still increasing communities of monks continued to be added at such sites like Karli, although no more *caityagṛhas* were excavated for some time.

A. D. T. E. Perera

KARMA. See KAMMA

KARMĀVARAṆA (obstruction due to past *karma* (*Mhvy.* 845, 1383; *Sikṣ.* 68). The term *āvaraṇa* in this compound word is used very often in a sense synonymous with the term *nīvaraṇa* which is a technical term used in Buddhist ethical teachings to mean a mental hindrance to the development and purification of the individual. The standard set of five such hindrances known as *pañca-nīvaraṇa* is well-known in Buddhist ethics (See NĪVA-RAṆA).

It seems that the two terms *āvaraṇa* and *nīvaraṇa* were indiscriminately used as synonyms in this sense at the early stages (e.g. *D.* I, 246; *S.* V, 93 ff.; *Nd.* II, section 379; *Divy. BST.* p. 238 etc.) and gradually the term *nīvaraṇa* got itself established as the general technical term.

In addition to the sense understood in this five fold group the term āvaraṇa has been used in a somewhat different semantic nuance in a similar three-fold combination as *kammāvaraṇa, kilesāvaraṇa* and *vipākāvaraṇa.* as this three-fold combination occurs in several places in Pali Buddhist writings (*Vibh.* p. 341; *Vism.* p. 177; *AA.* III, p. 413) it is better and convenient to treat the three terms together as a group.

Thus at *Vibh.* p. 341, in an explanation of the term *abhabba* meaning those who cannot make the grade in Buddhist spiritual development owing to intellectual backwardness, it is said that such beings who are obstructed by these three *āvaraṇas* cannot enter the path of deliverance because they are devoid of confidence *(assaddha)* have no wish for betterment *(acchanda)* and are dull-witted *(duppañña)*, thereby disqualifying themselves to "enter the immutable rightness of good states" *(abhabbā niyamaṃ okkamituṃ kusalesu dhammesu sammattam.* loc. cit.)

This shows that the use of the term *āvaraṇa* in this context is deeper in meaning than the use of *nīvaraṇa* in the five-fold group mentioned above.

It is doctrinally important that the *Aṅguttara* commentary *(AA.* III, p. 413) explains the term *kammāvaraṇa* as the karmic obstruction to spiritual development of those who have committed the five heinous crimes *(pañca ānantariyakammāni).* This refers to the five-fold group of crimes consisting of patricide, matricide, killing of an arahant, wounding a Buddha and causing a schism in the Order of monks.

The same commentary explains *kilesāvaraṇa* as the obstruction confronting those who are spiritually misled by the wrong views of fixed destiny *(niyata-micchādiṭṭhi).* These refer to the threefold group of wrong views consisting of the fatalistic view of the non causal nature of existence *(ahetuka-diṭṭhi)*, of inefficacy of volitional action *(akiriya-diṭṭhi)* and nihilism *(natthika-diṭṭhi).*

The term *vipākāvaraṇa* in this three-fold group refers to the obstruction faced by those born with bad resultant kamma *(akusala-vipāka-paṭisandhi)* or those born without root conditions *(ahetuka-paṭisandhi).* For details see PAṬISANDHI.

This shows that whereas the term *nīvaraṇa* refers to the psycho-ethical hindrances one has to face and overcome in the course of one's efforts to achieve full concentration *(samādhi)*, the term *āvaraṇa* conveys a subtler nuance in meaning that it refers to a more powerful obstruction of the path to deliverance in any one of these three ways.

The *Milindapañha (Miln.* pp. 152-154) informs us that those who are subject to the *āvaraṇas* of *kamma* and *kilesa* are faithless and hence no safety-rune *(paritta)* would afford protection to them.

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

KARUṆĀ is one of the four qualities of character significant of a human being who has attained enfranchisement of heart *(cetovimutti)* in the four sentiments, viz. *mettā, karuṇā, muditā,* and *upekkhā.* The four sentiments are collectively designated as *brahmavihāra* (q.v.). *Mettā* is loving kindness or unbounded friendship, i.e. the ability of a person to consider all beings as friends and love them, without selfish motives, indiscriminately and wish for the welfare and happiness of all. *Mettā* is defined as 'the desire of bringing (to one's fellow men) that which is welfare and good'*(hitasukha-upanayana-kāmatā).* When one has in him unbounded friendship for all beings, he naturally becomes moved when he sees beings in adverse circumstances. *Karuṇā* is thus defined as 'pity and sympathy that arises in good' human beings when they see others in adverse circumstances' *(para-dukkhe sati sādhūnaṃ hadayakampanaṃ karotīti karuṇā).* It is defined in another context as 'the desire of removing bane and sorrow from one's fellow men' *(ahita-dukkha apanayana kāmatā).* Thus we see that *karuṇā* is a direct result of *mettā.*

Mettā and *Karuṇā* can arise in a person when he has dispelled the two roots of evil *(akusala mūla)* namely, selfish desire *(rāga)* and hatred *(dosa)*, which are the outcome of ignorance *(moha)*, the third root cause of evil.

The Buddha as well as *arahants* (the perfected beings) have in them these two sublime qualities and the Buddha has been described as the 'leader possessed of great compassion' *(mahākāruṇiko nātho - PvA.* p. 1; *VvA.* p. 1). It is said that the Buddha gave up the opportunity he had of putting an end to *saṃsāric* ills by becoming an arahant at the feet of Dīpaṅkara Buddha and resolved to fulfil the perfections *(pāramī)* in *saṃsāra* so that he could become a Buddha to save many others from *saṃsāric* ills (*J.* 1, 15). The Buddha during his forty five years of missionary service, each day in the very early hours in the morning, entered into a trance called *mahākaruṇā samāpatti (PvA* 61) to see who deserved his special attention that day and it is said that the Buddha travelled long distances to help out such people.

The concept of *karuṇā* was dominant among the members of the Buddhist Order of bhikkhus from its very

ception. As soon as the Buddha gathered around him sixty disciples, he sent them in all directions requesting them to deliver to the people the sublime message of the Buddha so that they (the people) may tread the path of delivarance *(ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika magga)* to minimise their suffering and increase happiness in this life, as well as to ensure complete emancipation from *saṃsāric* ills. Working for the welfare and happiness of beings *(paratthacariyā)* has been part and parcel of the life of a *bhikkhu* and it is seen that even several centuries after the demise of the Buddha *arahants* of the calibre of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā coming all the way from India to Sri Lanka to educate and guide the Sri Lankan people in the path to liberation.

As time passed by and with the emergence of Mahāyāna, Mahāyānists considered the goal of arahantship as selfcentred and narrow as, they thought, disciples worked only for their individual emancipation with no concern for the great mass of suffering beings. Mahāyāna put forth the twin concepts of *bodhisattva* and *bodhicitta* to counter this trend. All beings, according to Mahāyāna, are endowed with the potentiality of developing themselves to be Buddhas and hence the goal of all disciples should be to become Buddhas and not *arahants*. The thought to become a Buddha has to be well implanted and nurtured in all human beings and human beings should dedicate themselves, as potential Buddhas (bodhisattvas), to work for the emancipation of as many beings as possible. Thus we see in Mahāyāna texts like the *Mahāvyutpatti* lists of many past Buddhas as well as bodhisattvas. In the Mahāyāna the bodhisattvas are a class of beings who have dedicated themselves through *karuṇā* for the services of other beings and in this regard they are ever ready to make any personal sacrifice and are ready to undergo any hardship or suffering in order to relieve another being from agony and distress. A good example that can be siteḋ in this regard comes in the *Vyāghrīparivarta* of the *Swarṇabhāsottama Sūtra*, where it is graphically described how a bodhisattva made sacrifice of his own-self to a hungry tigress in order to save that tigress and her starving cubs from imminent death.

The concept of *karuṇā* has been developed to its extreme in the personality of the bodhisattva *Avalokiteś-vara* (q.v.) who has postponed attaining Buddhahood indefinitely in order to remain in *saṃsāra* to save beings from saṃsāric ills *(Ency. Bsm.* Vol. II, pp. 407 ff.).

W. G. Weeraratne

KASIṆA, a Pali term derived, from the Sanskrit *kṛtsna* means all, 'entirety', 'whole' or 'complete'. While this original meaning is preserved *(sakalatthena kasiṇam*, *kasiṇa* is so called in the sense of entirety: *DA.* III, 1047; *MA.* III, 260; *Vism.* 121), the word *kasiṇa* along with its Sanskrit equivalent *kṛtsna* is exclusively used in Buddhist literature (*D.* III, 268, 290; *M.* II, 14–15; *Ps.* I, 6, 49, 95, 143, 149; *J.* I, 313, III, 519; 89 ff; *Abhs.* 41; *Abhvt.* 4, 90, 95; *Mvyut.* p. 26; *Gvyu.* 523; *Divy.* 180 etc.) in its applied meaning which refers to objects used in meditation as aids to produce and develop concentration of mind *(samādhi)* and thereby attain absorption *(jhāna)*. It is a name for one of the seven groups of objects of meditation called 'working grounds for meditation' or topics of meditation *(kammaṭṭhāna* q.v.).

There are three lists of such aids or *kasiṇa* given in Buddhist texts. The one that can be considered the earliest occurs in the *suttas (D.* III, 268, 290; *M.* II, 14–15). This list is reproduced in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (I, 6, 95), the *Nettippakaraṇa* (89), and the *Mahāvyutpatti (BB.* XIII, p. 26). It consists of the following ten *kasiṇa*: the four gross elements, *(mahābhūta)* namely, earth *(paṭhavī)*, water *(āpo)*, fire *(tejo)*, and air *(vāyo)*; four of colour, namely, blue *(nīla)*, yellow *(pīta)*, red *(lohita)* and white *(odāta)* plus space *(ākāsa)* and consciousness *(viññāṇa)*. The second list, to be found in the *Abhidhamma*, has only the first eight *kasiṇa* of the above list; the last two *ākāsa* and *viññāṇa*, are omitted there (*Dhs.* 202, 203). This list is found reproduced also in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (pp. 49, 143–4; 149–50). The third list which could be considered the youngest is found in the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 89) and consists of ten *kasiṇas*. The first eight *kasiṇa* of this list are the same as those of the first two lists already given; but, in place of *ākāsa* and *viññāṇa* of the sutta lists, we find here *āloka* and *paricchinnākāsa* as the ninth and tenth *kasiṇa*. The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* which follows the *Visuddhimagga* has *ākāsa* as the ninth and *āloka* as the tenth (*Abhs.* 41).

In all the three lists unanimity prevails with regard to the first eight *kasiṇa*. While one list omits the last two, another list introduces a new *kasiṇa* under the name of *āloka; ākāsa* of the sutta list and *paricchinnākāsa* of the *Visuddhimagga* list being one and the same.

Thus, there are eleven *kasiṇa* in all; four of the gross elements, four of colour, *ākasa*, *āloka* and *viññāṇa*. The *Path of Freedom*, in fact, gives these eleven *kasiṇa* and explains them in detail (pp. 63–130). But in the commentaries to the *suttas* where *viññāṇa* occurs as a *kasiṇa* it is said *viññāṇa* in *viññāṇakāsina* is the consciousness produced in the process of meditation on *ākāsakasiṇa* (*DA.* III, 1048, *MA.* III, 261). If, in the light of this commentarial explanation, *viññāṇakasiṇa* is not counted as a separate one but only as a stage in the development of the *ākāsakasiṇa*, then the number of *kasiṇa* remains at ten; the first eight *kasiṇa* plus *āloka* and *ākāsa*. And this is the list which Buddhaghosa gives and explains in great

detail. But, in that case, it should be remembered that the *sutta* list has only nine *kasiṇa*.

However, it is apparent from the above that there prevailed some confusion with regard to the last two *kasiṇa*. The *Nettippakaraṇa* which follows the *sutta* list says that the first eight *kasiṇa*, which are identical in all lists, are capable of producing concentration of mind *(samādhi)*, while the last two produce insight *(vipassanā)*. The *Visuddhimagga* which differs in this matter describes all the ten *kasiṇa* as producing concentration of mind. But at the same time, it should be pointed out that Buddhaghosa, the author of the *Visuddhimagga*, leaves out the last two *kasiṇa* and takes only the first eight in his discussion of the methods by which the mastary over *kasiṇa* practices, and the attainment of absorption are achieved *(Vism.* 314 ff.).

There are certain principles that guide one in the practice of meditation. These principles, which involve mental and physical environment, apply to *kasiṇa* practices as well. Having attended to the preliminary preparation of the mind, the monk who intends practising *kasiṇa* chooses a time of day that is most suitable for the purpose, a time when he may not be interrupted, a time when it is quiet, a time when the process of digestion is completed, when he is in good health and has no physical ailments, and the body is in comfort, and the weather is neither too hot nor cold, and when there are no storms nor lightening. He also chooses a place which is suitable for his meditation, a place which is free from interruptions such as the barking of dogs, irritation of flies or any other kind of irritation likely to interfere with his concentration of mind. He then assumes a position which is most suitable for the practice of meditation. He sits erect, with his legs crossed, the arms crossed on his lap. The spine is kept quite upright and the head is not moved in any direction, but is kept with the eyes gazing in one particular direction necessary for the particular kind of meditation choosen (*Vism.* pp. 96 ff.)

It is of prime importance that a beginner should select an object of meditation suitable for his temperament *(cariyā* or *carita)*. The four colour *kasiṇa* are suitable for those of malevolent temperament *(dosa-carita)*; the other *kasiṇa* are suitable for all *(Vism.* pp. 92–3; *Abhs.* p. 41; *Abhvt.* p. 90).

In the earth-device *(paṭhavi-kasiṇa)*, a disk one span and four inches in diameter moulded of earth or clay which is not of any of the four colours, blue, yellow, red and white is placed upon a low frame. This is called *kasiṇamaṇḍala*. Seated at a suitable distance, the monk must fix his eyes upon the disk and concentrate his mind upon the idea of the element of earth, inwardly repeating its name, i.e., earth *(paṭhavī)*. He must, at the same time, review the dangers in sense-desires and arouse longing for escape from sense-desires, and for the renunciation of all suffering. He should arouse joy of happiness by recollecting on the special qualities of the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha (*Vism.* 100–101). In the water-device *(āpo-kasiṇa)* the object thus contemplated on is a bowl or vessel full of water; in the fire device *(tejo-kasiṇa)* fire seen through a hole made in a rush mat, or a place of leather or a cloth placed at a suitable distance between the fire and himself; and in the air-device *(vāyo-kasiṇa)*, some visible object like tops of trees and ends of hair being moved to and fro by the wind, or wind itself strikes a part of his body after entering by a window or some other opening.

In the four colour-devices *(vaṇṇa-kasiṇa)* a circle painted on a wall, a piece of cloth or some flowers of the selected colour may be used as the object. In the light-device *(āloka-kasiṇa)* the object is a circle of light thrown upon a wall through a hole in the roof; and in the limited space-device *(paricchinnākāsa-kasiṇa)*, a portion of sky, seen through a hole in the roof of a hut, will serve as the object (*Vism.* 100–144). In the consciousness-device *(viññāṇa-kasiṇa)* which is omitted in the *Visuddhimagga*, the object contempleted is the consciousness produced in the process of the practice of the space-device (*Ākāsa-kasiṇa*, *DA.* III, 1048; *MA.* II, 361). For further details see under different *kasiṇas*.

The object *(kasiṇa-maṇḍala)*, thus selected and meditated upon, is termed 'the mark for preparation' or 'the preparatory image' *(parikamma-nimitta)*. The beginner must continue to contemplate on it until it is depicted to the mind as an image which is an exact copy of the original with all its flaws and is represented to the mind as a vivid reality, as if it were seen by the eye. Now he perceives it even when his eyes are closed. This mental reflex is termed 'the mark for upholding' or 'the acquired image' *(uggaha-nimitta)*.

The concentration of thought practised on these two classes of marks *(nimitta)*, percept and image, is termed preliminary concentrtion *(parikammsamādhi)*. By this preliminary concentration the image is divested of its reality and its flaws, and becomes a sublimated copy. This after-image which can no longer be depicted as a concrete individual object, is now termed 'the mark equivalent', or 'the counter-image' *(paṭibhāga-nimitta)*.

On realisation of this last class of *nimitta*, the five hindrances to progress *(nīvaraṇa)* are inhibited whereupon the preliminary concentration develops into 'intermediate' or 'neighbourhood' concentration *(upacāra-samādhi)*.

While still perceiving in the concentration on the subject, i.e., the mark-equivalent *(paṭibhāga-nimitta)*, one finally reaches the full concentration of the mind

which is termed absorption *(jhāna; Vism.* 96 ff.), which is fourfold. The manner in which this fourfold absorption of the mind is attained, and also the nature of these attainments are described in great detail in the *Visuddhimagga* (pp. 121–37. In all these attainments, the object *(ārammaṇa)* used as an aid to achieve concentration of the mind is one of the ten *kasiṇa*.

Buddhaghosa as an exponent of *Abhidhamma (Ābhidhammika)*, explains this attainment of mental absorption in terms of a thought-process *(citta-vīthi)*. He takes a thought-process consisting of six or seven thought-moments *(cittakkhaṇa)* the first of which is the arrest of the sub-consciousness *(bhavaṅgupaccheda)*. It is followed by the next moment which is termed repersentative cognition *(mano-dvārāvajjana)*. The next four or five moments are those of apperception *(javana)*, the last of which transcends the sensuous sphere *(kāmāvacara-bhūmi)* and reaches the meterial sphere *(rūpāvacara-bhūmi)*. Then he identifies the moments of apperception with the stages of the attainment of absorption. The first moment of apperception is the stage of preparation *(parikamma)*; the second, the stage of the intermediate *(upacāra)*; the third the stage of adaptation *(anuloma)* the fourth, the stage of maturity *(gotrabhū)* and the fifth moment is the stage of full concentration of mind *(appanā)*. The persons who are quick to attain super-knowledge *(khippābhiññā)* by-pass the first moment of apperception i.e., the stage of preparation *(parikamma)* and start with the second moment, i.e., the stage of the intermediate *(upacāra)*, and attain full concentration in the fourth moment *(Vism.* 111–12).

The last of the fourfold mental absorptions is termed the fourth absorption *(catuttha-jhāna)* which forms the basis for the attainment of super-knowledge *(abhiññā)*. In other words, the contemplation of *kasiṇa* leads one finally to the attainment of super-knowledge (*M.* II, [illegible]–15).

The *Visuddhimagga* (pp. 314 ff.) deals in detail with the methods by which super-knowledge is produced. In order for one to produce super-knowledge, it says that one has to develop and tame one's mind in fourteen ways. These fourteen ways involve contemplation on the first eight *kasiṇa*, the attainment of the fourfold mental absorption of the material sphere and of the fourfold immaterial absorption in those *kasiṇa* from beginning to end and from end to beginning and mastery over *kasiṇa* and *jhāna*

Possessed of this skill and mastery, one is able to practise any of the first eight *kasiṇa* and attain any of the eight *jhāna*. He is able to produce mental absorption in these eight *kasiṇa* (1) starting with the *pathavī-kasiṇa* and ending in *odātakasiṇa (kasiṇānuloma)*; (2) starting with *odāta-kasiṇa* and ending in *pathavi-kasiṇa (kasiṇa-paṭiloma)*; (3) in both ways *(kasiṇa-anupaṭiloma)*. He is also able to attain the eightfold mental absorption; (4) from beginning to end, i.e., from the first absorption to the last *(jhānānuloma)*; (5) from the last to the first *(jhānapaṭiloma)* and (6) in both ways *(jhāna-anupaṭiloma)*. He is again able (7) to attain the eightfold mental absorption seperately in different *kasiṇa (jhānukkantika)*, (8) to attain one kind of mental absorption in all *kasiṇa (kasiṇukkantika)* and (9) to attain the eightfold absorption in all the eight *kasiṇa (jhānakasiṇukkantika)*. (10) the attainment of the first absorption and then gradually other kinds of absorption in individual *kasiṇa* is called *aṅgasaṅkantika*, (11) the attainment of one kind of absorption in all *kasiṇa* is *ārammanasaṅkantika*. (12) the attainment of the first absorption in *pathavī-kasiṇa*, the second in *āpo-kasiṇa* and so on upto the attainment of the last absorption in *odāta-kasiṇa* is *aṅgārammaṇa-saṅkantika*. (13) the defining of only the factors of mental absorption by defining the first absorption as five-factored etc. is called definition of factors *(aṅgavavatthāna)*; (14) likewise, the defining of only the object as 'this is the *pathavī-kasiṇa*' etc. is called the definition of object *(ārammaṇa vavatthāna: Vism.* 312–15).

The description of the fourteen ways, rather tedious though it may be, points out the important place the *kasiṇa* occupy in the scheme of spirital attainments in Buddhism. The skill in and the mastery over the practice of *kasiṇa* are essential for the attainment of mental absorption *(samādhi)* which is the second of the threefold spiritual training *(tissosikkhā)* advocated by the Buddha. This mental absorption is equally essential for the attainment of superknowledge *(abhiññā)* which is the final result of wisdom *(paññā)* produced by the Buddhist scheme of salvation.

Upali Karunaratna

KASHMIR, has an important place in the history of the spread and development of Buddhism. This 5000 ft. high valley in the Northern tip of India has aptly been called 'the cradle of Sanskrit Buddhism', for it was here that Sarvāstivāda, a Hīnayāna school using Sanskritized texts saw its development and afflorescence. And it was from Kashmir and the adjoining territories of Gandhāra and Udyāna (Swat Valley) that this school of Buddhism spread to Central Asia, China and Tibet.

When Buddhism came to Kashmir is not exactly known. There is only a legend[1] that the Buddha himself had predicted that the faith would be introduced into Kashmir after his *parinirvāṇa* and the country would become distinguished as a home of Buddhist monks. The first introduction of the faith into the Valley is, however, usually ascribed to Emperor Asoka. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, asoka's religious adviser, Moggaliputta Tissa thera sent Buddhist missionaries to various regions in the "border districts". A group led by Majjhantika thera, was deputed to the Kāsmīra-Gandhāra region (*Mhv.* xii, 82 f.).

Kashmir is then stated to have been given over to the worship of the Nāgas. The king of Nāgas, Aravāḷa (q.v.) was destroying the ripened crops of the territory by creating a hailstorm when Majjhantika arrived. But on account of his miraculous powers, the pious monk was not in the least affected by the storm. This made the wicked Nāga furious and he increased the fury of the storm. But Majjhantika remained unaffected as before. This convinced Aravāla of the monk's superiority and he, along with his followers, submitted to his (Majjhantika) and listened to his discourse. This was followed by the acceptance of the new faith by the Nāga Worshippers.

A somewhat similar version occurs in the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins,[2] and the traditions deried from it. These latter, embodied in the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Tsang's Itinerary (Walters, op. cit. p. 365) and the chronicles of the Tibetan scholars, Bu-ston and Tārānātha also state that in Kashmir the monk settled on the bank of a lake inhabited by the Nagas, that his presence was at first resented by them, but that they ultimately submitted on account of his supernatural powers.

The name of the monk given in thse is Madhyantika or Madhyandina and he is stated to have been a disciple of Ananda. In fact, it is stated, that at the time of his *parinirvāṇa* at Vaisali, Ananda instructed Madhyantika to proceed to Kashmir for the propagation of Buddhism.

The similarity of the versions in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins seems to indicate that Madhyantika and Majjhantika are one and the same person who has been assigned to two different periods in different quarters. Or it may be that Majjhantika, the contemporary of Asoka was, on his ordination, named after a former monk (this was often done) and his story got associated with the latter also. Clearly, it is impossible to credit Madhyantika with such a long life that he could be a contemporary of both Ananda and Asoka.

Madhyantika's association with Ananda, Buddha's cousin and immediate disciple, points to the prevalance of the faith in Kashmir even before the time of Asoka. Strong evidence to this effect is available in Kalhāna's *Rājataraṅgiṇi* (I, *vv.* 91-94). In this chronicle of Kashmir Buddhism is mentioned as prevailing in the valley in the time of the Kashmiri king Surendra who ruled some time before the Mauryan Emperor. Besides, Kāsmīra-Gandhāra is reckoned as one of the sixteen *mahājanapada* occurring in Pali texts.

Surendra, who was the first patron of the faith in the valley, appears to have been a Buddhist himself. Kalhāna describes him as 'possessed of priceless greatness' and 'far removed from sinfulness'. The Kashmiri historian specifically mentions the erection of two vihāras by the king, one of them in the valley to the north of Srīnagar and the other beyond the Zojila near the country of the Dards.

Confirmation of the prevalence of Buddhism in the valley before the time of Asoka is available from other sources also. Hsuan-tsang records that when, early in the reign of Asoka, a number of monks fled from Magadha on account of differences with the emperor, they took refuge in Kashmir (Walters, op. cit. p. 267). They were the Sarvāstivādins. Clearly there must have been in Kashmir at that time monks who were ready to welcome the Magadhan monks in the time of their difficulty.

Even if Buddhism had been prevalent in Kashmir before asoka, yet there is no gain saying the fact that the faith spread widely during this ruler's time. This was due to the large-scale influx of monks into the valley in his time and the patronage extended to them by the emperor later in his reign when he was much more favourably inclined towards the Sarvāstivādins.

The flight of the Sarvāstivādins, according to Hsuan-tsang, deeply distressed the emperor, who sent messengers and later went personally to Kashmir to persuade them to return. But they refused to go back. Thereupon he built 500 monasteries for them and gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist Saṅgha (ibid).

That Asoka visited Kashmir personally is also given in Kalhāna's account. The historian clearly mentions the founding of a number of Buddhist and brahmanical shrines by the emperor. The Buddhist monuments were erected in the Asokan capital of Kashmir-Srīnagar (corresponding to present-day Pandrethan on the outskirts of Srīnagar to its south-east) and at Vitastatra and Suskalatra. The caitya built by him in the Dharmā-

1. Watters; *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* I. p. 265.
The legend is also referred to by Bu-ston (Obermiller) and Tāranātha (Schiefner).
2. An English rendering of the Mūlasarvāstivādin version, first translated into French by M.J. Przyluski, is given in *Indian Serpent Lore* (J.Ph. Vogel), pp. 233-35.

ranyavihāra in Vitastatra town near the source of the Vitasta (Jhelum) is stated to have been so high that the eye could not compass the extent of its height (Kalhāna, op. cit. *vv.* 102 f.).

Over half a century ago, a life-size image of the Buddha was unearthed at Hukalitar, a village about eighteen miles from Srinagar which city corresponds, to the ancient Suskaletra.[3] During his stay in Kashmir in the seventh century A.C. Hsuan-tsang noticed four Asokan *stūpas,* of wonderful height and great magnificance, each of which contained relics of the Buddha's body (Walters, op. cit. p. 261).

Buddhism suffered a temporary set back in Kashmir in the time of Asoka's successors in the valley-Jalauka and Damodara. Jalauka, whom Kalhāna represents as Asoka's son, was a staunch follower of brāhmanism. He was not at first favourably disposed towards the Buddhist faith, and once at the instigation of some wicked councillors had a *vihāra* demolished because the noise of the temple bells had disturbed his sleep. But later he relented and had a *vihāra* at Krtyāsrama (Kalhāna *v.* 147) built at a short distance from Baramulla. Damodara, his son, who was also a follower of Brahmanism fell a victim to the wrath of certain mendicant Brahmans.

For two or three centuries after Damodara, nothing has some to light so far about the history of Kashmir. During this period north-west India was once again under the rule of foreigners, including the Greeks (s.v. Indo-Greeks). But whether Kashmir was included in the domain of the Indo-Greek king, Menandar, is difficult to say. The *Milindapañha,* the Pali record of his discussions with Nāgasena, has little light to throw on this.

Kashmir, was, however, definitely included in the empire of the Kushānas. It was in fact, in their time that the valley emerged as a very prominent seat of Buddhist philosophical studies. According to Hsuan-tsang, the fourth Buddhist Council convoked by Kaniṣka, was held in Kashmir (Walters, op. cit. p. 270). Tibetan writers, including Buston (p. 97) and Tārānātha (ed. Schiefner, p. 60) also mention Kashmir as the venue of this Council. The celebrated Indian monk, Paramārtha (499–569 A.C.), in his biography of Vasubandhu *(T'oung Pao, v.* pp. 276–281) also confirms that the Council was held in Kashmir. According to both Hsuan-tsang and Tārānātha, the Council was held at the suggestion of Parsva, a leading Buddhist monk of the time. Its object was to clear the confusion in the king's mind about the different interpretations of the tenets of the faith by the various sects into which the Saṅgha had divided itself by then. The Council sat for a number of months and attempted to reconcile the conflicting interpretations of the different sects and settle once again the *Vinaya,* the *Sūtra* and the *Abhidharma* texts. Hsuan-tsang says that the Council finally settled these texts the Sarvāstivādin *Tripiṭaka* and also prepared commentaries on them. The commentaries known as *Upadeśaśāstras,* the *Vinaya-vibhāṣā-śāstras* and the *Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-śāstras,* contained 100,000 stanzas each (Walters, op. cit. p. 271). According to the Chinese pilgrim, the Council was presided over by Vasumitra, an eminent monk hailing from central India. But Paramartha says that six hundred years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa,* Kātyāyanīputra, with the help of five hundred *arhats* and five hundred *bodhisattvas,* arranged the Sarvastivadin Abhidharma texts into eight sections and after checking them with the sayings of the Buddha, compiled the *Jñānaprasthāna-sūtra,* comprising 50,000 verses. He then had a commentary, *Vibhāṣā,* written upon it. This commentary was put into literary Sanskrit by the poet laureat, Aśvaghoṣa, who was invited to Kashmir for the purpose.

Paramārtha adds that Kātyāyanīputra stopped the monks of Kashmir from letting the *Vibhāṣā* on the *Jñānaprasthāna* go out of Kashmir lest it should be misinterpreted by outsiders. Hsuan-tsang, with greater probability, ascribes a similar interdiction to Kaniṣka, may be at the instance of Kātyāyanīputra. He adds that the treatises drawn up at the Council were engraved on copper plates on orders of the king, who had them placed in stone boxes over which was erected a *stūpa.*

The Vibhāṣās drawn up at the Kashmir Council acquired such high renown that the Sarvāstivādins came to be known also as *Vaibhāṣikas* and because of their association with Kashmir the teachers who drew them up were sometimes called Kāsmīrṣis.

According to Hsuan-tsang, Kaniṣka was in Kashmir when the Council was held and built a monastery for the use of the monks attending it. He says that at the conclusion of the pious labours of the Council, when the king left the valley by its western gate, "he turned towards the east, fell on his knees and again bestowed all this kingdom on the sangha".

Kashmir's native historian, Kalhāna does not refer to the holding of the Buddhist Council in Kashmir. But he testifies to the great influence which the Buddhists commanded in the valley in the time of Huska, Juska and Kaniska. This last appears to be a successor of the great emperor who convened the Council. Kalhāna records that Huska, Juska and Kaniska covered suskaletra (Hukalitar) and other places with monasteries, *caityas* and similar edifices. He specifically mentions the found-

3 Ganhar, J.N. & P.N., *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh,* p. 22.

ing of four cities by them. The sites of three of these Huskapura, Juskapura and Kaniskapura can still be located in the villages of Uskur, Zakur and Kanispore. Buddhism enjoyed such great popularity in the valley in their time and in the time of Abhimanyū who followed, that Kashmir was then, in the words of Kalhāna, "for the most part, an appanage of the Buddhists who had acquired lusture by renunciation." The greatest of these Buddhists was the illustrious Nāgājuna, whom Kalhāna describes (I, *v.* 173) as "the sole supreme ruler of the land." *(eko Munīśvaro)* This accords well with the view that Kaniska had made a gift of Kashmir to the *Sangha.*

Nāgārjuna resided, in Kashmir, at Harwan, the ancient Sadarhadvaṇa which has given its present came to the locality. Sadarhadvana (which in Sanskrit, means "the grove of six saints" appears to have got its name becasue of the residence there of six 'arhants' including Pārsva, Vasumitra and Asvaghosa. This, coupled with the discovery there some years ago of the remains of a number of Buddhist monuments raises a strong presumption in favour of regarding it as the venue of the Fourth Buddhist Council.

Buddhism witnessed its maximum popularity in Kashmir when Nagarjuna lived there in the time of the later Kushānas and Abhimanyu. This was partly due to royal patronage but mainly because under Nargarjuna's guidance, the Buddhist defeated in disputation all the learned Brahmans in the land (ibid. *vv.* 177–178). As a matter of fact, the faith became so widespread that the traditional brahmanical rites and customs fell into disuse.

But that was not for long. Soon a succession of severe winters led to the death and departure of large numbers of Buddhist bhiksūs. The excessive snowfalls that Kashmir had in those years were ascribed by the Brāhman priests to the wrath of the Nāga deities on account of the stoppage of the customary offerings to them by the people. And when weather conditions improved, the welcome development was ascribed by the Brāhmans to the kind intercession of the Nāgas. The result was a set-back to the Buddhist influence and the revival of the customary practices and offerings.

Very little is known about the condition of Buddhism during the time of the next four of five rulers. But in the time of Nara or Kinnara who came after them, the faith suffered a major blow. The wicked king who did not spare Brahmans either, had a large number of *vihāras* destroyed in return for the wrong-doing of one single monk (ibid. *v.* 199).

After Nara Kashmir was for a long time, under Hindu rulers. But there is no mention of any severity to Buddhism in their time. On the contrary, Kashmir continued to be a seat of Buddhist learning. In fact it was during those times that savants like Kumārajīva and Vasubandhu visited the valley for studies and eminent Kashmiri monks like Buddhayasas, Vimalaksa, Gunavarman and others visited other countries for the propagation of the faith.

The last of these native Hindu rulers, Samdhimati or Sandhiman, was compalled to abdicate on account of the disaffection of the people, worked up by the wicked Hun ruler Mihirakula who, defeated elsewhere, had taken refuge in Kashmir and had been granted a *jagir* by the king.

Hsuan-tsang described Mihirakula as a great persecutor of Buddhists and destroyer of Buddhist monasteries in Gandhāra and other regions. But Kalhāna, who confirms this king's wickedness and calls him a 'killer of three crores' has not represented him as hostile to the Buddhists alone. T. W. Rhys Davids gives plausible reasons for not regarding this king as a persecutor as such, adding that, in fact, his ministers were Buddhists. His cruel actions were merely those of a fierce invader *JPTS* 1896, p. 87).

At the close of the dark chapter of Mihirakula's rule, the Kashmir throne once again passed into the hands of a pious Buddhist. He was Meghavāhana, a scion of an old ruling dynasty which had been displaced to make way for a foreigner nearly two centuries earlier. Meghavāhana, who had been living in exile at the Gandhara court was a staunch Buddhist, and at the time of his coronation itself he issued a proclamation prohibiting the slaughter of animals throughout his kingdom (Kalhāna III, *v.* 5). The prohibition did not make any exception even in the case of brahmanical sacrifices. In fact, the king was so keen about the practice of non-violence that Kalhāna represents him as having undertaken a *digvijaya* (universal conquest) to impose on all his prohibition of slaughter. In the course of this 'universal conquest' he is represented by the Kashmiri historian as having subdued king Vibhīsana of Sri Lanka (ibid. *vv.* 73–75). But this exaggerated claim does not find corroboration in the Ceylonese annals or elsewhere.

During Meghavāhana's time, Kashmir again witnessed the erection of a large number of Buddhist foundations. The king himself founded a city, created an *agrahāra,* (endowment in favour of some shrine) and built a number of *vihāras. Vihāras* named after themselves were built by his five queens also. The best known of these was the lofty *Amrtabhavana* near Vicharnag to the north of Srinagar. This *vihāra* which was built by the principal Queen Amrtprabhā, a princess from Assam, was meant for the use of bhiksus from the plains. Her teacher who hailed from Ladakh founded a *stūpa.*

Meghavāhana was described as a mine of precious virtues *(Gunaratnākara)* by Kalhāna. To avoid hardship caused to butchers, fisherman and others by his prohibition of killing, he gave generous monetary assistance and set them up in other professions.

After Meghavāhana we do not come across any ruler of Kashmir who was a Buddhist. But the faith continued to be professed and patronised, even by important personages. This is clear from the fact that a numbre of Buddhist sacred buildings were put up in their time. The best known of these was the massive *Jayendravihāra,* put up by the maternal uncle of Pravarasena who ruled towards the latter part of the sixth century A.C. Another magnificent *vihāra,* known as *Morokabhavana* was erected by the king's minister, Moroka. Both the *Jayendravihāra* and the *Morokabhavana* were in the new city of *Pravarapura* (modern Srinagar) which the king founded and to which he transferred the capital from the Asokan capital, Srinagar, nearly three miles away. Hsuan-tsang had resided in the *Jayendravihāra* (which seems to have been in the vicinity of today's *Jama Masjid).*

Buddhism in Kashmir witnessed a fresh efflorescence in the time of the Karkotas (600 to 855 A.C.). Though not Buddhists themselves, the Karkota rulers extended their patronage to the faith in rich measure. Hsuan-tsang's visit to Kashmir is usually placed in the time of the first Karkota ruler Durlabhavardhana, whose Queen, Anangalekhā put up a *vihāra.* The king also patronised the faith. This becomes clear from his treatment of the Chinese pilgrim. Besides honouring him with a great personal welcome and introducing him to the Buddhist and other celebrities in the land, he lodged him in the palace and placed twenty scribes at his disposal to copy the texts in which the visiting scholar might feel interested. He was also given five attendants to minister to his personal needs.

Hsuan-tsang remained in Kashmir for two years from [illegible] 631 to April 633 A.C. Though he complains that 'at the present time this kingdom is not much given to the faith', yet he found a large number of monasteries in existence. In addition to the four Asokan *stūpas* already mentioned, he places the number of monasteries at over a hundred (Walters, op. cit. p. 261). In these lived 5000 monks. This compares favourably with the number of monks in the other territories where the faith prevailed at that time.

Buddhism in Kashmir witnesed a further extension in the time of the fifth Karkota ruler Lalitāditya-Muktapīda ([illegible] A.C.). Like the illustrious Asoka, this greatest of the native rulers patronised all faiths. Lalitāditya [illegible] ruler and a considerable part of his thirty [illegible] was spent in campaigns abroad. His [illegible] Buddhism can be gauged from the fact that in one of the expeditions he carried a colossal image of the Buddha *(Brhadbuddha)* from the estern regions to Kashmir (Kalhāna, *IV, V.* 299) a considerable feat in those early days of slow movement and primitive transport. The northern teritories which the king raided included Ladakh, Gilgit, Kamboja (eastern Afghanistan) and Tukharistan on the upper Oxus. From there he got both riches and a number of talented persons who were appointed to high places. Many of them must have been Buddhists. His chief minister, Cankuna, who hailed from the land of the Tukharas, was an ardent Buddhist. The treasures which Lalitāditya got from his expeditions abroad were utilised in the foundation of new towns and the erection of sacred buildihgs. These included a number of *vihāras* and *caityas* also. Some of the most magnificent buildings ever built in Kashmir were put up by him in his new capital Parihasapura near the confluence of the Vitasta (Jhelum) and its principal tributary Sindh, about a dozen miles from Srinagar. These included a large *vihāra* and *caitya.* The *vihāra,* known as *Rājavihāra* (ibid. *v.* 200), comprised a large quadrangle and a number of lofty chapels. It was well endowed. The *caitya* contained the colossal image of the Buddha which the king had brought from Magadha. This was later replaced by another massive copper one weighing several hundred *maunds,* when the one brought from outside was given to Cankuna to be placed in his *vihāra.* Cankuna's *vihāra* was at a little distance from the *Rājavihāra* and contained a huge *stūpa* also. It was embellished with a number of golden images of the Buddha. Buddhist structures were erected not only in Parihasapura. The king put up another huge *vihāra* with a *stūpa* in the ancient town of Huskapura, probably at the site of an earlier *vihāra* which had formed Hsuan-tsang's resting place during his; first night in the valley. Cankuna also erected a magnificent *vihāra* in the old capital. This was known as Cankunavihāra. Cankuna's brother-in-law, Īsānacandra who was the king's physician, also built a *vihāra* with a number of golden images of the Buddha. Kayya, a tributary *rājā* of Lata (south and central Gujarat) also founded a *vihāra,* which was a marval according to Kalhāna. *Kayyavihāra* was the residence of the celebrated *bhikṣu* Sarva Jinamitra which the Kashmir historian compares to the *Jina* (the Buddha).

Lalitāditya's grandson *Jayapīda* (751–782 A.C.) who was also a powerful ruler, tried to revive the traditions of his grandfather. He founded a new capital Jayapura at some distance form Parihāsapura on the left bank of the Vitasta. Inside the town, he installed a number of sacred images, including those of the Buddha. In Srinagar also this ruler, who was not a Buddhist, put up three colossal images of the Buddha.

There was a considerable increase in the number of Buddhists and monasteries in Kashmir in the time of the

Karkotas. This is borne out by the account of Ou-kong, a Chinese traveller who was in Kashmir for four years in the second half of the eighth century shortly after Lalitāditya's reign.

Hsuan-tsang had reckoned the number of monasteries in Kashmir at around a hundred, but Ou-kong found over three hundred monasteries and a considerable number of *stūpas* and sacred images. These two were not the only foreigners to come to Kashmir during the time of the Karkotas. Another illustrious foreigner who then visited Kashmir to learn from the teachers there was Thonmi Sambhota, a minister of Tibet's first great ruler, Sron-btsan-sgam-po.

Buddhism lost its ascendancy in Kashmir with the decline of the rule of the Karakotas. After Jayapida we do not come across any notable Buddhist foundations till we come to Didda (about 1000 A.C.) a clever, crafty queen who did not scruple to sacrifice ever her off-spring so that she might hereself occupy the throne. Her tyrannical husband Ksemagupta burnt the magnificant *Jayendra-vihāra* and seized the thirty six villages belonging to it (Kalhāna, vi, *vv.* 171–175). In order to atone somewhat for her own and her husband's misdeeds, Didda made sixty four religious foundations and restored some of the ruined buildings. It is likely that she rebuilt the *Jayendra-vihāra* also. She is specifically known to have erected two *vihāras* one in Poonch and the other in Srīnagar. The latter, known as *Diddarnātha* has left its name in a locality in Srinagar. During this period also, Kashmir continued to be a seat of Buddhist learning. This is clear from the fact that Didda's *vihāras* were meant to house both the native and outside monks. Among the outsiders who visited Kashmir about this time, the best known is the celebrated Tibetan scholar Rin-chen-zang-po.

Most of the rulers who followed Didda are not known to have achieved any pre-eminence. Some of them did not hesitate to lay their hands on the property of even religious foundations. Thus Kalasa (1063–89 A.C.) confiscated the villages allocated to many temples and appropriated the brass images of a number of Buddhist shrines. His son, Harsa (1089–1101 A.C.) was even worse than his father. He appropriated the images of both the Hindu and Buddhist shrines. Of the four images spared, two were Buddhist. One of these was in Srinagar and the other in Parihāsapura. These were spared at the request respectively of the Sramana Kusalasri and the king's favourite singer, Kanaka, Kalhāna's uncle.

The last notable Hindu ruler of Kashmir during whose time Buddhist monuments were repaird or rebuilt was Jayasimha (1128–1154 A.C.) (Kalhāna viii, *vv.* 2391–2445). His wife Ratnadevi built a *vihāra*, Vaikuntha-māthā, in her town of Ratnapura. Bhutta, the minister, erected a number of *vihāras* in Bhūtepore, the town named after him. Sussala, the wife of another minister, built afresh the Cankunavihāra, of which nothing but the name had remained. *Viharas* were also put up by the other ministers to perpetuate the memory of their dead wives.

Jayasimha's successors were as worthless as some of his predecessors, and Hindu rule in Kashmir came to an end in 1339 A.C. when Shahmira, an astute adventurer from outside, dispossessed the last Hindu ruler, queen Kotadevi, from the throne of Kashmir.

But Buddhism as a separate religion had passed its meridian long before the advent of Muslim rule. This was because of a powerful swing in favour of Saivism in the ninth century A.C. But Kashmir Saivism was itself strongly influenced by Buddhist doctrines.

The two faiths existed side by side. There was rivalry between them at times but not active hostility or attempts at coercion or forcible conversion. On the contrary, there generally existed a sprit of toleration and respect for each other's beliefs. Asoka, for example, is known to have erected two brahminical temples at Bijbihara (Kalhāna, I, *v.* 106), 28 miles from Srinagar. The Brahmans, for their part, found a place for the Buddha in their sacred pantheon when the traditional mode of worship was revived in the time of Abhimanyu. Thus we find the worship of the Buddha enjoined upon the Hindus of Kashmir in the *Nīlamātāpurānam* which lists the pilgrimages etc., in ancient Kashmir. According to this sacred text produced in the time of Abhimanyu, worship to the Sākyamuni was to be offered on his birthday *Vaisākha Pūrṇimā*. On this day, the Buddha's image was to be worshipped in *caityas* and temples and gifts of food, clothes, cows and books etc. were to be made to the Buddhists.

The process of the two faiths coming nearer to each other was greatly strengthened with the rise of the Mahāyāna and Tāntrism. Like the Hindus, the Buddhists now had gods and goddesses. This led to the growth of many common traits and practices. The result was that early in the ninth century when there was a resurgence of Saivism there was not much outward difference between the followers of the two faiths. The same household often contained followers of both faiths. Inside monasteries and temples also, Hindu *sādhūs* and Buddhist *śramaṇas* lived side by side. That was why after the time of the Karkotas, kings, queens and their nobles erected a large number of *māthās* or convents without assigning them exclusively to the followers of any one particular faith.

During the time of the first four Muslim rulers, Hindus and Buddhists were free to pursue their respective faiths. Jonaraja, a contemporary Kashmiri historian has

recorded how Shahmira's grandson, Shahab-ud-Din (1354–1373 A.C.) severely admonished one of his ministers, when the latter suggested that the metal from the image of *Brhadbuddha* be used for coinage (Ganhar, op. cit. p. 144). But this large-hearted tolerance was not to last long. The non-Muslim faiths in the valley received a severe blow in the time of the fifth Muslim ruler Sikandar (1389–1413 A.C.) and his son and successor Ali Shah (1413 – 1420 A.C.). According to Jonaraja "the king (Sikandar) took delight day and night in breaking the sacred images. There was no city, no town, no village, no wood, where the temples of the gods were left unbroken." Not only that, both Sikandar and his son forced the non Muslims to renounce their faith and embrace Islam. Many succumbed and abjured their ancestral faiths, but there were many others who became martyrs to them.

The persecution of Sikandar and Ali left few Hindus, and fewer Buddhists living in Kashmir. And the suffering undergone in common knit those that remained or returned in the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420–70 A.C.; he followed Ali) so close together that the distinction between the followers of the two faiths was practically wiped out. But Buddhism was by no means dead in Kashmir valley. This becomes clear from a perusal of the record of events in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin and some of his immediate successors.

Zain-ul-abidin, popularly known as Bad Shah (Great King) is perhaps the noblest ruler in the long history of Kashmir. He did much to heal the woulds inflicted on the non-Muslims in the time of his two predecessors. His chief minister was a Buddhist named Tilakacarya. The Sultan had two *vihāras* erected on opposite banks of the Vitasta in Srinagar. There is mention of the erection of *vihāras* in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin's grandson Hassan Shah (1472–1484 A.C.). But after that we come across no mention of Buddhists or *vihāras* in the history of Kashmir, till we come to the present century.

Early in the thirties of this century there was a revival of interest in Kashmir's Buddhist heritage. An organisation known as the Kashmir Raj Bodhi Sabha was set up in Srinagar with the twofold object of propagating the *Dharma* in a land where it once flourished, and rehabilitating the Buddhists of Ladakh socially, politically and economically. The head lama of Ladakh, Kushok Stagsang Raspa of Hemis Gumpa, was the patron of the organisation, which did good work in drawing attention to the plight of the Buddhists of Ladakh and succeeded in securing some valuable concessing for them. A three-acre plot of land for the construction of a *vihāra* in Srinagar was also given to the Sabha on lease for a period of forty years on a nominal rent of Rs. 12 per annum (Ganbar, op. cit. p. [illegible]). But a *vihāra* yet remains to be built in the capital of Kashmir, which was once a fountain-head of Buddhist learning and a land of *vihāras* and *caityas*.

J. N. Ganhar

KASSAPA, the twenty fourth Buddha who preceded Gautama Buddha and the third Buddha of the present world period called 'the *Bhaddakappa* (the 'Fortunate' world period). He was born in Benares, of brahmin parents, Brahmadatta and Dhanavatī, belonging to the *Kassapagotta* (Kassapa clan). He was twenty *ratanas* (approximately sixty feet according to *PED.)* in height, and his life-span was twenty thousand years. For two thousand years he lived in the household, in three magnificent palaces named Haṃsavā (Haṃsa), Yasavā (Yasa) and Sirinanda (*Buv.* p.94; *BuvA.* p. 217). Sunandā was his wife by whom he begot a son named Vijitasena. Being confronted with four signs *(nimitta)* he renounced worldly life and attained Buddhahood after a week's sustained striving *(padhāna)*. He was served with a meal of milk rice by his wife just before attaining Enlightenment and grass for his seat was provided by a farm boy named Soma. He attained Enlightenment at the foot of a *Nigrodha* (banyan) tree. The first sermon Kassapa Buddha preached was at Isipatana, to a great multitude of *bhikkhūs* who renounced the world along with him. He performed the twin-miracle at the foot of a *asana* tree outside Sundaranagara. Among his most famous conversions was that of a demon *(yakkha)* named Naradeva. His chief disciples were Tissa and Bhāradvāja among monks, and Anulā and Uruvelā among nuns, his constant attendant being sabbamitta. Pre-eminent of his patrons were Sumaṅgala and Ghaṭīkāra among males and Vijitasenā and Bhaddhā among females. He passed away in the Setavya pleasance in the city of Kāsi, and a stūpa, one league in height, was built over his bodily remains.

During the time of Kassapa Buddha, the *bodhisatta* (Gautama Buddha in a past birth in *saṃsāra*) was a brahmin youth named Jotipāla who, afterwards, coming under the influence of Ghaṭīkāra, became a monk. This Ghaṭīkāra was later born in the Brahmaloka and visited Gotama Buddha and the latter reminded Ghaṭīkāra of their past friendship. (s.v. *DPPN)*.

KASSAPA SĪHANĀDA SUTTA is the eighth *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya (D.* I, pp. 161–177). This *sutta* records a

conversation that took place between the Buddha and the naked ascetic *(acelaka)* Kassapa at the Kaṇṇakatthala Deer Park in Ujuññā.

Kassapa, in conversation with the Buddha, reports to the latter that there is wide-spread talk among religious groups that the Buddha disparages all penances or ascetic practices *(Samaṇo Gotamo sabbaṃ tapaṃ garahati)* as well as those who resort to such practices and poses a question to the Buddha whether such talk represents the Buddha's true position. Disclaiming such an attitude the Buddha tells Kassapa that through his Divine Eye *(dibba-cakkhu)* he sees some ascetics who resort to seevere ascetic practices, after death, being reborn in good states *(sugati)* in heavenly realms *(saggaloka)* whereas some who resort to the same practices, after death, being reborn in woeful states *(duggati)*, in the purgatories. Further, the Buddha tells Kassapa that there are intelligent recluses *(samaṇas)* and brahmins who are experienced and clever at argumentation, going about debating with other religious groups and that some of the views they express tally with his own views. In the course of the conversation the Buddha recounts the different ascetic practices and religious vows prevalent among religious groups at that time, such as going about naked, eating one's own excreta and drinking one's own urine, living in thickets, refraining from eating decent meals, denying to the body its basic needs and care, going about in the postures and behaving like cows and dogs. The Buddha tells Kassapa further that such practices can be resorted to even by immature village folks and that such practices do not conduce to spiritual development. The Buddha, next, in a challenging tone *(sīhanāda* – roar of a lion) claims that the Path he had discovered–the Noble Eightfold Path – is the only means *(ekāyano maggo)* for the spiritual perfection of man and that he and his disciples have attained perfection by diligently treading that path.

At the end of the conversation Kassapa becomes convinced about the futility of his own religious beliefs and becomes a disciple of the Buddha, and striving diligently, before long attains arahantship.

W. G. Weeraratne

KĀŚYAPA MĀTAṄGA, an Indian Buddhist monk of the 6th century A.C. who lived in Central India. He was later accompanied to China by a Chinese mission during the reign of the emperor Ming-Ti of the Han dynasty.

Historical records agree in asigning to A.C. 67 the first official introduction of Buddhism into China. The emperor Ming-Ti who was stimulated by a dream, sent an expedition to India in search of the golden man of whom he had dreamt. When the mission returned they brought back with them, not only the Buddhist scriptures but also two Indian Buddhist monks named, Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa. Both these monks stayed in Loyang, the capital of the dynasty, in the White Horse monastery. This monastery was so called because the foreign monks rode on white horses or used them for carrying books.

According to Chinese annals these early Buddhist missionaries preached the sanctity of all animal life, metempsychosis, meditation, asceticism and *karma*. These two Buddhist monks began a long series of translations which assumed gigantic proportions in the following centuries. To Kāśyapa Mātañga is ascribed a collection of extracts known as the *Sūtra of Forty-two sections* which is still popular in China. This work adheres closely to the teaching of the Pali *Tripiṭaka* and shows hardly any traces of Mahāyāna Buddhism (Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London 1921, Vol. II, p. 71; Vol. III, pp. 244, 248).

Indumati Karunaratne

KĀŚYAPĪYA, name of a school of early Buddhism, considered as an offshoot of Sthaviras, and had arisen shortly after the break away of the Sarvāstivādins from the parent body. They are usually placed in the end of the third century after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha and are said to have originated in the north-western regions of India.

Vasumitra identifies this school with the Suvarśakas. Both names are derived by Paramārtha and K'uei-chi from the names of sage *(ṛṣi)* Kaśyapa and a brahmin Suvarśa.

Kharoṣthi inscriptions indicate their presence in the third century A.C. in Takṣasilā and Bedadi and towards the middle of the fifth century in Palatu Dheri near Peshawar. But, in the seventh century, Hsuan-tsang and subsequently I-tsing found their descendants gone over to Mahāyāna doctrines in Uddiyana and, outside India, in Kharacher and Khotan.

According to certain texts *(Śāriputraparipṛcchā: Cho-li-fu-wen-ching, Taisho*, No. 1465, p. 900 c; and the *Ta-pi-k'ieu-san-ts'ien-wei-yi, Taisho*, No. 1470, p. 926 a) they dressed in purplish red robes.

PLATE I

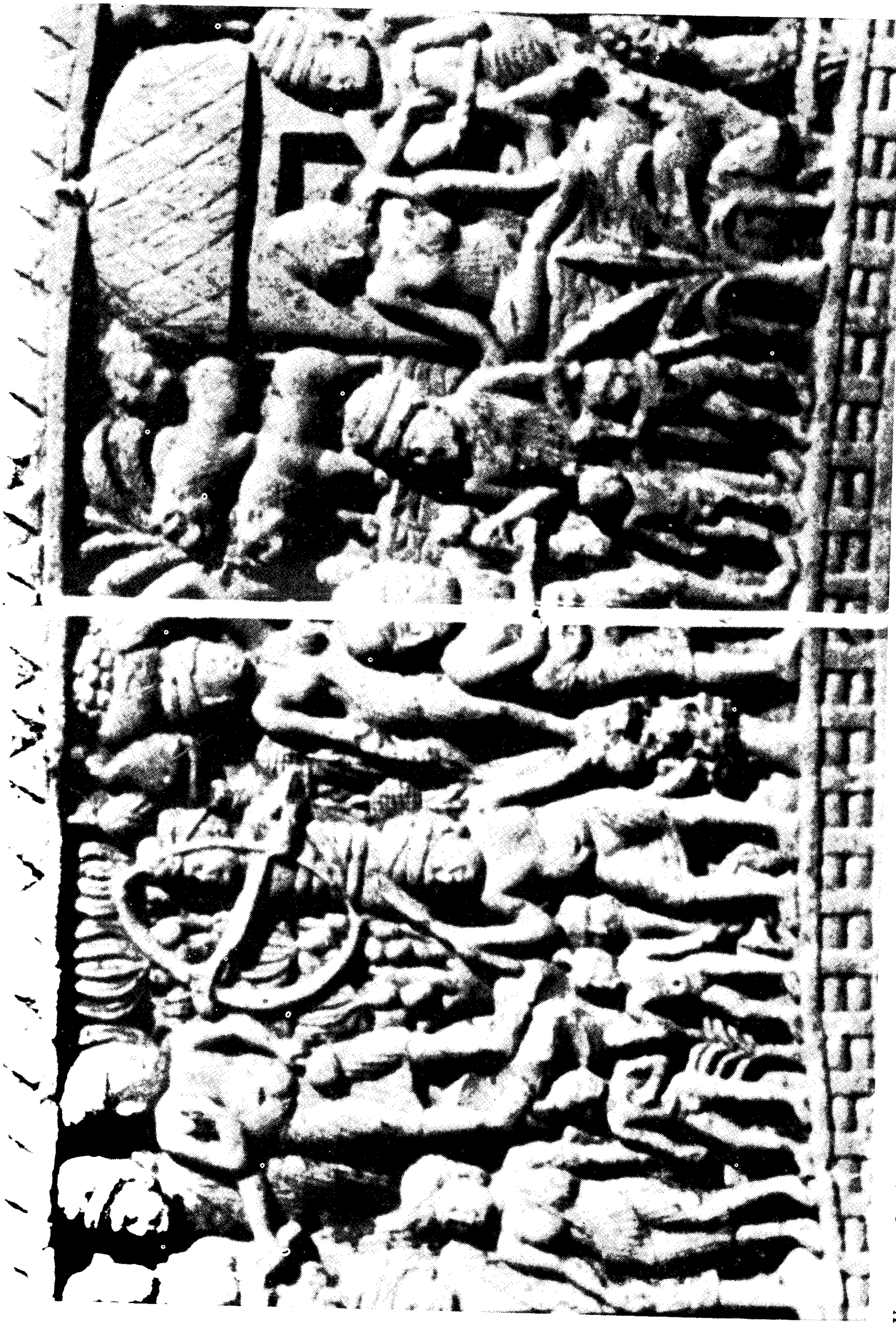


[illegible] Jātaka, a sculpture at Bharhut.
[illegible] "The Way of the Buddha", Publication Division of the Ministry of [illegible] and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1956, p. 140, No. 31.

PLATE II



Mrga Jātaka, a sculpture at Bharhut.
Courtesy: "The Way of the Buddha", Publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1956, p. 140, No. 32.



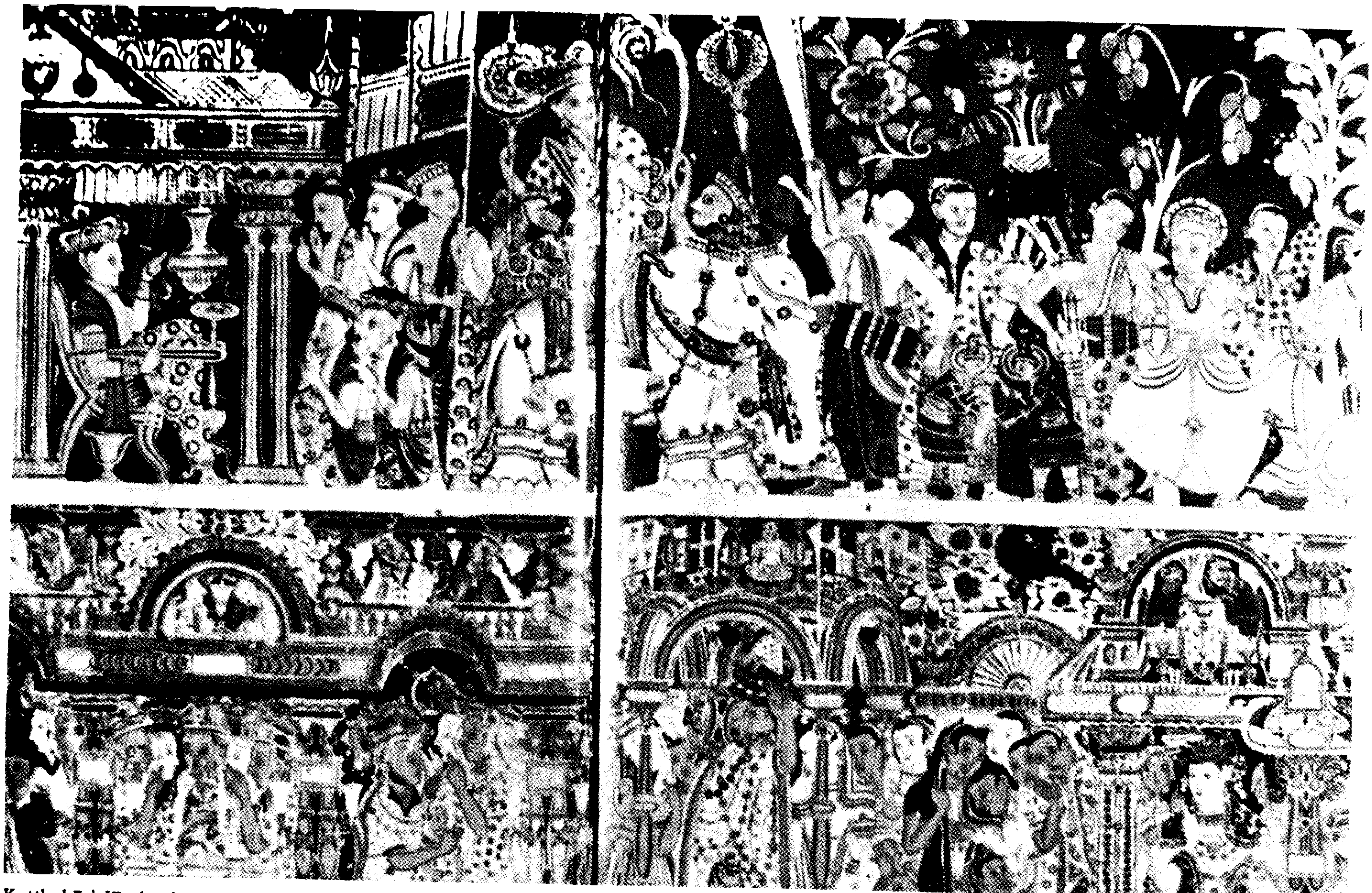
Vessantara Jātaka, a sculpture at Sānchi.
Courtesy: "The Way of the Buddha", Publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1956, p. 142, No. 35.

PLATE IV



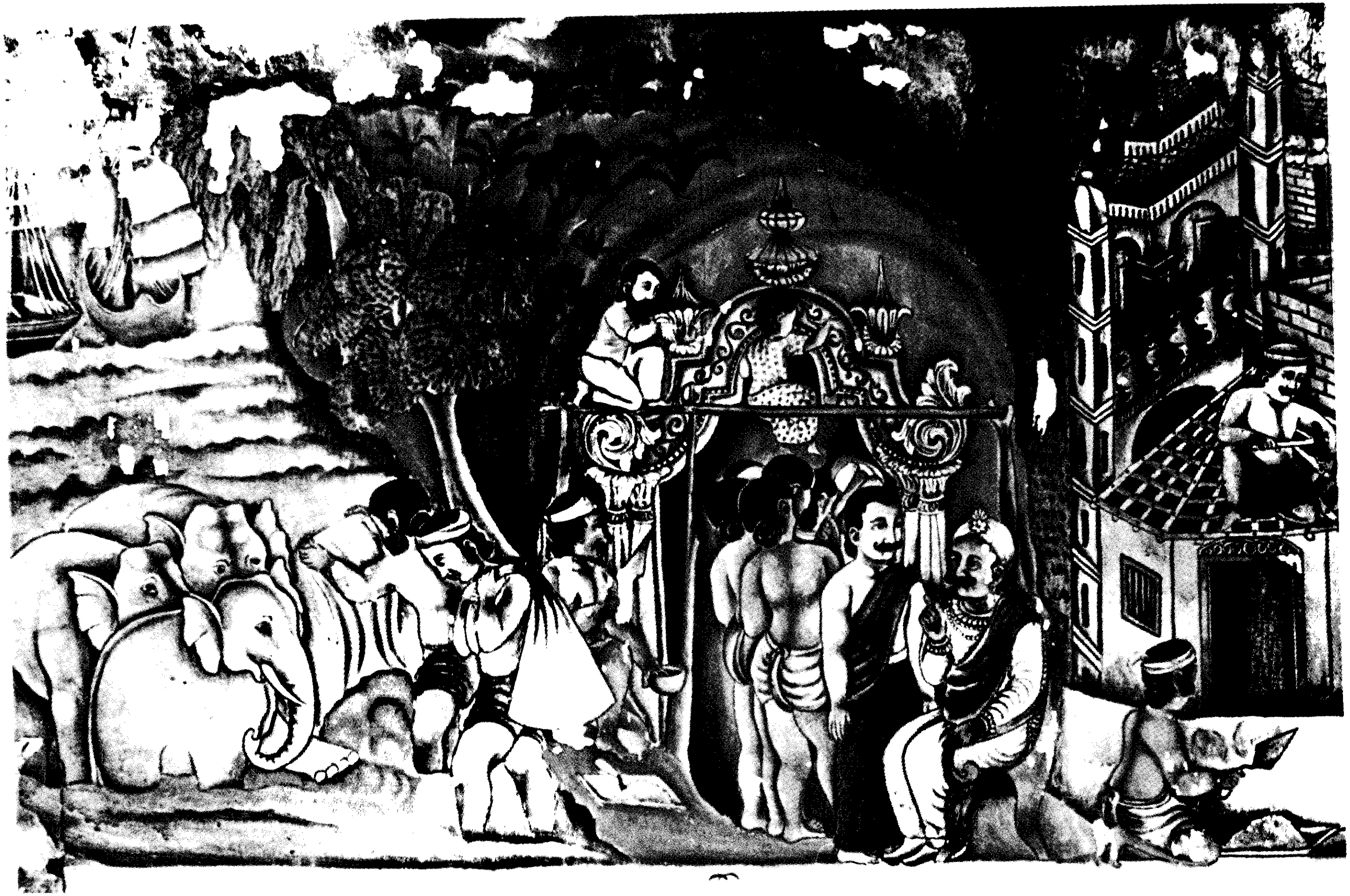
Vessantara giving away his horses, from a painting in the Kelaniya Rajamahavihāra (c. 1850–1).
Courtesy: "The Rock and Wall Paintings of Sri Lanka", Senaka Bandaranayake and Gamini Jayasinghe, Colombo, 1986, p. 224, pl. 136.

PLATE V



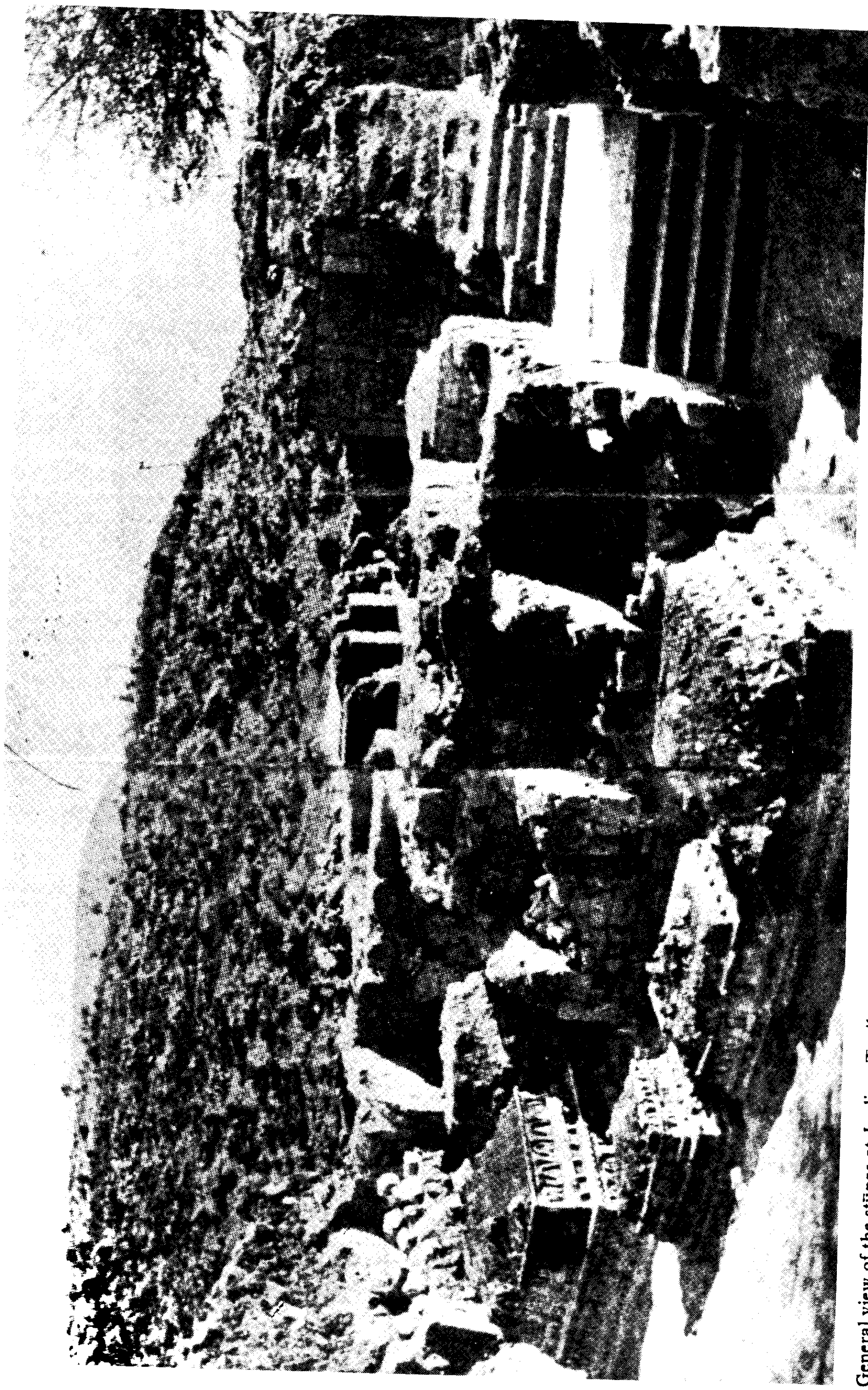
Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka, in a mural on wall 2 in ambulatory, Pūrvārāma, Kataluwa, Sri Lanka.
Courtesy: 'The Rock and Wall Paintings of Sri Lanka', Senaka Bandaranayake and Gamini Jayasinghe, Colombo 1986, p. 254–5, pl. 146.

PLATE VI



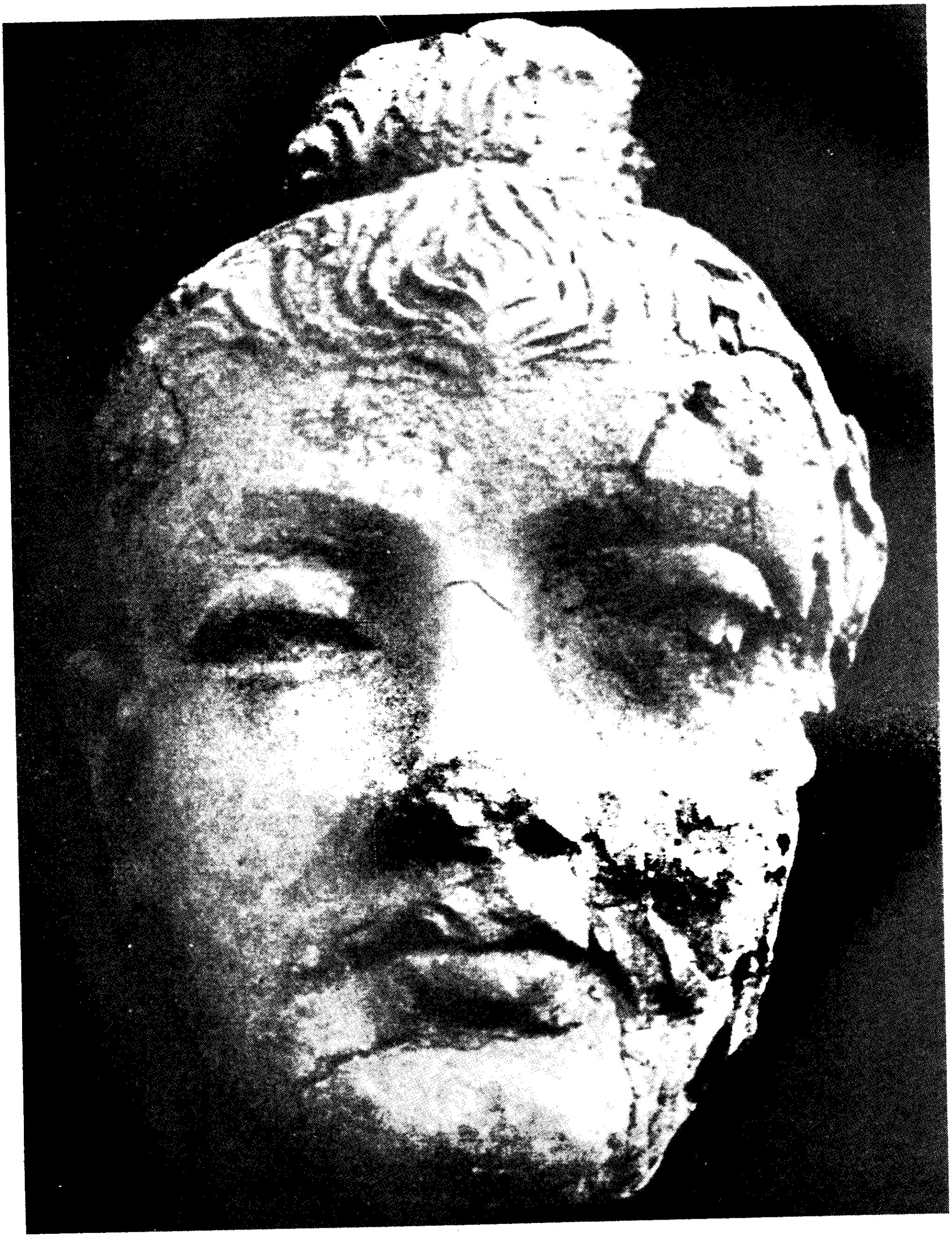
Building the tunnel – a scene from the Ummagga Jātaka, painted on a wall in the image house of Subodhārāma, Karagampitiya, Sri Lanka.
Courtesy: 'The Rock and Wall Paintings of Sri Lanka', Senaka Bandaranayake and Gamini Jayasinghe, Colombo 1986, p. 272, pl. 162.

PLATE VII



General view of the stūpas at Jaulian, Taxila.
Courtesy: 'Buddhism in Pakistan', Pakistan Publication, 183, Karachi, Pakistan, 1963.

PLATE VIII



Head of Buddha Statue, from Jaulian, Taxila.
Courtesy: 'East and West', New series, Vol. 13, No. 4, IsMEO, Rome. Fig. 14.



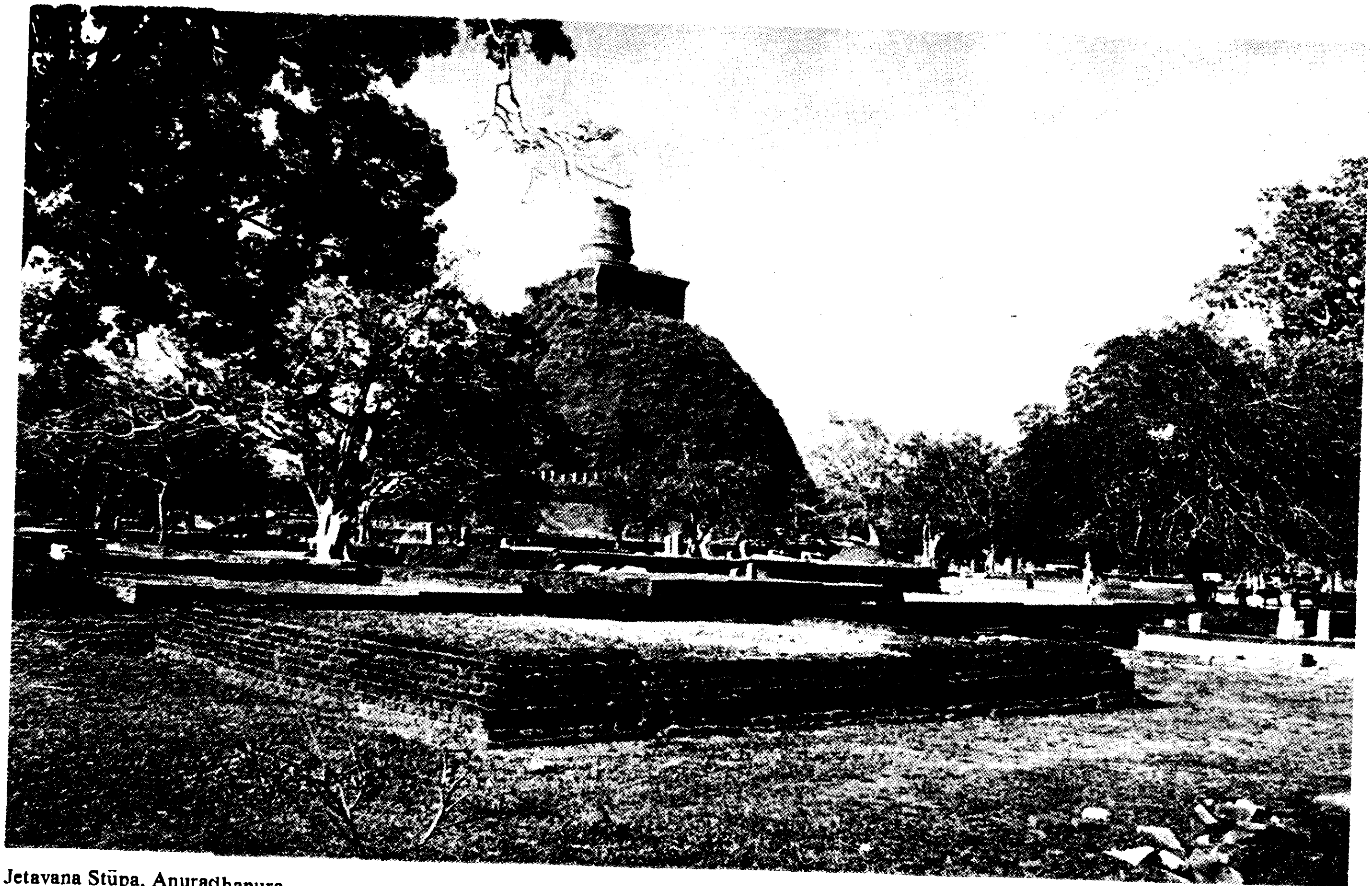
Dedication of Anāthapiṇḍikārāma in Jetavana to the bhikkhu saṅgha by Anāthapiṇḍika.
Courtesy: "Buddhist Monuments", Debala Mitra, India, 1980, photograph 13.

PLATE X



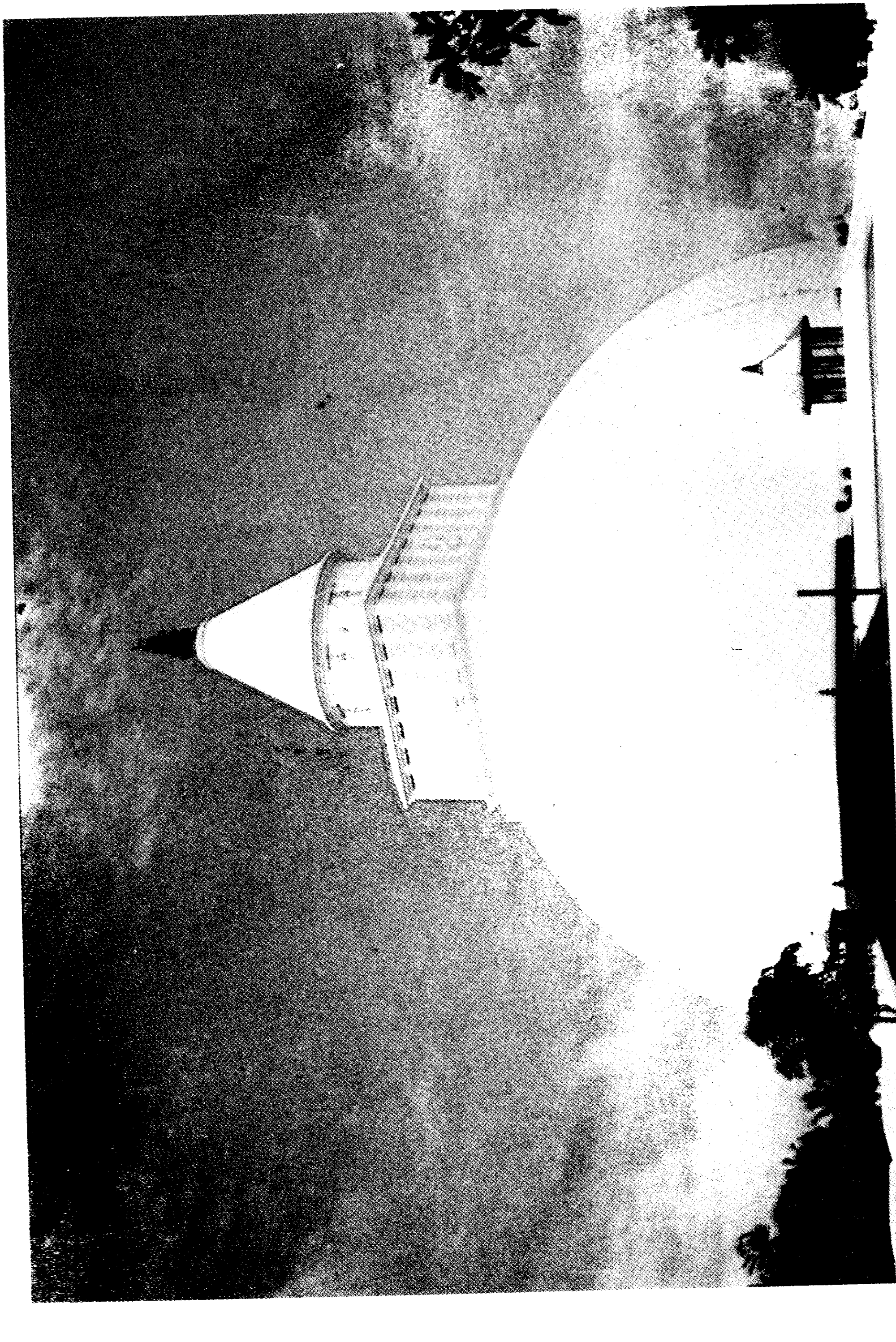
Image House, Jetavana, Anuradhapura.
Courtesy: "The Cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka", UNESCO publishing, CCF., 1993, p. 77.

PLATE XI



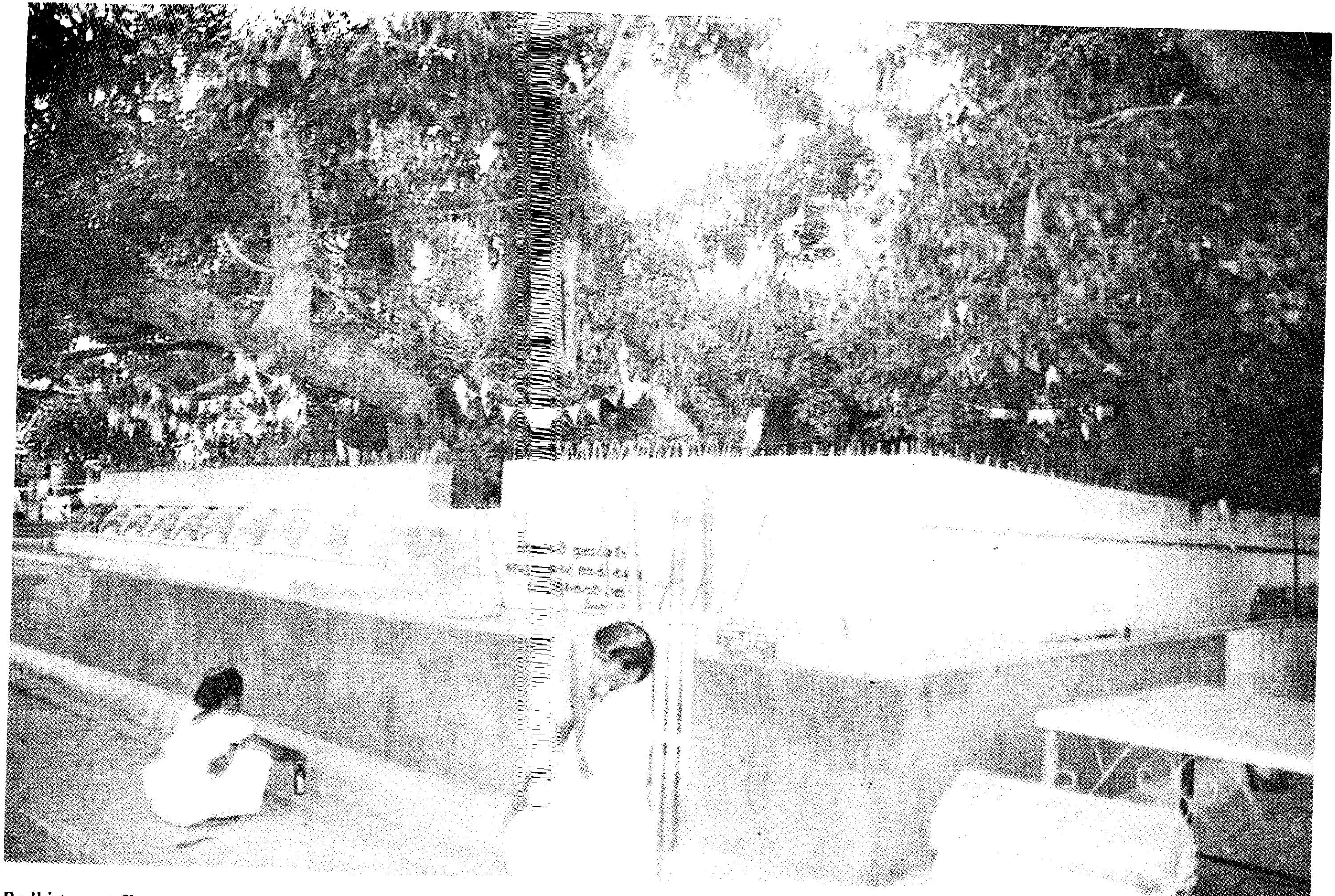
Jetavana Stūpa, Anuradhapura.
Courtesy: "The Cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka", UNESCO publishing, CCF, 1993, p. 67.

PLATE XII



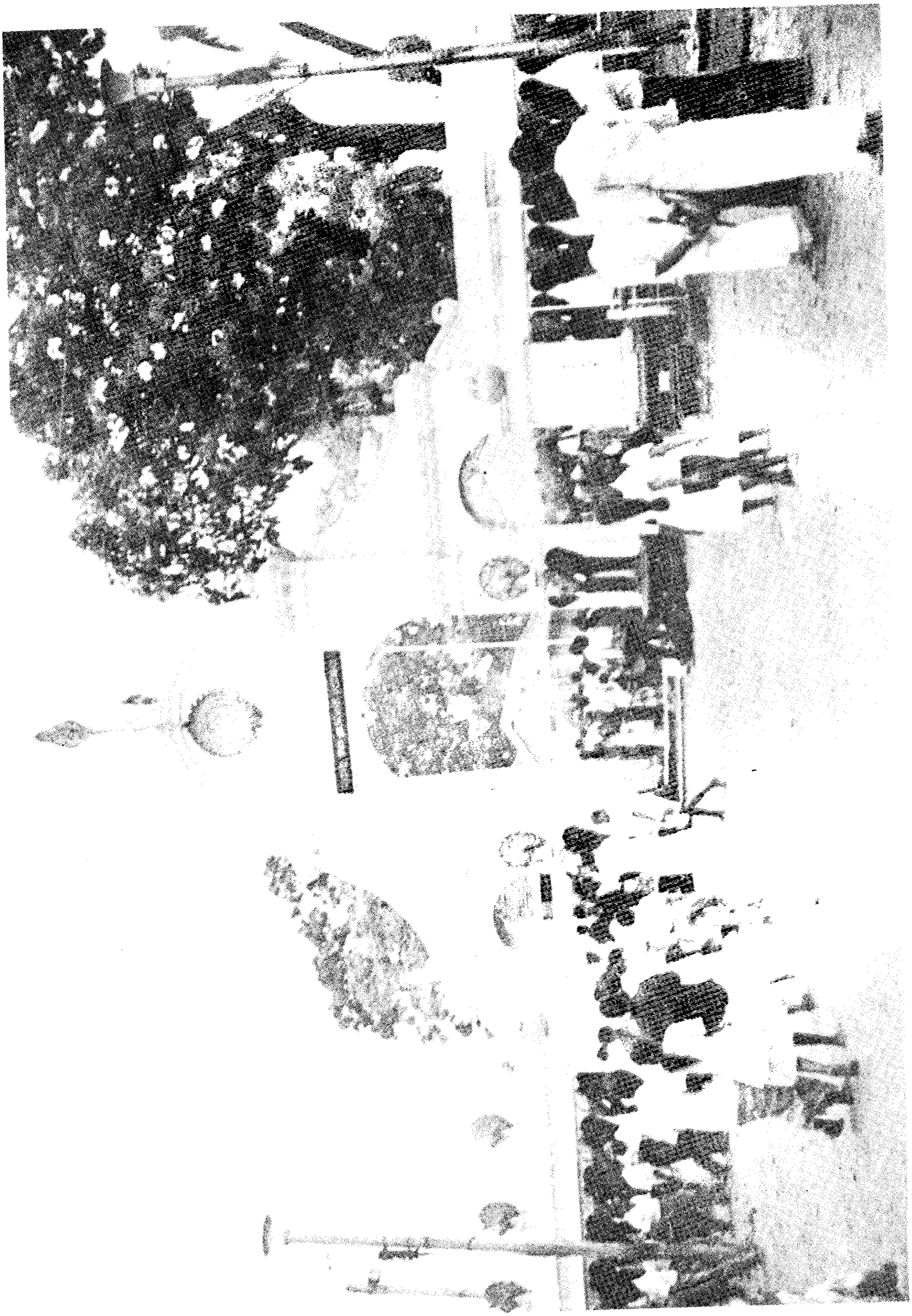
Kirivehera in Kataragama built on the spot sanctified by the Buddha in his third visit to Sri Lanka.
Courtesy: "Kataragama Pudasirit", Alutweva Soratha, Sri Lanka, 1993, p. 110.

PLATE XIII



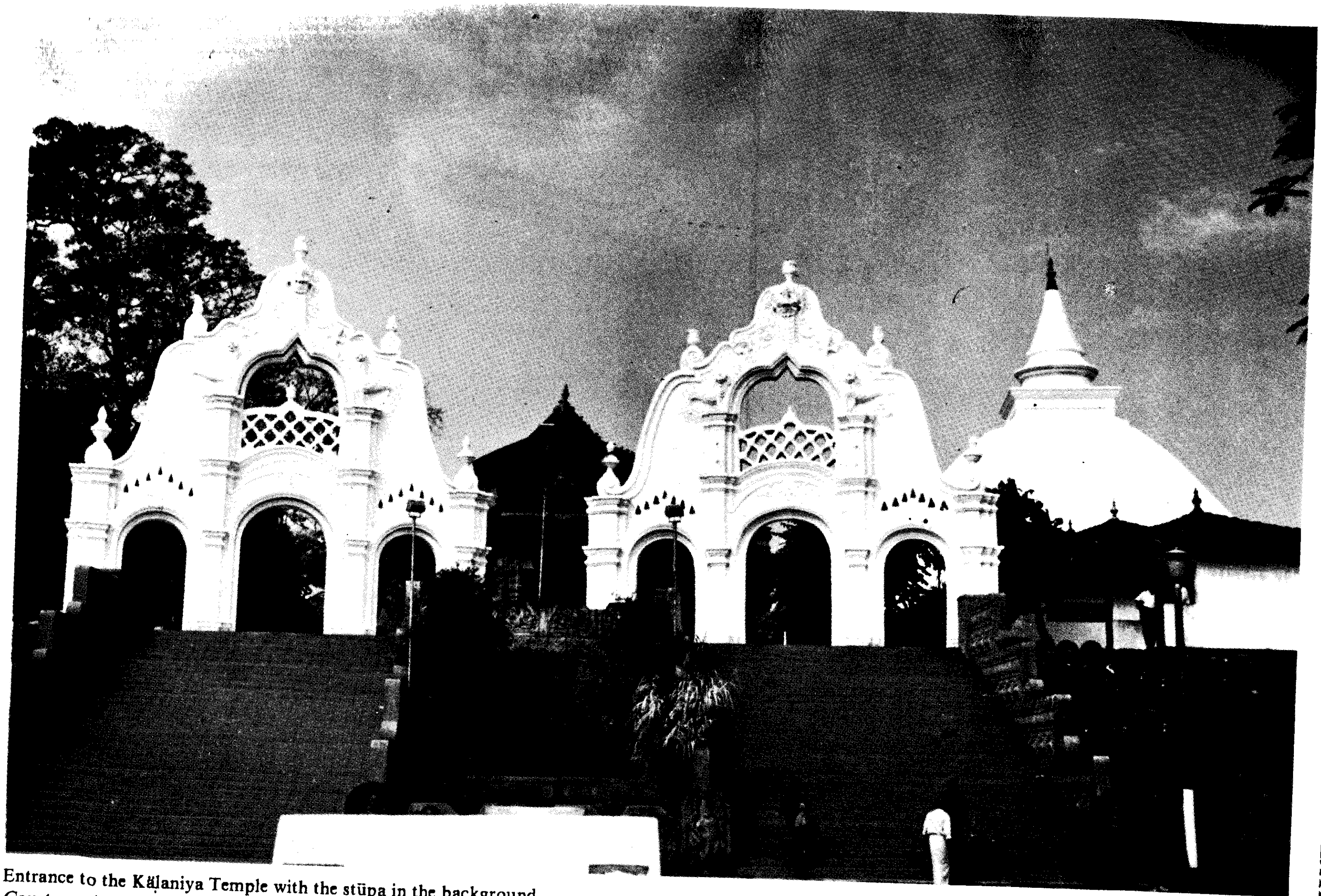
Bodhi-tree at Kataragama grown out of one of the first eight seeds of the sacred Bodhi-tree in Anuradhapura.
Courtesy: "Kataragama Pudasirit", Alutweva Soratha, Sri Lanka, 1993, p. 111.

PLATE XIV



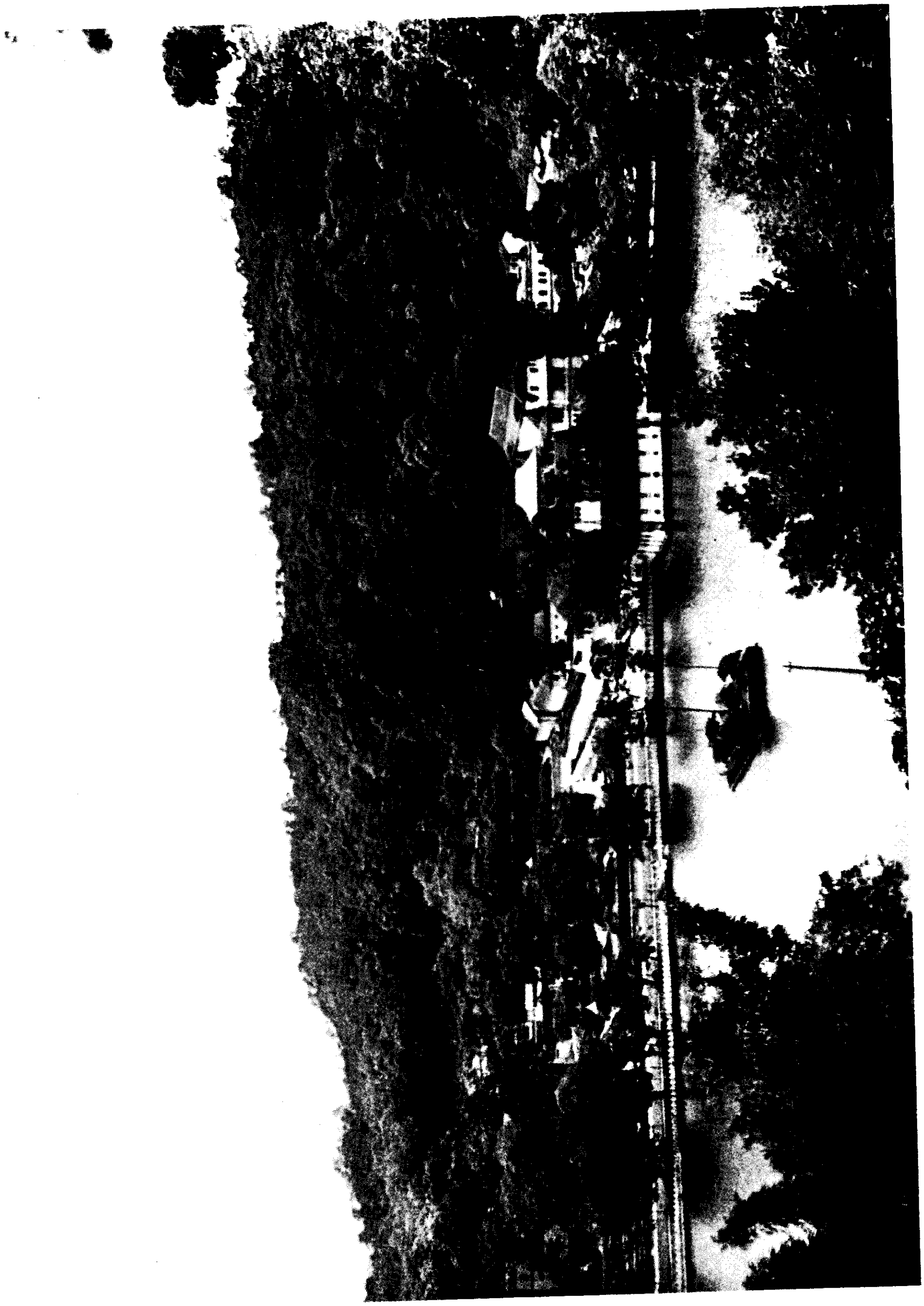
Shrine of the Kataragama deity.
Courtesy: "Kataragama Pudasirit", Alutweva Soratha, Sri Lanka, 1993, p. 103.

PLATE XV



Entrance to the Kälaṇiya Temple with the stūpa in the background.
Courtesy: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., Colombo, Sri Lanka.

PLATE XVI

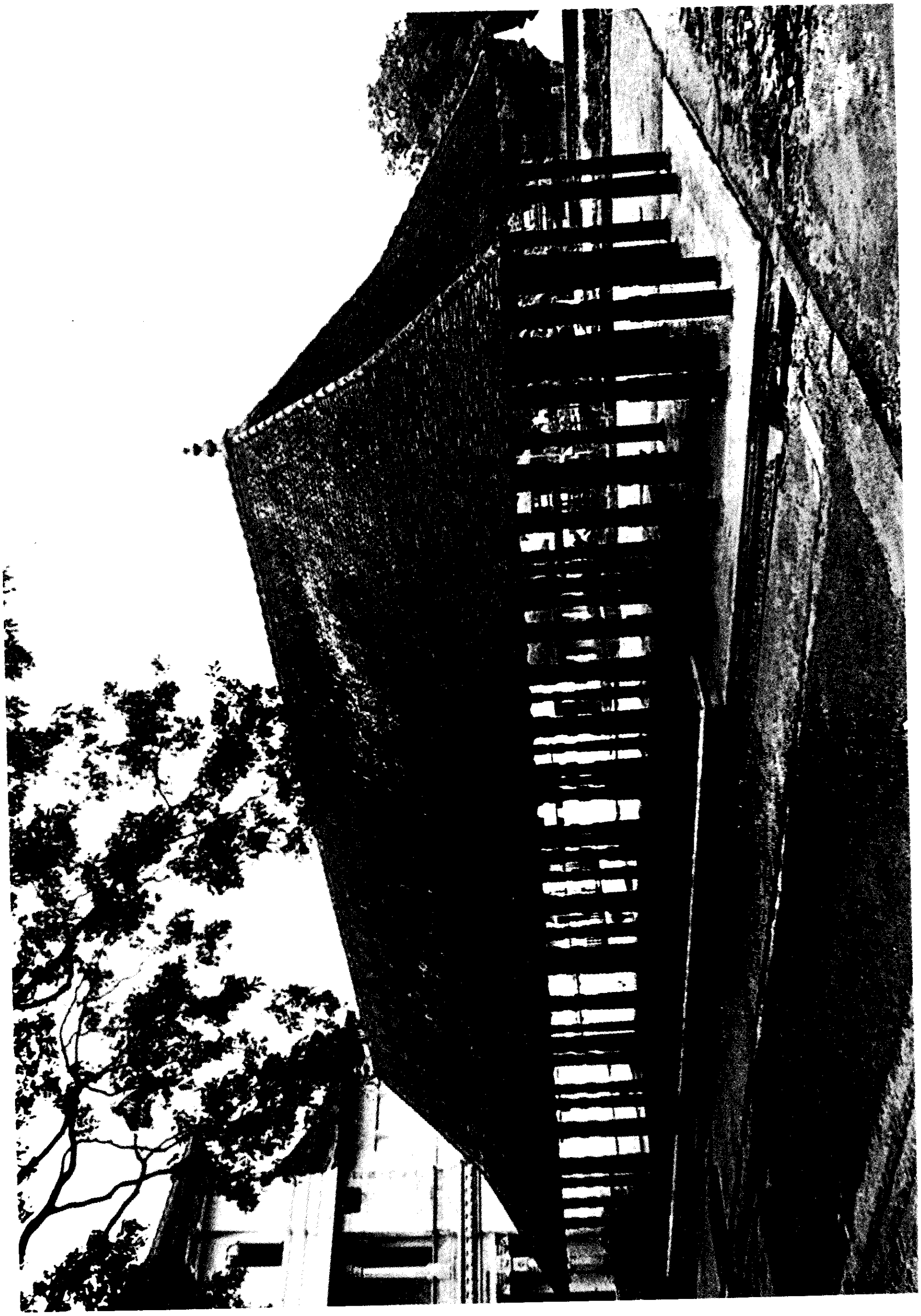


Kandy Lake with the Daladā Māligāva and Udawattekäle in its background.
Courtesy: "Cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka", UNESCO publishing CCF, 1993, p. 156.



Nāthadevāle in the vicinity of the Daḷadā Māligāva.
Courtesy: "Cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka", UNESCO publishing CCF, 1993, p. 171.

PLATE XVIII



Magulmaḍuva or Council Chamber of the Kandyan kings, behind the Daḷadā-Māligāva.
Courtesy: "Cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka", UNESCO publishing CCF, p. 169.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

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In Memoriam

We record with sorrow the sudden demise of the Venerable Tämbiliyana Ariyadhamma Thera who was serving on the Editorial staff of the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism for nearly four years. A keen student of Pali, Buddha Dhamma and Archaeology, he had obtained both the M.A..and the M.Sc degree from recognised universities in Sri Lanka.

The Venerable Thera compiled several articles to the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism some of which have already been published in Fascicle 1 of Volume VI, and the present Fascicle, too, carries several of his articles.

Editor-in-Chief

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. .. Aṅguttara Nikāya, I-VI, ed. R. Morris, E. Hardy, C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1885-1910.

AA. .. Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, (Manorathapūraṇī), I-V, ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp, *PTS.* 1924-56.

AAWG .. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.

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ABORI .. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).

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AM. .. Asia Minor

AMG. .. Annales du Musee Guimet

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Arvs' .. Arthavinis'caya, ed. A. Ferrari, Rome, 1944.

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ASCAR. .. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report.

ASCI .. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Inscriptions.

ASCMem .. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Memoir

ASIAR. .. Archaeological Survey of India, Anual Report

ASIMem. .. Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir

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ASWI. .. Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India

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Avs' .. Avadānas'ataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST*, 19, 1958.

BASR .. Bulletin de I' Academie des Sciences Russie

BB. .. Bibliotheca Buddhica (Leningrad)

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BibIB .. Bibliographie Bouddhique (Paris)

BLIMEO. .. Bulletino dell' Instituto Indiano peril, Medio ed Estremo Orients (Rome)

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BMFJ. : Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise (Tokyo)

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BOH. : Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapest)

BPrāt. : Bodhisattvaprātimokṣasūtra, ed. N. Dutt, *IHQ*, 7, 1931, 259 ff.

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BSS. : Bombay Sanskrit Series

BST. : Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga)

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CII. .. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

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HOS. .. Harvard Oriental Series.

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IA .. Indian Antiquary (Bombay)

IAL. .. Indian Art and Letters (London)

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JAOS. .. Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JAs. .. Journal Asiatique.

JASB. .. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBHU. .. Journal of the Benares Hindu University.

JBORS. .. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

JBRAS. .. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JBRS. .. Journal of the Burma Research Society.

JBTS. .. Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.

JCBRAS. .. Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JDLC. .. Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.

JGIS. .. Journal of the Greater India Society.

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NR. .. Nagoya Daigaku Bungaku -bu Kenkyū Ronshū (Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University).

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OM. .. Otani Daigaku Toshokan-zō Tibet Daizōkoyō Kanjur Kando Mokuroku, Kyoto, 1930-32

Pañc.g. .. Pañcagatidīpanī, ed. L.Feer, *JPTS.* 1884, 152-61.

PB. .. Prabuddha Bhārata.

PBO. .. Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny (The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies, Varsovie).

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PMG. .. Publications du Musee Guimet.

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PSS. .. Panjab Sanskrit Series (Lahore)

PTC. .. Pali Tipiṭakaṃ Concordance, *PTS.*

PTS. .. Pali Text Society (edition).

Pug. .. Puggalapaññatti, ed. R. Morris, *PTS.* 1883.

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SII. .. South Indian Inscriptions (Madras).

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SOR. .. Serie Orientale Roma.

Srs. .. Samādhirājasūtra (chapters 8, 19, 22), ed. Regamey, Warsaw, 1938.

S5kp. .. Saptas'atikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. J. Masuda, Tokyo, 1930.

Ssmg. .. Suttasaṃgaha, ed. P. Chaudhuri and D. Guha, *BI.* 1957.

Ssṃk. .. Saccasaṃkhepa, ed. P. Dhammārāma, *JPTS.* 1917-19, 1-25.

S'sP. .. S'atasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. P. Ghose, *BI.* 1910.

Ssvu. .. Sahassavatthuppakaraṇaṃ (in Sinhalese characters), ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Maradana, 1959.

Sumag. .. Sumagadhāvadāna, ed. G. Tokiwai, 1897.

Sūtrāl. .. (Mahāyāna) Sūtrālaṃkāra, ed. (and translated in French), S. Le'vi, Bibliothe'que de l' Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 159, 190s Paris, 1907, 1911.

Svrṇ. .. Suvarṇaprabhasottamasūtra, ed. J. Noble (Das Goldglanz Sūtra), Leipzig, 1937.

Svu. .. Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa (in Sinhalese characters) ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo, 1959.

Svyū. .. Sukhāvativyūha, ed. F. Max Muller, Oxford, 1883.

Taisho. .. Taisho Shinshu Daziokyo, ed. J. Takakusu, I- CII, 1924-32.

Tant. .. Tantrākhyāna, ed. C. Bendall, *JRAS.* 1888.

Thag. .. Theragāthā, ed. H. Oldenberg, *PTS* 1883.

ThagA. .. Theragāthā, Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha-dipanī), I-III, ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1940-59.

Thig. .. Therigāthā, ed. R. Pischel, *PTS.* 1883.

Thig. A. .. Therigāthā Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha-dipanī), ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1893.

Thūpv. .. Thūpavaṃsa, ed. B. C. Law *PTS.* 1935.

Tikap. .. Tikapaṭṭhāna, I-III (with commentary), ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS*, 1921-23.

Tkg. .. Telakaṭāhagāthā, ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *JPTS*, 1884, 49-68.

T M. .. Tōhokuteikoku-Daigaku Hōbun-gakubu Tibet-Daizōyō So-Mokuroku, I-II, Sendai, 1932.

Triṃs'. .. Triṃs'ikāvijñapti, ed. H. Jacobi (Triṃs'ikāvijñaptimit Bhāṣya des Ācārya Sthiramati), 1932.

TSS. .. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

TT. .. Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition, edited by D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 1-165.

TurkRem. .. Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan, ed. (in conjunction with other scholars) A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, I, Oxford, 1916.

UCR. .. University of Ceylon Review.

Ud. .. Udāna, ed. P. Steinthal, *PTS.* 1885.

UdA. .. Udāna Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī), ed. F. L. Woodward, PTS. 1926.

UDvg.	..	Udānavarga, ed. N. P. Chakravarti, Paris, 1930.
Uvch.	..	Uttaravinicchaya, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* II, 231-304.
VajP.	..	Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. (and translated) E. Conze *SOR.* XIII, Rome, 1957.
Vajsū.	..	Vajrasūci, ed. (and translated), S. K. Mukho-padhyāya, Santiniketan, 1950.
Vbh.	..	Vibhaṅga, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids *PTS.* 1904.
VbhA.	..	Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā (Sammohavinodanī), ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1923.
VBS.	..	Vis'va-Bhārati Studies.
Vickāv.	..	Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna, ed. (and translated) H. Jorgensen, London, 1931.
Viṃs'.	..	(Viṃs'atikā) Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, ed. S. Levi, 1925-26.
Vin.	..	Vinayapiṭaka, I-V, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879-83.
VinA.	..	Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā), I-VII,ed. J. Takakusu, M. Nagai, *PTS.* 1924-47.
VinMS.	..	Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya: Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, ed. N. Dutt, 1939-50.
VinS.	..	Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin, ed. (and translated in French) J. Filliozat and H. Kuno, *JAs.* 1938, 21-64.
Vinvch.	..	Vinayavinicchaya, ed. A. P.Buddhadatta, *BM.* II, 1-230.
Vism.	..	Visuddhimagga, ed. H. C. Warren and D. Kosambi, *HOS.* 41, 1950.
Vvu.	..	Vimānavatthu (with commentary), ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1901.
WZKM.	..	Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Yam.	..	Yamaka, I-II, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, PTS. 1911-13.
YamA.	..	Yamakappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1910-12, 51-107.
ZDMG.	..	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

CROSS-REFERENCES OF SPECIAL TITLES TO ABBREVIATIONS

Atthasālinī	..	Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(DhsA.)*
Madhuratthavilāṣinī	..	Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(BuvA.)*
Manorathapūrani	..	Aṅguttra Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(A A.)*
Niddesa-vaṇṇanā	..	Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(NdA. I, II)*
Papañcasūdanī	..	Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(MA)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(CpA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(ItA)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(PpA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(PvuA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(Thag A.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Therīgāthā Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(Thig A.)*
Paramatthajotikā I	..	Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(KhpA.)*
Paramatthajotikā II	..	Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(SnA.)*
Paramatthamañjūsā	..	Visuddhimagga Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(VismA.)*
Saddhammapajjotikā I,II	..	Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(NdA. I,II)*
Saddhammappakāsini	..	Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(PsA.)*
Samantapāsādikā	..	Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(VinA)*
Sammohavinodanī	..	Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(VbhA.)*
Sāratthappakāsinī	..	Saṃyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(SA.)*
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī	..	Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(DA)*
Visuddhajanavilāsinī	..	Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(ApA.)*

Of their literature only a short treatise on discipline is known, a *Prātimokṣa Sūtra (Kiai-t'o-kiai-ching: Taisho*, No. 1460; *Nanjio*, No 1180) by Gautama Prajnā-ruci. It would appear that they had a *Vinaya Piṭaka* of their own, while their doctrines were close to those of the Dharmaguptakas. The *Vinaya-mātṛkā*, which is usually ascribed to the Haimavatas (because of frequent references to the Himālaya), may have been a text of the Kāśyapīyas, for its authors had a canon very similar to that of the Dharmaguptakas. Their *Sūtra-piṭaka* is practically identical with that of the Dharmaguptakas, and as regards the *Abhidharma-Piṭaka* it is very probable that the Kaśyapīyas borrowed the *Sāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* from the Dharmaguptakas. The few doctrines on which the two schools disagree are found only in post-canonical works.

The five main theories peculier to the Kaśyapīyas are:

1. Past *karma* which has not borne fruit yet exists; the rest of the past does not exist. This is their fundamental thesis which made it necessary for them to establish themselves as an independent school. It is a compromise formula between opinions of the Sarvāstivādins, Mahīsāsakas and Vibhajyavādins. Drawing a comparison from plant-life they say that as long as the shoot does not appear the seed is there, but as soon as the shoot appears, the seed does not exist any more.

2. In abandoning (*prahāna*) there is perfect knowledge (*parijñā*) and without perfect knowledge there is no abandoning. This version agrees with the three Tibetan translations of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva and also with the Chinese translations of Vasumitra by Saṅghabhūti and others of the former Ts'in dynasty. However, the Chinese translations of Vasumitra by Paramārtha and by Hsuan-tsang give a very different and probably mistaken version. According to the Kaśyapīyas, the comprehensive knowledge of a defilement or passion is a necessary condition for deliverance thereof.

3. Whatever is composite (*saṃskrrta*) has a cause (*hetu*) in the past and nothing that is composite has a cause in the future. This total rejection of a final cause, i.e., a goal or purpose being the cause of an action, is evidently a rejection of the theses of the Sautrāntikas and the Sarvāstivādins, maintaining that future actions can be the cause of retribution (*vipākahetu*) and even the efficient or productive cause (*kāraṇahetu*). K'uei-chi, commenting on this view, says that the Kaśyapiyas denied even that the present could be an efficient cause in respect of the future.

4. The actions (*karma*) of learners (*śaikṣa*) on the Path bear fruit (*vipākaphala*). This proposition was aimed at the contradictory views of certain schools, which could lead to an interpretation that the achievements of adepts (*aśaikṣa*, i.e., arhat) are the result of earlier practice.

5. All composite elements (*saṃskṛta*) are instantly destroyed (*kṣaṇika-niruddha*).

Vasumitra and Bhavya mention that their other propositions greatly resemble those of the Dharmaguptakas.

H. G. A. van Zeist

KATARAGAMA. see KACARAGĀMA

KATHĀVATTHU is one of the seven books belonging to the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of the Theravāda tradition. Although the book is believed to have been added to the canon last, in the traditional listing of the *Abhidhamma* books it is placed as the fifth. The traditional Theravāda belief is that the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, in its extant form, was preached by the Buddha himself. In the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgani*, Buddhaghosa says that the *Abhidhamma* was preached by the Buddha to the inhabitants of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven where his mother was born following her death, immediately after the birth of the future Buddha. This theory of the inception (*nidāna*) of the *Abhidhamma* is meant to attribute the general authorship of the *Piṭaka* to the Buddha. However, in the case of the *Kvu.* one has to take into consideration the following two points: (1) *Kvu.* is the only Theravāda *Abhidhamma* book for which the tradition acknowledges a separate author, namely, the great elder Moggaliputta Tissa. (2) Its subject matter is a critique of the so called wrong views adopted by later Buddhist sects that emerged several centuries after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. In this connection, the commentary (viz.*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* has the following explanation to make:

> After he [the Buddha] had taught them the *Dhammasaṅgani*, the *Vibhaṅga*, the *Dhātukathā* and the *Puggalapaññatti*, he thought: when in the future the turn for setting forth the *Kathāvatthu* shall arrive, my disciple, the greatly wise Elder, Tissa, the son of Moggalī will purge the blemishes

that have arisen in the Religion, and calling a third council, will, seated in the midst of the Order, divide this compilation into thousand sections ...... he drew up, with respect to courses to be adopted in all the discourses, a list of heads in a text uncompleted by just one section for recitation.

This saves the situation by attributing the authorship of the main themes of debates recorded in the book to the Buddha and by leaving the detailed authorship to Moggaliputta Tissa.

The historical background of the *Kvu* is the division of the *saṅgha* into many different schools. According to the commentary to the *Kvu.*, one hundred years after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha, a group of monks called Vajjiputtaka proposed laxity of rules. The orthodox monks got together and decided that the proposed relaxation of rules was not warranted by the original *Vinaya* of the Buddha. The group who did not accept this decision broke away from the original group and formed a new sect called 'Mahāsaṅghika' or 'those who belonged to the great community'. The traditional group came to be known as Theravādins' i.e. 'those who follow the doctrine of the Elders'. Subsequently, about two centuries after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha, there sprang five sects from the Mahāsaṅghikas, namely, Ekabbohārika, Gokulika, Paññattivāda, Bāhulika and Cetiyavāda. From Theravāda arose eleven sects, namely, Mahisāsaka, Sabbatthivāda, Kassapīya, Saṅkrāntika, Sutta-vāda, Dhammaguttika, Vajjiputtaka, Dhammuttariya, Channāgārika, Bhadrayānika and Sammitiya. During the reign of Emperor Asoka, who showed great concern for the *sāsana*, there were many who entered it for the sole purpose of living an easy life. As a result, the *sāsana* had become corrupted. The third council was convened by Asoka in order to remedy this situation. In this council, the entire three *Piṭakas* were recited and the *Kathāvatthu* was compiled by the convenor of the council, Moggaliputta Tissa Mahā Thera in order to repudiate the wrong views held by the *nikāyins* other than the Theravādins. This Theravāda version of the story and the very historicity of the third council have been questioned by certain historians. Moreover, it has been shown that some of the sects mentioned in the book belong to a post Asoka period. Nevertheless, the historicity of the book and its author is generally accepted.

Structure of the Book: The *Kvu.* deals with 219 doctrinal interpretations held by various Buddhist schools[1]. They have been arranged under 23 chapters. Scholars who have studied the book have noticed that there is no method or an order in presenting these controversies either by subject matter or by the sects to which these views have been attributed. The book itself does not refer to any of these *nikāyas* by name. That information is provided by the commentary written by Buddhaghosa.

The issues that have been debated cover a wide spectrum of doctrinal matters ranging from the most significant, to not so significant. Among the issues debated, there are four which stand out by virtue of the impact they made on the subsequent evolution of Buddhist philosophy and the monastic tradition. They are: whether the 'person' obtains in a real and ultimate sense (*upalabbhati puggalo sacchikaṭṭha paramaṭṭhena?*); whether everything exists (*sabbaṃ atthīti?*), whether the nature of the Buddha is transcendent and 'whether an arahant could lose his arahanthood' (*parihāyati arahā arahattā*) and many other issues in connection with the nature and the ability of the arahant. The first three issues represent personalism, realism and transcendentalism respectively in the Buddhist philosophical tradition. The skeptical querries and questions on the arahant seem to represent a conscious effort to discredit the arahanthood as the ultimate religious ideal in Buddhism and it is this trend which culminated in Mahāyāna Budhism which is more aptly called the 'Bodhisatvayāna'.

The book begins with the question 'whether the person is known in a real and ultimate sense' (*upalabbhati puggalo sacchikaṭṭha paramaṭṭhena?*). The personalist view which is well known in the history of Buddhism is attributed to Sammitiyas by the commentator. The question has been dealt with extensively. In contrast to the treatment of the other questions, this is the longest, which runs into 69 pages of the *PTS* edition.

The question regarding the alleged non-existence of the Buddha in the world of mankind indicates the transcendentalist trend surfaced in the Buddhist tradition which ultimately led to the arising of Mahāyāna Buddhism in which the Buddha is considered wholly as transcendent. The questions such as did the Buddha

1. By taking the questions: ' whether five sense organs are something visible? and 'whether bodily action is something visible? together with the question: 'whether earth element is something visible?, sometimes the issues are counted as 217.

visit earth by proxy only? (XVIII:1) and did he preach by proxy only? (XVIII:I) further testify to this trend. Many other questions relating to the nature of the Buddha show that the concept of Buddha was a fertile ground for the emergence of many unorthodox views. Among the other issues debated on the nature of the Buddha are: everyday use of conventions by the Buddha (II:10); his powers (III:1,2); possibility of enlightenment through enlightenment (IV:4); his physical marks (IV:7); whether a gift to him could bring blessing (XVVII:10); whether or not he feels pity (XVIII:3); was everything of him fragrant? (XVIII:4); could he work wonders against nature (XXI:4); how do Buddhas mutually differ (XXI:5); and whether or not they pervade the permament? (XXI:6).

Hand in hand with the tendency to establish the trancendence of the Buddha there seems to have been another tendency growing among the Buddhist schools. It is to downgrade the nature of the arahant and other noble persons' (*ariya puggala*) who have realized any one of the other three stages of sainthood. The question: whether an arahant falls away from arahanthood? *parihāyati arahā arahatta?* (chapter) I: (section 2) and many other issues related to the nature of the arahant indicate the later Buddhist developments which ended in almost completely discrediting the high character attributed to the arahant in the earlier tradition. Among many other issues on the arahant which were debated: Can Māras defile him' (II:2); the nature of his knowledge and its limits' (II:2; IV:10; XXII:I); can he doubt' (II:3); 'can others excell him' (II:4) 'difference ...ween arahant and layman' (IV:I); 'can he inherit ...hantship?' IV:2;XXII:5); his common humanity' ... indifference to sensations' (IV:5) 'his attainment ... the final step (IV:10); as adept (V:2); does *karma* ... him? (VII:11); whether or not he accumulates ... more merit (XVII:2.3:) his untimely death (XVII ... his consciouness at death' (XXII:2.3;); bogus ...nts' (XXIII:2); whether or not his emancipation ...mplete' (XXI:3; XXII:1). The overall flavour of ...estions is the wide-spread skepticism regarding ...ted nature of the arahant as recognised in the ...da tradition. It is this trend that served as the ...und to the Bodhisatva doctrine which gradu... ...erged in the Mahāyāna tradition.

... question: 'does everything exist:' (*Sabbaṃ* ...) represents the fundamental doctrine of the ...da or the realist school of Buddhism. In ...er this question the key issue was whether ... present and future are real.

Among the other subjects debated are: the *pathujjana* or average person, gods, the Order of the *Saṅgha, sāsana* (dispensation), individual (*Puggala*), cosmology, the unconditioned or Nibbāna and a number of ethical issues among which the doctrine of *karma* occupies an important place. With the exception of the above-mentioned issues, most of the questions dealt with arise from statements dealing with ethics, psychology and cosmology. And some of them are not matters of great significance. They usually arise from the misunderstandig of the statements of the Buddha. The Venerable Nyānatiloka observes:

> A great deal of those speculations relate, indeed, to very minor matters, and are often merely one-sided, or misleading, statements; and nearly all of them can be traced back to wrong or inaccurate understanding or the indiscriminate use of technical terms, or of utterances occurring in the Canon (*Guide Through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka.* Fourth Edition. 1983 p.61).

The Method: The purpose of the *Kvu.* as we noticed earlier, is to repudiate the views held by the sectarian groups. In order to do so, the book follows two methods: The first is what may be called the logical method which is implemented through such means as analysing concepts, determining their limits and drawing their logical implications. The second is to appeal to the authority of the statements of the Buddha in order to show whether a particular view is in conformity or not with the word of the Master. Since a large number of issues arise from misunderstanding of the text, both parties of the debate refer to the statements of the Buddha in order to support their own case.

The manner of presentation of the issues is dialogical. The discussions run in the form of dialogues between the Therāvādin (*saka-vādi*) and the opponent (*para-vādi*) who may belong to one among many rival schools. The dialogue seems to follow a well-developed mode of debate which is based on mutually agreed upon canons of logical reasoning and categories of exegesis. Among the issues debated, the first is presented in great detail; the others are presented in varying degrees of length. In order to give the reader an idea of the complexity and the richness of the method of the *Kvu*, we will summarize its key elements.

The alleged reality of the '*pudgala*' (individual) has been examined under eighteen aspects. They are: (1) sense of realness (*sacchikaṭṭha*); (2) illustration with

other realities (*suddhika sansandanā*); (3) illustration by way of analogy (*opamma sansandanā*); (4) illustration by the fourfold method (*catukkanaya sansandanā*); (5) associated characteristics (*lakkhaṇa yutti katha*); (6) clarification of terms (*vacana sodhana*); (7) inquiry by way of conventions (*paññattānuyoga*); (8) inquiry by way of birth, departure and re-linking (*gati cuti paṭisandhi anuyoga*) (9) inquiry by way of dependent conventions (*upādāya paññattānuyoga*); (10) inquiry by way of human action (*purisakārānuyoga*; (11) inquiry by way of super knowledge (*abhiññānuyoga*); (12) inquiry by way of kinship (*ñātaka anuyoga*); (13) inquiry by way of birth (*jāti anuyoga*); (14) inquiry by way of practice (*paṭipatti anuyoga*); (15) inquiry by way of approach (*upapatti anuyoga*); (16) inquiry by way of realization (*paṭivedha anuyoga*); (17) inquiry by way of the noble fraternity (*sanghānuyoga*); (18) inquiry by way of the true own character (*sacchikaṭṭhasabhāvānuyoga*).

Of the above-mentioned eighteen aspects the first is treated from four different perspectives, namely, the abstract sense of reality (*suddha sacchikaṭṭha*), locative perspective of reality (*okāsa sacchikaṭṭha*), temporal perspective of reality (*kāla sacchikaṭṭha*) and aspect perspective of reality (*avayava sacchikaṭṭha*). Each of the four perspectives is treated in two ways, namely, the fivefold confrontation of the *paravādin* (opponent) by the *sakavādin* (the Theravādin) (*anuloma paccanīka pañcaka*) and the fivefold confrontation of the Theravādin by the *paravādin* (*paccanīka anuloma pañcaka*). The first comprises the following five aspects: (i) the fivefold affirmative presentation (*anuloma pañcaka*); the fourfold rebuttal (*paṭikamma catukka*); the fourfold refutation (*niggaha catukka*); the fourfold application (*upanayana catukka*) and the fourfold conclusion (*nigamana catukka*). The other pentad too has its corresponding five aspects. The sense of reality treated according to the four aspects, namely, abstract sense, location, time, and aspects, within each structure of the above mentioned two pentads constitute eight refutations. The eight are the following : (1) *suddha sacchikaṭṭha anuloma-pañcaka, paṭikamma-catukka, niggaha-catukka, upanayana-catukka and nigamana-catukka;* (2) *suddha sacchikaṭṭha paṭiloma-pañcaka....* (3) *okasa sacchikaṭṭha anuloma pañcaka* .... (4) *okāsa sacchikaṭṭha paṭiloma-pañcaka"* (5) *kāla sacchikaṭṭha anuloma-pañcaka* ...... (6) *kāla sacchikaṭṭha paṭiloma-pañcaka...* (7) *avayava sacchikaṭṭha anuloma-pañcaka..... and* (8) *avayava sacchikaṭṭha paṭiloma pañcaka......* Of these eight only the first two categories of abstract sense of reality have been described fully. Everything else has been treated in what is popularly known as '*peyyāla*' (abbreviated method).

It is the implicit belief that the method applied in the abstract sense of realness, is applicable to all the questions of the entire *Kvu.* However, the text does not apply the same categories, aspects and sub-divisions, in dealing with the seventeen themes adopted in examining the alleged reality of the individual. Nor does the *Kvu.* apply those categories in dealing with the other 216 doctrinal controversies. There is little doubt that the guidelines delineated here testify to a rich and complex tradition of exegesis, interpretation and debate. As to the remaining questions, a selected number of aspects have been used depending on their relative significance. In some questions, eg. 'Does the arahant fall back from his arahanthood' and 'Does everything exist', the initial presentation of the basic subject matter from the perspective of time and space and as refering to all instances has been called 'canons of debate' (*vāda yutti*), which is followed by a long discussion. (The *PTS* edition does not have this). This is, however, limited to a very few discussions.

What remains universal in the treatment of all issues is the dialogical method containing the essence of logical reasoning. The dialogues show that the participants were well aware of some of the basic rules of logic. For example, the very first dialogue of *Kvu.* runs as follows:

Theravādin:Is 'the person' known in the sense of real and ultimate sense?
Paravādin: Yes
Th.Is the person known in *the same way* as a real and ultimate fact is known?
P. Nay, that cannot truly be said.
Th. Acknowlege your refutation: (i) If the person be known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact, then indeed, good sir, you should also say, the person is known in the same way as [any other] real and ultimate fact [is known]. (ii) That which you say here is wrong, namely, (1) that we ought to say 'the person is known in the sense of real and ultimate fact' but (2) we ought not to say, the person is known in the same way as [any other] real and ultimate fact [is known]. (iii) If the latter statement (2) cannot be admitted, then indeed the former statement (1) should not be admitted. (iv) In affirming the former statement (1), while (v) denying the latter (2) you are wrong.

This dialogue may be re-stated using **p** and **q** for two basic propositions involved in the debate:

Is **p** true?
Yes.
Is **q** true?
It is not true.
Acknowledge the defeat (for if **p** is true then **q** is true; **p>q**)
The assertion that **p** is true but not **q**, is false.
If **q** is not true, then **p** is not true. (*Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge.* K.N. Jayatilleke. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London. 1963 p.413

What is clear in the dialogue is that both the proponent and the opponent were familiar with what is known in modern logic as the rule of implication.

Similarly, the following dialogue (with **p** and **q** attributed to the main propositions) shows that the debaters were aware of what in modern logic is called the rule of contraposition:

P. Is **p** not true?
Th. Yes
P. Is **q** not true?
Th. It is not the case that it is not true.
P. (1) Acknowledge the rejoinder: if **not-p** is true, not-q is true.
(2) The assertion that **not-p** is true but not **not-q** is false.
(3) If **not-q** is not true, then **not-p** is not true.
(4) = 2.

The general mode of the dialogue consists of the lowing: asking a question (*pucchā*); its nowledgement by the opponent either by affirm- or denying it (*paṭiññā*), challenge by the propo- (*anuyoga*) and its rejection by the opponent *kkhepa*). Sometimes refutation (*niggaha*) by the stioner follows the rejection. This simple method een followed consistently throughout the text with rd to the interpretation of various statements of the Buddha and authoritative disciples of the Bud- The awareness of the limits and the logical ndaries of the concepts is the hallmark of these tes. A good case in point is the section called ' the cation of terms (*vacana sodhana*). The follow- xcerpt makes it clear.

Theravādin: Is 'the person' known and conversely, that which is known the person?
Paravādin: The person is known. Conversely, of that which is known some is person, some is not person.
Th: Do you admit this with respect to the subject also: of that which is person, is some known and some not known?
P: Nay, that cannot truly be said.....
Th: Does 'person' mean a reality and conversely?
P: 'Person' is a reality. Conversely, reality means in part person, in part not person.
Th: Do you admit this with respect to the subject also: that person means in part reality in part non-reality?
P: Nay, that cannot truly be said.....

The entire dabate in this section seems to have centred around the limits and the extent of the two key concepts, namely, 'person' and 'reality'. In order to show that there is no unchanging reality behind concepts Moggaliputtatissa produces the following two sets of concepts: (I) pot of oil, pot of honey, pot of molasses, pot of milk and pot of water; (II) pan of water, bag of water, pool of water; the idea is that either the container, in the case of the first group or the contained in the case of the second group can be varied depending on circumstances and that there is no permanent identity behind seemingly permanent concepts. The next two examples. '*nicca-bhatta*' and '*dhuva-bhatta*' show that what is referred to is not 'permanent; (*nicca*) or 'everlasting' (*dhuva*) meal or broth but 'regular meal' and 'thick broth'. This stresses the fact that words do not have fixed meanings but only reference. Moggaliputtatissa's last move is to show that the entire view of the existence of an unchanging person is based on a wrong philosophy of language.

The *Kvu.* represents a very advanced and developed art of debate in which the basic canons of logic which are universally accepted are seen to be emerging. Some modern critics have been hesitant to believe that these ancient Indian debaters possessed a knowledge of sophisticated logical principles. As K.N. Jayatilleke correctly observes, in a situation such as this "one has to rely on the factual evidnece.....and not on hypothetical possibilities of what can or cannot exist' *Ibid.*p.415).

In the Theravāda Buddhist canonical literature the *Kvu.* is significant both historically and philosophically. Historically it reports the viewpoints of various Buddhist traditions contributing thereby to our understanding of not only the vast and variegated traditions of Buddhism but also the Indian religion in general.

Philosophically it contains the arguments adduced by both opponents and proponents for certain very important religious and philosophical positions. In addition to these two aspects, *Kvu's* value as a basic treatise on Buddhist hermeneutics is immense. It also provides valuable information regarding the development of both the art of debate and the logical reasoning in the context of the Indian religion.

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Asanga Tilakaratne

KAṬHINA. *Kaṭhina* in Pali means hard, firm, stiff, etc. As a technical term in Buddhism the word *kaṭhina* denotes a cotton cloth offered to the *bhikkhūs* annually after the conclusion of the 'Rainy Retreat' (*Vassāvāsa* q.v.) by the lay supporters, for the purpose of making robes. This practice started quite early in the *sāsana* with the approval from the Buddha himself. The Buddha, addressing a group of *bhikkhūs* at Jetavana, granted permission for the dedication of *kaṭhina* cloth to the *bhikkhūs* who had successfully completed their rainy retreat (*anujānāmi bhikkhave vassaṃ vuttānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ kaṭhinaṃ attharituṃ* - *Vin.* 1.254). The laity when they make an offering to a single *bhikkhū* or a group of *bhikkhūs*, dedicate the offering to the whole congregation, but in practice the *bhikkhūs* living in a particular monastery make use of that offering. So in the case of the *kaṭhina* too, the offering is made to the *bhikkhūs* living in a particular monastery.

The *bhikkhūs* living in a monastery where the *kaṭhina* cloth is offered, discuss and decide among them as to whom the cloth is to be given. Normally the selection is made considering the state of the robes of the *bhikkhūs* in the temple. If the robes of a *bhikkhu* who has observed the rainy retreat are very old and torn out, the first perference is givne to him. If there are several *bhikkhūs* having only old and torn robes, priority is given to the eldest of them all, provided he has enough assistants to help him to make the robe the same day. If he does not have the necessary assistants and if a younger *bhikkhū* is able to prepare the robe the same day with the assistance of his helpers, preference is given to the latter. But normally the younger *bhikkhūs* invite the eldest in the temple to accept the cloth promising him their help to make the robe.

The Buddha has specifically mentioned that only the *bhikkhūs* who observe rainy retreat are entitled to receive the *kaṭhina* cloth (*Vin.* 1-255). A *bhikkhu* who has spent the rainy retreat in one *vihāra* is not entitled to recieve the *kaṭhina* cloth offered at another *vihāra* (*Aññasmim vihāre vutthavassāpina labhanti*).

Further a *bhikkhū* who has not kept the rainy retreat properly or a *bhikkhū* who has taken upon himself to observe the rainy retreat a month later than the accepted date is also not entitled to receive the *kaṭhina* cloth from the laity.

The *kaṭhina* cloth can be offered by gods or human beings. Apart from laymen a *bhikkhu*, a novice or a *bhikkhuṇi* also can make offerings of *kaṭhina* cloth to the *bhikkhūs*.

If the person offering the *kaṭhina* cloth to the *bhikkhūs* is ignorant of the formal procedure to be followed, he should ask a senior *bhikkhu* about it. Normally a cloth which is enough to make one robe out of the three robes should be offered to the *bhikkhūs* before dawn saying: *kaṭhina cīvaraṃ saṅghassa dema* (I offer this *kaṭhina* cloth to the congregation of

bhikkhūs). It is also suitable to make an offering of needles, thread, colouring, meals and other requisites for the use of those who help in the making of the *kaṭhina* robe.

The *bhikkhu* who is entitled to accept the *kaṭhina* cloth, too, should know the correct procedure regarding the *kaṭhina cīvara* (robe). An old cloth brought from a weaver's house is not suitable. After receiving the new cloth as *kaṭhina*, he should wash it carefully and stitch it with the assistance of other *bhikkhūs* of the temple, that day itself. The robe must be then dyed and spread out in the sun to dry. If he receives other *kaṭhina* clothes from other laymen he should select the best out of them for the *kaṭhina* robe.

A *kaṭhina* cloth (*kaṭhinadussa*) becomes a *kaṭhina* robe (*kaṭhina cīvara*) when it is accepted by a *bhikkhu* after following the necessary procedure. Traditionally the *bhikkhu* who receives the *kaṭhina cīvara* has to wear that robe and deliver a sermon to the lay supporters who gather at the monastery in the evening the same day. In this sermon it is customary to discuss the benefits and the merit that will accrue to the donors (*dāyakas*) of the *kaṭhina* cloth.

The term *kaṭhina* is also used to denote a wooden frame used by the *bhikkhūs* in sewing their robes (*Vin*.II-115-117),

Benefits of offering the kaṭhina robe: The Buddha himself has mentioned about the great importance of offering the *kaṭhina cīvara* (*kaṭhinānisaṃsa*). Even as the mountain *Mahāmeru* cannot be moved by the strongest wind, the merit that accrues to the donor of a *kaṭhina* robe is great and firm. The *Nagitāpadāna* too describes the great benefits of offering a *kaṭhina* robe. Nagita Thera was a rich man in Bandhumati during the time of Vipassi Buddha. He invited Vipassi Buddha and the *bhikkhūs* to observe *vas* and bestowed on the Buddha and the *bhikkhūs* the *kaṭhina cīvara* and meals and made a fervent hope for arahantship. As a result of this offering he was never born in woeful states since that time and was born in heavenly worlds for 18 *kalpas*. He was king of gods (Sakka) 34 times and was 'universal monarch' 84 times. He was born only as a god or a human being. And as a human being he was born only as a *khattiya* or a *brāhmana*. In his last birth as a human being he entered the order of monks in the dispensation of Gautama Buddha and attained Arahantship.

Offering of the *kaṭhina cīvara* is reckoned as one of the eight great acts that yield to the donor the highest benefits (*mahākusala kamma*).

The *bhikkhu* who accepts the *kaṭhina cīvara* becomes entitled to enjoy five privileges, namely:

(1) He is entitled to go in the village from the date of the *kaṭhina cīvara pūjā* up to the full moon day of *medin* without informing the other *bhikkhus* of the temple (*anāmantacāra*)

(2) During the period mentioned above, he is free from fault even if he leaves one of the three robes that he should normally take with him (*asamādāna cīvara*).

(3) He is entitled to request his donors for meals and enjoy it with four or more *bhikkhus* (*gaṇabho jana*).

(4) He can make use of any number of robes without prior determination and assignment (*yāvadattha-cīvara*).

(5) He is also entitled to receive other robes that are offered to the *mahāsaṅgha* up to the end of *hemanta* season (*cīvaruppāda* - *Vin*. 1, 254).

Offering of *kaṭhina cīvara* to the *bhikkhūs* is a traditional and long standing religious ceremony among Buddhists of Sri Lanka. The lay supporters who invite the *bhikkhūs* to observe the 'rainy retreat' in the temple in the village have to feed the *bhikkhūs* and look into their other needs for three months. During the rainy retreat they plan the *kaṭhina* ceremony. One Dāyaka (generally the chief *dāyaka*) collects money for robes from others and assign people to prepare several dishes etc., for the alms giving on the *kaṭhina cīvara pūjā* day. Normally an all-night *pirit* ceremony is held the day before the *kaṭhina* ceremony. While the *bhikkhūs* chant *pirit* some lay supporters leave the temple after mid night to the place where the *kaṭhina* perahera (procession) starts from. Carrying burning torches and accompanied by tom-tom beaters the procession goes round the village carrying the *kaṭhina* cloth respectfully on the head of a *dāyaka*. The procession reaches the temple at dawn and the *cīvara* is ceremonially offered to the *saṅgha*. At the conclusion of the ceremony, *the bhikkhūs* who gather in the temple for the ceremony are offered their breakfast by the *dāyakas*. In the evening the same day the dāyakas congregate in the

temple to listen to a sermon delivered by a resident monk who comes clad in the newly prepared *kathina cīvara*. In this sermon, which lasts for about one hour, the merit and benefits that accrue to the *bhikkhūs* who observe the rainy retreat and the merit that accrues to the *dāyakas* who support the *bhikkhūs* during this three month period is vividly described.

D. Saddhasena

KATHMANDU (ver. Kāṭhmāṇḍū). *Kāṭh* (Hindi). *Kāṣṭha* (skt.) mean 'wood' and '*māṇḍu*' mean 'Pavilion'. The city is so named after an elaborately carved wooden structure extant even to this day in the centre of the ancient quarter of the city, and once used as a shrine. Kathmandu is the capital of the kingdom of Nepal, towards the west side of the valley at the junction of the Bāghmatī and Viṣṇumatī rivers. It has been known by many names, the earliest of them Mañju Pātan, 'city of Mañju' after the great Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Mañjusrī, Yindesī and Kāntipūr. According to Nepalese tradition the city was founded by Gunakāmadeva in 724 A.C., and its present name Kāthmandu was given by Laksminarasinghamalla in 1595 A.C.

Kāthmandu was the capital of Ratnamalla and his successers from 1480 until 1768, then of the Gurkha kings and their hereditary prime ministers, the Rāna. The palace in the Durbar Square (known as 'Hanuman Dhok'), is an immense complex built around 40 or 50 courtyards and most of the palace buildings were erected under Pratāpamalla (1639-89) and Pṛthvī Nārāyan Sāh (1770). In the old town to the south of the palace are the Gāla Bahāl-a Buddhist monastery founded by Samkaradeva in the seventh century, other Buddhist monasteries founded by Thakuri kings and Pratapamalla, the great Buddhist sanctuary Matsyendranātha from the period of Yakṣamalla (1428-80) and the image of Vajrayoginī (Tāntric) in the Śānku temple built by Sūryamalla in the 18th century.

Kirkpatric who visited the city in 1793 suggests that the name of the city is derived from its numerous, unique and attractive wooden temples (W. Kirkpatric, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, London 1811, p. 159). Besides the wooden structures, Kathmandu contains several large scale temples constructed in brick with one or more sloping roofs with pinnacles at the top. There are, also, a few superior roofs which are splendidly gilt, producing a picturesque effect.

In the new town, to the south east of the old town, is located the Mahānkāl (Mahākāla) temple of great antiquity. Although Hindus regard it as dedicated to their supreme deity Śiva, its Buddhist origin cannot be doubted as the chief icon of the shrine represents in its forehead a small *dhyāni* Buddha carving, a common feature in Mahāyāna Bodhisattva images (H.A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal*, London, 1880, vol.I, p. 110). Today this temple has become a place of worship used both by Buddhists and Hindus.

While the Hindu temples in the city are located near some of the main thoroughfares, the Buddhist shrines are built in squares or quadrangles in the parts of the city exclusively inhabited by the Buddhist Newars. One such important shrine is the temple of Ādibuddha', known also as Buddhamaṇḍal. The older part of this temple was enclosed within the roots of a sacred banyan-tree when noticed in the previous century.

The most important Buddhist monument in the city is the famous Svayambhūnāth stūpa. It consists of a solid hemispherical structure of earth and brick, about 60 ft. in diameter and 30 ft. in height, supporting a lofty conical spike, the top of which is crowned by a richly carved pinnacle of gilt copper (op.cit.vol. II, p. 224).

A. D. T. E. Perera

KATIKĀVATA. *Katikāvat* (pl.) literally mean: 'Codes of Conduct for the *saṅgha* agreed upon by common consent'. The term can be derived from Pali *katikā* + *vatta*. *katikā* generally means 'agreement arrived at after discussion'. S. Peranavitana (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II p. 267-273) observes: "The word (*katikā*) appears to be formed by the addition of the feminine or diminutive form of the suffix *ka* after the verbal form *kata*, and therefore would signify 'an act'. Originally it seems to have been the term by which a decision of an assembly, whether political or ecclesiastical, was technically known. The decisions of the village councils in Malabar are referred to in inscriptions by the cognate term *kacca* (Skt. *kṛtya*. In the early Pali writings, the word denotes 'agreement', 'contract' or 'pact'. (*EZ*. Vol. II, p. 267, n. 3). *PED* however, seems to suggest *kathikā* > *katikā* by de-aspiration.

In Pali literature, the two words *katikāvata* and *katikā* seem to have been used with almost identical meaning, e.g. (a) *amhākaṃ katikāvattaṃ bhinditvā*

kasmā akāle āgatā (*J.* VI. 541), (b) *tena kho pana samayena Sāvatthiyaṃ saṅghena katikā katā hoti* (*Vin.* I, 153).

Although it is possible to make a distinction in the meaning, one finds the two words being used in identical meaning, as far as ecclesiastical agreements are concerned, as evident from the following examples: (i) *me katikā mahasaṅgunräkka yutu* (*EZ.* Vol. I. No. 2, p. 25) (ii) *dharmavinaya saṇsandanakoṭa äduroldа novihidä kaḷa katikāvati* (*EZ.* Vol. II, No. 41, p. 265).

The *Manorathapūraṇī* (*AA.* III, 23) attests an instance of a *katikā* agreed upon by a group of *bhikkhūs* where the *bhikkhūs* were opting to voluntarily impose a punishment on themselves for violating a *katikā*. *Katikāvat* undoubtedly were codes of conduct or regulations formulated after discussion and agreement intended to be observed by the *saṅgha*. There could, in addition, be regulations meant for laymen as well, associated with the *saṅgha*. The term is used in a more general sense in the Badulla Pillar Inscription for regulations intended to be followed by the people (not the *saṅgha*).

The sole responsibility of setting up a *katikāvata* rested with the *saṅgha*. The king's responsibility was to see to the implementation of the regulations in his role as the protector of the *sāsana*. Whenever a pious king noticed that reforms were needed in the *saṅgha*, he would invite the *saṅgha* to formulate rules after discussion among themselves and issue a *katikāvata*. The rulers would even go to the extent of getting the recalcitrant individuals expelled from the *saṅgha*.

It is generally believed that the first *katikāvata* formulated in Sri Lanka was that of Parākramabāhu I (in 1165 A.C.), designated as the Polonnaruva or Galvihāra katikāvata, after the deliberations at a formal council of the *saṅgha* of the three sects (*nikāya*) that existed at the time. The *bhikkhus* who were found to be corrupt or faulty in observances of the *Vinaya* rules were compelled to leave the order.

These codes of conduct or *katikāvat* could be divided into two *groups* based on their contents and the extent of their jurisdiction. Certain *katikāvat* were limited to a single *vihāra* or a number of *vihāras* belonging to a particular group while the jurisdiction of certain other *katikāvat* covered the entire community of *bhikkhūs* (*saṅgha*) in the country. Thus for convenience of analysis it is possible to divide them into two groups as:

(a) *Katikāvat*, the jurisdiction of which is limited to a single *vihāra* or a number of *vihāras*, i.e. *vihāra katikāvat*
(b) *Katikāvat*, the jurisdiction of which extends over the entire *saṅgha* community. i.e. *Sāsana katikāvat*.

Katikāvat relating to vihāras: During the latter part of the Anuradhapura period, i.e. 9th and 10th centuries, quite a number of lithic records have been set up laying down codes of conduct or disciplinary regulations for the guidance of the *saṅgha* and others associated with an individual *vihāra* or a group of *vihāras*. These contain all the characteristics of a *katikāvata* in spite of the fact that their jurisdiction had been limited to the stipulated *vihāra* or *vihāras*. Hence the name *vihāra katikāvata*. However it must be noted that these records had been called by other names as well. The following extracts indicate that terms *katikā*. *sirit*, *vatsirit vävasthā* were used in an identical sense: (i) *me katikā mahasaṅgun räkka yutu EZ.* Vol. 2, Vessagiri slab No. 1, Line 25), (ii) *me me nakay abadi avasaṭme sirit täbavūhu* (*EZ.* vol. 1, no. 4, slab inscription of Kassapa IV, line 14), (iii) *dasapak davas täbävū vatsiriti* (*EZ.* vol. 1, no. 15, slab inscription of Udā Mahayā, lines 24-25), (iv) *me vävasthā pahaṇa*; *me vävasthā tabanuladī* (*EZ.* Vol. 1, no.2, Vessagiri Slab no. 2, lines 31 and 37).

It is also of interest to note that the first use of the word '*katikāvata* found in a Sinhala record other than an inscription was in *sikhavalandavinisa* (p. 87), a work belonging to the late Anuradhapura period. According to the context, in giving accommodation to an elderly *bhikkhu* from another *vihāra*, the resident *bhikkhu* was expected to inquire about the *katikāvat* respected in that *vihāra*. This is further proof of the existence of *vihāra katikāvat*.

The follwing are the main lithic records that come under this category.:

(i) Abhayagiri (erroneously called Jetavanārāma Sanskrit inscription, 9th c. (*EZ* Vol. I No. 1).
(ii) Slab inscription of Kassapa V, 10th c. (*EZ.* Vol. I, No. 4).
(iii) Vessagiriya Slab, Inscription, Slab No.1, 10th c., also called Viraṃkurārāma Inscription (*EZ* Vol. I No. 2)
(iv) Vessagiriya Slab Inscription, Slab no. 2 10th c. (*EZ* Vol. I, no. 2)

(v) Puliyaṅkulama Slab Inscription of Udā Mahayā, 10th c. (*EZ*. Vol. I, no. 15).
(vi) Kaludiyapokuna Inscription of Sena IV, 10th c. (*EZ* Vol. I, no. 27)
(vii) Vessagiriya (erroneously called Jetavanāramaya) slab inscription of Mahinda IV, 10th c. (*EZ* Vol. 1, No. 20)
(viii) Tablets of Mahinda IV, at Mihintale, 10th c. (*EZ*. Vol. 1 no 7.)
(ix) Päpiliyāna inscription of Parākramabāhu VI, 15th c.

All but the last of the above records belong to the late Anuradhapura period. Further, all these *katikāvat* of the late Anuradhapura period were promulgated in respect of the Abhayagiri *Vihāra*. Obviously these regulations were necessary because of the laxity in discipline on the part of certain individuals. Perhaps the *Sikhavalandavinisa*, the compendium of *Vinaya* rules, fulfilled the same function for the *Mahāvihāra*. Towards the latter half of the Anuradhapura period, the Abhayagiri fraternity seems to have overshadowed their rivals, the Theravādins, in numbers, wealth and power.

Of the *vihāra katikāvat* the Mihintale tablets seem to be the longest and the most comprehensive. An examination of the contents shows that the regulations were laid down mainly in respect of "the great community of monks living in this *vihāra* (*me vehera vasana mahabiksaṇg himiyanaṭ*) the employees (*kämiyanaṭ*) and the serfs (*dasnaṭ*)'. The other category of persons for whom these *katikāvat* contain regulations as shown in other records were the royal officers (*rajkol samdaruvan*). Further, these records enumerate the respective duties (*kaṭayutu*) and the receipts and disbursements (*labanu diyäyutu*). The first 9 lines of theMihintale record serve as an introduction. This gives information about the king under whose patronage the regulations were promulgated, the participants, the objectives etc. Lines 9 to 20 consist of 9 regulations in respect of the community of monks. They were expected to lead an exemplary life without seeking personal gain. This section ends with the injunction. "Monks who infringe these regulations shall not live in the *Vihāra*". Lines 20-59 deal with regulations in respect of *Vihāra* officials. This document has a comprehensive record of the names of *Vihāra* officials and their duties. Rules regarding the preservation of *Vihāra* treasures, disbursement of income etc. have been accurately dealt with. The regulations in the second slab deal with the emoluments to those performing assigned duties. No service whatsoever was exacted without payment either in money or in kind or in the shape of grants of land. Employees who did not conform to the regulations were to be discontinued.

The other *vihāra katikāvat* mentioned above contain much the same regulations though none of these records are as comprehensive as the Mihintale Tablets. Some of the regulations given in the Abhayagiri Sanskrit inscription are indicative of the nature of violations prevalent at the time. Those *bhikkhūs* who possessed even an inch of the soil of this country, those who led improper lives and those who supported women were debarred from dwelling in the *Vihāra*. *Bhikkhūs* who sent betel leaves and other gifts to the royal household either for the sake of gain or out of respect, too, were similarly debarred.

These records often stipulate that *bhikkhūs* and laymen who transgress the regulations laid down should not reside within the precincts of the *Vihāra*. Certain other records like the Vessagiriya slab No. 1 make an injunction to the effect that the monks should observe these rules: *me katikā mahasangun räkkäyutu*. The Kaludiyapokuṇa inscription has gone further by way of conveying a threat: "should any person, whether he be monk or employee of the monastery or officer of the royal household transgress these regulations, may he not be able to see the Maitreya Buddha".

The Päpilliyāna record of the 15th century is interesting as a code of regulations pertaining to a *vihāra* in that it gives a full account of the lands donated to the *Vihāra* and their administration. The regulation prohibiting "*bhikkhūs* who have committed a *pārājikā* offence" to live in the precincts of the *Vihāra*, is noteworthy. No other *katikāvata* contains such a regulation, for it is taken for granted that a *bhikkhu* who commits a *pārājikā* offence is no more a *bhikkhu*. However, we are reminded of the regulation in the Abhayagiri Sanskrit inscription prohibiting *bhikkhūs* "who lead improper lives or those who support women" to live in the *Vihāra* premises.

We are also not sure if this Päpiliyāna record could qualify itself to be considered a real *katikāvata*. According to its introduction the king himself had used his authority in formulating the regulations. In doing so he had merely consulted the chiefs of the different *gaṇa* or 'chapters', (*gaṇa deṭu tän da piḷ ivisä*). Moreover the document does not mention the word *katikāvata*. It has been called *dharmānugata vyavasthā*

- regulations in accordance with the *Dhamma*.

Katikāvat* pertaining to the *sāsana, i.e. *sāsana katikāvat*: The following records belong to this category:

i. Maha Parākramabāhu Katikāvata of Parākramabahu I, also called Galvihāra Katikāvata, 12th c.
ii. Dambadeṇi Katikāvata of Parākramabāhu II, 13th c.
iii. Kirti Sri Rajasinha Katikāvata, 18th c.
iv. Rajādhirājasiṇha Katikāvata, 18th c.

The Mahāparākramabāhu Katikāvata is also called the Galvihāra Katikāvata because it has been inscribed on the rock face at the Galvihara chiselled smooth for the purpose. The other records have been preserved mostly in ola leaf manuscripts.

Two other records, namely, the Polonnaruwa Häṭadāge inside wall inscription of Kīrti Nis's'aṅkamalla, and that of Parākramabāhu VI of Kotte lay down regulations to be follwed by the *Saṅgha*, but they do not conform to the requirement of a *katikāvata* for the regualtions seem to have been laid down by the kings themselves. The *Nikāyasaṅgrahaya* and the Dambadeṇi Katikāvata speak of a *katikāvata* promulgated under the auspices of Vijayabāhu III of Polonnaruva; but such a record is not available today.

The Mahā Parākramabāhu Katikāvata, being the first of its kind, had served as the model for all the succeeding ones. In fact these *katikāvatas* had copied its historical introduction word for word and added a brief history of the *sāsana* up to the reign of the king concerned.

The historical intoduction of this *katikāvata* gives a brief account of the *sāsana* up to the time of Parākramabāhu I and the reasons that called for a *katikāvata*. Just as much as Moggalīputta Tissa Thera presided over the third Council, Mahā-kās'yapa Thera of Udumbaragiri (Dimbulāgala) was invited to preside at the assembly. The unification of the three *Nikāyas* was one of the greatest achievements of Mahākās'yapa and Parākramabahu I. The second part of the document (lines 18-51) consists of 27 regulations. Most of these regulations seem to aim at bringing about a well disciplined *bhikkhu* community that can win the respect of the laity.

The intention of the king and the elders, who formulated the regulations to be observed by the entire community of *bhikkhus*, was clear. It was: "To make the *sāsana* endure for five thousand years, in order that those of negligent conduct may not find an opening (for transgression)'. These expectations, however, were not fulfilled, for, within less than a hundred years Parākramabāhu II of Dambadeṇiya (1236-1270 A.C.) had to undertake a similar task and issue another code of regulations, viz. the Dambadeṇi Katikāvata. The Council that formulated this code of regulations was headed by Āranyaka Medhaṅkara Mahāsvāmi. Elders of both *araṇyavāsi* (forest dwelling) and *grāmavāsi* (village dwelling) fraternities participated in this Council. It is stated that the king "had come to know of the non-observance and ill-observance (of rules of conduct) by those in the *sāsana* who led heedless lives, thereby, contributing to the downfall of the *sāsana*." This was obviously the reason which led the king to have taken the initiative to promulgate this *katikāvata*. There are nearly a hundred regulations incorporated here as opposed to the twenty seven in the previous Galvihāra document.

It is interesting to note that the Dambadeni Katikāvata gives the title of Āranyaka Medhaṅkara as Mahāsvāmi, the Elder who presided over the council.

The title of the Elder who presided over the Polonnaruwa Council was Mahāthera. This leads one to conclude that the office of Mahāsvami was instituted sometime between the two *katikāvatas*. In fact, the Dambadeni Katikāvata mentions two Mahāsvāmis, one for the Grāmavāsi fraternity and the other for the Āraṇyavāsi fraternity. It further states that "no *bhikkhūs* other than these two should be appointed Mahāsvāmi, for a plurality of leadership, certainly, leads to the destruction of the *sāsana*". Composing *s'lokas* for laymen was prohibited to the *bhikkhūs*. So was learning and teaching of poetry, and drama. These subjects have been branded as despicable arts (*garhita vidyā*). The Elders who sat in the Council would have thought that indulgence in those arts would be an impediment to the holy life of a *bhikkhū*. However, these regulations were meant to be observed by the *bhikkhūs* and not by laymen.

Yet another interesting regulation in the Dambadeṇi Katikāvata has fixed the number of *bhikkhūs* required to perform certain disciplinary functions (*vinayakamma*). A *vinayakamma* which earlier could be performed in the presence of four *bhikkhūs* now required eight. At least ten *bhikkhūs* were required

for a *vinayakamma* which could have been performed by five earlier. The reason for doubling the number of *bhikkhūs* with higher ordination (*upasampadā*) may be that due allowance had to be made for those of lax morals, for, according to the *vinaya*, such *vinayakamma* are valid only when they are performed in the presence of virtuous monks.

The Dambadeṇi Katikāvata, for the first time, fixes the minimum age for ordination as 12 years for the *grāmavāsa* and 14 years for the *vanavāsa*. Here, one is reminded of an injunction in a *vihāra katikāvata* (viz. the slab inscription of Kassapa V) not to ordain young lads (*unu povā*) although no age limit was fixed. The Dambadeṇi Katikāvata contains another regulation that had a bearing on the social life of not only the *saṅgha* but the whole country, i.e. the requirement to enquire into birth and clan (*jāti gotra vicārā*) among other things before giving ordination and prohibiting entry into the order to certain caste groups. Further, certain key posts such as the Āyatana (chief of the institution) could be held only by those born in the villages of either *saṅgamu* or *gaṇavāsi*. By the time of the Dambadeni Katikāvata caste distinctions played a key role not only in entering the order but also in holding high positions in the *saṅgha*. This caste requirement seems to have been further clarified and strengthened subsequently, for Kīrti S'rī Rājasinha of Kandy (1747-1780 A.C.) is said to have issued another injuction in the following terms: "superseding the injuction of the Buddha I impose a royal injuction - to those who do servitude to others, to those who perform lower and cruel deeds and to their offspring, to those who belong to low castes and births, ordination in the Buddha *sāsana* should not be given from now on". However, such an injunction has not been included in the main *katikāvat* of Kīrti S'rī Rājasiṃha.

The Kīrti S'rī Rājasiṃha *katikāvata* was established on the advice of Välivita S'rī Saraṇaṅkara Thera. This record includes the Dambadeṇi *Katikāvata* in its entirety with a continuation of a brief history of the *sāsana* up to Kīrti S'rī Rājasiṃha. Twelve other regulations have been added with a view to dissuading the *bhikkhūs* from resorting to personal gain. One regulation prohibits the acceptance of gold and silver.Writing of books, other than those on the *dhamma* for the singular purpose of acquiring merit, was prohibited too.

This *Katikāvata* too, does not seem to have been successful in preventing the decadence of the *saṅgha*. Rājādhirājasimha who succeeded Kīrti S'rī had to get another *katikāvata* formulated in his seventh regnal year. Deviating from the earlier practice of copying the introduction of the preceding *katikāvata* here we find only a brief summary of the usual intorduction. The regulations, too, were confined to 14, all of which attempt to rectify the abuses as evident from the follwing: "A *bhikkhu* should not go to manors of officials with lawsuits connected with anyone, whether relatives or not.

"Those despicable sciences such as the exorcism of *yakkhas*, divination by light-reading, detecting thieves by means of *mantras*, divination by means of signs and omens, should neither be studied nor practised". Engaging in such activities as trade and agriculture was also prohibited to *bhikkhus*.

Thus we see that both the *vihāra* and the *sāsana katikāvat* have been promulgated by rulers and the relevant codes of counduct formulated on the advice of the *mahāsaṅgha*, from time to time, with the best intention of arresting the deterioration of the way of life of the *bhikkhūs*. Similarly, there were also regulations against various abuses by the lay members associated with the *sāsana*. Those documents were expected to be read at the congregations of monks from time to time as stipulated. This seems to be the function of "*saṅgsena vata kiyana vathimiyan*" (The Elder who reads/recites the codes in the Sangsen Monastary) mentioned in the Puliyankulama record of Udā Mahayā. '*Vata*' here refers to the *katikavata* of the *vihāra*. The Dambadeṇi Katikāvata and the Kīrti S'rī Rājasimha Katikāvata categorically state that they should be read by all on every *poya* day.

Apart from the *katikavat* discussed above, with the establishment of different *nikāyas* in comparatively recent times the necessity had arisen to formulate regulations for the respective *nikāyas*. At present there are three main *nikāyas* namely, Siyam, Amarapura, and Rāmañña. These *nikāyas* in turn have further subdivisons. The Siyam Nikaya has had two main fraternities called Malvatu and Asgiri almost from its inception and later developed further subgroups. The Amarapura Nikāya has the largest number of sub groups. All of them have their own rules and regulations called *katikāvat*. The following are some of the historical *katikāvat* that belong to different *nikāyas* of the present day:

i. Sāsanābhivṛdhivardhana Katikāvata established in

1795. This had been formulated by the Kāraka Saṅgha Sabhā of the Asgiri fraternity of the Siyam Nikāya.

ii. Mahanāyaka - Anunāyaka Katikāvata of 1828 - Galgiriyāve Dhammarakkhita Sumaṅgala Mahānāyaka Thera and two other Anunāyaka Theras had been responsible for this *katikāvata*.

iii. Paramadhamma Katikāvata of 1858. This was a *katikāvata* of the Asgiri fraternity.

iv. Abhinava Katikāvata of 1920 - agreed upon by the *Kāraka Mahā Saṅgha* of the Malvatu fraternity. This was issued under the signature of Amunugama Sri Nivāsa Mahānāyaka Thera.

v. Sri Lanka Rāmañña Nikāya Katikāvata - this document reprinted in 1950 states that it had been originally finalised in 1872.

These *katikāvat* by virtue of their being limited to the respective *nikāyas* or sub groups stand comparison with the *vihāra katikāvat* discussed above.

A.V. Suraweera.

KĀVERIPAṬṬANA, a village that was situated in Krishnagir Tāluk of Selum District in the Tamilnādu State. This village was situated in the delta where the river Kāveri flowed into the sea and it was the capital of Cholas about two thousand years ago. The village was also known as Kāvirippum Paṭṭinaṃ, Pukār (Puhār), Kāvera Paṭṭanaṃ, Pum Pukār Nagaram and Pum Paṭṭinam. "Paṭṭinam" means 'a village situated close to the sea'. The village was well known from ancient times and it is said in the *Periplus of the Erithrean Sea* and Tolemy's treatise on geography, that there was a famous port close to the village, even from pre-Christian times. The author of the first treatise called the village 'Puhār' and the author of the second treatise called it Khaberis. According to the above authors Kāveripaṭṭana was the sea port city of the Chola kingdam.

According to the Tamil tratises *Silappadikāram, Maṇimekhalai, Ahananūru* and *Paṭṭinappalei*, people of Kāveripaṭṭana engaged in commercial transctions with countries in the west in the coastal belt of the Meditaranian sea and with countries in the East up to China. Reference is also made in several texts to many festivals, dances and ritual offerings made to various deities by the people of Kāveripaṭṭana. The main annual festival held was the festival of god Indra. According to the Tamil text *Paṭṭ ippuṭṭu*, one of the many items imported into this city from Sri Lanka was rice. *Milindapañha* mentions this city as Kolapaṭṭanam.

According to Buddhadatta, the Pali commentator and compiler of several Pali texts, Kāveripaṭṭana was a flourishing Theravāda Buddhist country during his time (3th century A. C.). Buddhadatta compiled the *Vinaya* text called *Vinayaviniccaya* during the reign of king Accyuta Kalabhra. Buddhadatta in his *Abhidhammāvatāra*. says that there was a great Buddhist monastery in Kāveripaṭṭana, with library facilities and erudite bhikkhus, built by Khandadāsa, a minister and that Buddhadatta lived there for sometime.*

T. Ariyadhamma

KĀYA - The term *kāya* is used in Pali literature to convey several shades of meaning such as 'group', 'heap', 'accumulation', 'realm' or 'sphere' and 'collection'. Thus, for example a multitude of people is called *mahājanakāya* (*S*. IV. 191; V. 170, *VvA*. 78); a group of elephants is referred to as *hatthikāya*, a group of chariots as *rathakāya* and a platoon of soldiers as *pattikāya* (*S*. I. 72). An extended meaning of *kāya* is seen in the classification of the seven, such as 'a mass of skins' (*cammakāya*) ' a mass of wood' (*dārukaya*), 'a mass of copper' (*lohakāya*), 'a mass of iron' (*ayokāya*), 'a mass of sand' (*vālukākāya*), ' a mass of water, (*udakakāya*) and 'a mass of planks' (*phalakakāya*) - *J*. II, 91). *Kāya* is also used occasionally to mean 'sphere', 'realm' and 'world' as in 'the sphere of Asuras' (*asurakāya*), 'the realm of the Ābhassara deities' (*ābhassarakāya*), 'the world of the Tāvatiṃsa deities' (*tāvatiṃsakāya*).

The word *kāya* is frequently used in Pali canonical works to denote the physical body of a being, specially the body of a human being, The words *sarīra* and *deha* are also used in some contexts as synonyms for *kāya* in this sense. For instance, a philosophical question raised, by some heretical religionists in the Buddha's day, was whether the soul was identical with the physical body (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*) or whether

* This note on Kāveripaṭṭana has been based on information given in the *Sinhala Encyclopaedia*. Volume 7 and B.N. Chaudhury's *Buddhist Centres in Ancient India*. *E-m-c*

the soul was one thing and the body was something else (*aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ-D*. I. 157). A person who was in the third of the four stages of spiritual growth (*anāgāmi*) was referred to in several contexts as one who bore the last physical body (*antima deha dhāriṃ* - *S*. I, 14, 53; II, 278; *Sn*. 471). Some Indian religious thinkers in the day of the Buddha taught that the physical bodies of beings (*kāya, deha, sarīra*) were mere lumps of the indestructible natural elements. Thus Ajita Kesakambali maintained that the physical bodies of beings are made up of the five eternal indestructible elements, namely the element of earth, the element of water, the element of heat the element of wind and the element of space. When a being dies the body (*kāya*) disintegrates and the five elements revert to their original sources and there is no meaning of actions good or bad. Ajita Kesakambali rejected the idea that a being survives after death and maintained that everything regarding a being ended at death (*D*. I. 55). Pakudha Kaccāyana presented the same idea in different words. He spoke of seven groups of elements that go to make up a being, namely, the elements of earth, water, heat, wind, happiness, suffering and the life principle. These seven are not the creation of an external force (*akata*) and they last for eternity; they are independent and do not obstruct one another. So, there is no killer or one who causes others to kill; there is no hearer or one who causes others to hear; there is no knower or one who makes others to know. When some one takes a sword in his hands and chips off another's head, one does not commit murder, but one only makes a cleavage in the lump made up of the seven indestructible elements. The being does not survive his death and the being who cut off the head of the other thereby commits no sin (*D*. I, 56).

Buddhism, too, recognises that all beings are made up of material forms (*rūpakāya*) which have the characteristics of the four elements (*mahābhūta*), but rejects the view that beings are purely the products of these great elemetns. All beings possess consciousness (*viññāṇa*) which is not a product of the physical body, though the physical body, plays the role of a base for consciousness to function. Consciousness is dependent in origination and is subject to constant change and renewal. Consciousness of a being does not cease to be with the disintegration of the material form (*rūpakāya*) of a being at death, but continues in *saṃsāra* with new material forms, until it becomes inoperative with the realisation of *nibbāna* by the being.

The human body (*kāya*) has been considered as a fitting subject of meditation to subdue the three roots of evil (*akusala*) in human thought, namely greed (*lobha*), hatred (*dosa*) and ignorance (*moha*). For this purpose the trainee (*sekha*) in meditation is made to analyse the human body from several angles. In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*. (*D*. I, 76) the *kāya* is described as made up of the four great elements (*mahābhūta*), namely, the element of earth (*paṭhavī*), the element of water (*āpo*), the element of fire (*tejo*) and the element of wind (*vāyo*). It is further described in the same *sutta* that the *kāya* originates from a mother and a father (*mātā pettisambhavo*), sustains on material food (*odanakummāsa upacayo*) and that its very nature is impermanence (*anicca*). It is subject to erosion, abrasion, dissolution and disintegration. *Kāyānupassanā* (q.v. - contemplation on the body) is the first of the four applications of mindfulness. For details regarding meditational analyses on *kāya*, see KĀYAGATĀSATI, KĀYĀNUPASSANĀ.

W. G. Weeraratne

KĀYAGATĀSATI, 'mindfulness in regard to the body' is a name for fourteen kinds of meditation having various aspects of the body as its topics. These meditations, treated under six groups, consist of mindfulness with regard to breathing-in and breathing-out (*ānāpānasati*), and with regard to postures (*iriyāpatha*) full awareness of the activities of the body (*sampajañña*), contemplation on repulsiveness of the body (*paṭikkūlamanasikāra*), on the four great elements (*dhātumanasikāra*) and the nine charnel ground meditations (*nava-sīvathika*: *M*. III, 89 ff.; 198). This group of fourteen meditations is identical with the first of the fourfold application of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*) called contemplation of the body (*kāyānupassanā*: *D*. II, 290 ff.; *M*. I, 58 ff.)

Thus in the *suttas*, *kāyagatāsati* is used synonymously with *kāyānupassnā*. But, in the *Visuddhimagga*, *kāyagatāsati* refers only to one of the fourteen meditations, treated as *kāyagatāsati* or *kāyānupassanā* in the *suttas*, namely, to contemplation on the repulsiveness of the body (*paṭikkūlamanasikāra*: *Vism*. 198).

Buddhaghosa who treats all the meditations under two groups, concentration - meditations (*samādhibhāvanā*) and insight-meditations (*vipassanābhāvanā*) describes some of the fourteen meditations, given under *kāyagatāsati* or *kāyānupassanā* in the *suttas*, as insight-meditations, some as concentration meditations and still others as belonging to both. Thus, mindfulness

with regard to postures, full awareness of the activities of the body and contemplation on the four great elements are purely insight meditations, as their exercise produces insight. The nine charnel-ground meditations belong to both, since, on the one hand, they deal with that particular phase of insight which is called contemplation on danger (*ādīnavānupassanā*) and , on the other hand, contemplation on various stages of decomposition of the body, called meditation of foulness (*asubha*), produces mental concentration. Mindfulness with regard to breathing -in and breathing-out is a separate subject of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*) described as one of the ten recollections (*anussati*). So, in the *Visuddhimagga* classification of meditations, contemplation on repulsiveness of the body (*paṭikkūla-manasikāra*) alone remains to be treated as 'mindfulness with regard to the body' (*kāyagatāsati*) which refers to contemplation on the thirty - two parts (*dvattiṃsākāra*) of the body (*kāya: Vism.* 198).

Buddhaghosa gives a detailed description and explanation of the method of developing concentration on the thirty-two parts of the body, namely, (1) hairs of the head (*kesā*), (2) hairs of the body (*lomā*), (3) nails (*nakhā*), (4) teeth (*dantā*), (5) skin (*taco*), (6) flesh (*maṃsaṃ*), (7) sinews (*nahāru*), (8) bones (*aṭṭhi*), (9) marrow (*aṭṭhimiñja*), (10) kidney (*vakkaṃ*), (11) heart (*hadayaṃ*), (12) liver (*yakanaṃ*), (13) diaphram (*kilomakaṃ*) (14) spleen (*pihakaṃ*), (15) lungs (*papphāsaṃ*), (16) lower intestines (*antaṃ*), (17) bowels (*antagunaṃ*), (18) stomach (*udariyaṃ*), (19) excrement (*karīsaṃ*), (20) brains (*matthaluṅgaṃ*), (21) bile (*pittaṃ*), (22) phlegm (*semhaṃ*), (23) pus (*pubbo*) (24) blood (*lohitaṃ*), (25) sweat (*sedo*), (26) fat (*medo*), (27) tears (*assu*), (28) skin-grease (*vasā*), (29) saliva (*khelo*) (30) nasal mucus (*siṅghānikā*), (31) oil of the joints (*lasikā*) and (32) urine (*muttaṃ*).

The beginner should first contemplate on his own body, from the sole of the foot upward and from the top of the hairs downward, with a skin stretched over it and filled with manifold impurities. He should repeat the words that refer to the thirty-two parts of the body. Buddhaghosa suggests a method by which one may be able to be conversant with the wording of the exercise. He advises the beginner to break the thirty-two parts into six sections, namely, (1) the skin-pentad (*taca-pañcaka*) which includes the first five parts; (2) the kidney-pentad (*vakka-pañcaka*) which includes the second five parts (3) the lung-pentad (*papphāsa-pañcaka*) which covers five parts with lungs as the fifth; (4) the brain-matter pentad (*matthaluṅga-pañcaka*) including five parts ending with brain matter (5) the fat-sextet (*meda-chakka*), including six parts with fat as the sixth and (6) the urine-sextet (*mutta-chakka*), the last six parts. Then each of these sections could be contemplated upon separately, from the first to the last and from the last to the first. When he repeats the words, the mind will not rush here and there, and the different parts will become distinct and appear like a row of fingers or a row of hedge-poles. As one repeats the exercise in words, one should do it also in mind. The repeating in mind forms the condition for the penetration of the characteristic marks of the parts. One who has thus examined the parts of his own body as to colour, shape, region, locality and limits, and considers them one by one and not too hurriedly, as something loathsome, and continues to contemplate on it, sees all these things very clearly. Then he should direct his attention to the bodies of other beings. When all parts appear distinctly, then all men and animals moving about lose the appearance of living beings and appear like heaps of many different parts. And it looks as if those foods and drinks, being swallowed by them, were being inserted in this heap of parts. While one is repeatedly conceiving the idea: 'disgusting, disgusting; one attains full concentration of the mind, i,e., the first mental absorption (*paṭhamajjhāna*). In this connection, the appearing of colour, forms etc. of the parts is called acquired - image (*uggahanimitta*) while the arising of loathsomeness forms the counter-image (*paṭibhāga-minitta: Vism.* 198-220)

Upali Karunaratne

KĀYAKAMMA, 'physical action' or 'action done through the medium of the body'. Regarding the generation of the kammic force as taught in Buddhism, action (*kamma*) is said to be three-fold, namely bodily or physical action (*kāyakamma*), verbal action (*vacīkamma*) and mental action (*manokamma*). To generate the kammic force by body and speech the mind (*mano*) too, has to play a role, namely, physical and verbal action has to be accompanied by a thought or volition (*cetanā*) to generate the kammic force.

Buddhism speaks of ten courses of inefficient or unwholesome actions (*akusala kammapatha*) and ten courses of efficient or wholesome actions (*kusala kammapatha*). Of the ten unwholesome cources of action, three are performed through the medium of the body. They are : killing (*pāṇātipāta*), stealing (*adinnādāna*) and sensual misbehaviour (*kāmesu*

micchācāra). Refraining from killing (*pāṇātipātāveramaṇī*), refraining from stealing (*adinnādānā veramaṇī*), and refraining from wrongful sensual gratification (*kāmesu micchācārāveramaṇī*) are the three courses of efficient actions (*kusalakammapatha*) performed through the medium of the body. see KAMMA, KAMMAPATHA.

KĀYĀNUPASSANĀ, contemplation (*anupa- ssanā*) on the body (*kāya*), one of the four applications of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), is a name for the fourteen kinds of meditation having various aspects of the body as its topics. These meditations, treated under six groups, consist of mindfulness with regard to breathing -in and breathing out (*ānāpānasati*), and with regard to postures (*iriyāpatha*), full awareness of the activities of the body (*sampajañña*), contemplation on loathesomeness of the body (*paṭikkūla-manasikāra*) and, on the four great elements (*dhātumanasikāra*) and, finally, the nine kinds of charnel-ground meditation (*nava-sīvathika: D.* II, 290 ff.; *M* I, 56 ff.) These meditations deal with every aspect of the body: its respiration, its postures, its movements and activities, its thirtytwo constituent parts, the primary elements of which it is composed and the various stages of its decomposition after death.

Ānāpānasati is mindfulness (*sati*) of breathing-in and breathing-out (*ānāpāna*); it is one of the ten kinds of recollection meditations (*anussati*) and is, therefore, one of the forty topics of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*).

Iriyāpatha, 'postures', is to be aware and mindful of the four postures, namely, walking, standing, sitting, and lying down.

Sampajañña 'awareness', is to be conscious of one's own activities such as going forward and backward looking forward and around; bending and stretching the limbs; eating, drinking, chewing, and tasting, discharging excreta; walking, standing, sitting, falling asleep and awaking; speaking and keeping silent.

Paṭikkūlamanasikāra, is synonymous with *kāyagatāsati* (q.v.) and *dvattiṃsākāra* (q.v.), is the contemplation on lothesomeness of the thirty-two constituent parts of the body; it is one of the ten kinds of recollections (*anussati*) and is, therefore, one of the forty topics of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*).

Dhātumanasikāra, synonymous with *dhātuvavaṭṭhāna* and *dhātukammaṭṭhāna*, is the contemplation on the four primary elements of which the body is composed; it is one of the forty topics of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*).

Navasīvathika, nine charnel-ground meditations, is meditation on the nine stages of decomposition of the body after death. This is more or less identical with the ten reflections on loathsomeness of the body (*asubha*). see KĀYAGATĀSATI, SATIPAṬṬHĀNA.

Upali Karunaratne

KĀYASAKKHI (*kāyasākṣi:* Skt), 'body-witness', a trainee aryan (*sekha* or *saikṣa*) who, on attaining to the absorptions (*jhāna*) or deliverances (*vimokha*), destroys some of the cankers (*āsava*: *M*.I, 478; *Pug*. 14-15, 29; *Abhsy*. 88); he is one who first comes in contact, in his own person, with absorptions and then realises cessation (*nirodha*), i.e., *nibbāna* (*Ps*. II, 52; *Vism*. 566; *DA* III, 889-90). In this type of individual, it is said, the faculty of concentration (*sāmadhi-indriya*) is predominant (*Ps*. II, 52; *Vism*. 566).

The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* gives two kinds of *kāyasakkhi*, ('body-witness'), firstly the body-witness to one or the other of the first seven of the nine attainments (*samāpatti*), namely, the four *jhānas* of the material sphere and the first three *jhānas* of the non-material sphere. They are *kāyasakkhi* to the extent of their attainments. The other kind, those who have gone beyond these seven atttainments, are body-witness to the last *jhāna* of the non-material sphere and to the attainment called the cessation of sensation and feeling (*saññā-vedayita-nirodha*), more frequently called the attainment of cessation (*nirodha-samāpatti*). This latter kind are called *kāya-sakkhi* in the full sense of the term (*A*, IV, 451-52; *AA*. IV, 206). The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* gives three kinds of *kāyasakkhi*, namely, those who realise one or the other of the first three supramundane fruitions (i.e., *sotāpanna*, *sakadāgāmī* and *anāgāmi*) after coming in contact with the absorptions (*DA*. III, 889-90).

According to the *Abhidharma-samuccaya kāyasākṣi*, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Pali term *kāyasakkhi*, is the trainee-arya (*s'aikṣa*) who has attained the eight-fold deliverance (*aṣṭavimokṣa*: *Abhsy*. 86, 88).

The *Abhidharmakoṣa* is more precise in its definiton of *kāyasākṣi* and says that he is an *anāgāmin* who has realised the cessation of sensation and feel-

ings (*saññā-vedayitanirodha*) which is identical with the attainment of nirvana (*Abhk.* VI, pp. 177, 185).

Since the *ārya* individuals have been classified in different ways, the *kāyasakkhi* appears in different lists of *āryas*. Thus, he is one of seven *āryas* (*D.* IV, 105, 254; *M.* I, 477; *A.* IV, 10; *Abhk.* 185 etc.) and one in a list of ten *āryas* (*A.*V, 23), and again, one in a list of twelve (*Netti.* 190), and also one in yet another list of twenty seven *āryas* (*Abhsy.* 86).

Upali Karunaratne

KĀYAVIÑÑATTI (*Kāyavijñapti*:Skt), bodily expression, or gesture, one of the two modes of intimation, *i.e.*, the two means of communication of one's thoughts to another, the other mode being vocal expression (*vacīviññatti*,q.v.) It is a material element *rūpadhamma* and is defined as the state of bodily tension or excitement on the part of a person who advances or recedes or flexes the gaze or glances around or retracts an arm or stretches it forth (*Dhs.* 143 ff.) It is said to result in response to a thought which is either morally wholesome (*kusala*) or unwholesome (*akusala*) or indeterminate (*avyākata:Dhs.* 143). For this reason it is also described as invariably set up or given rise to by consciousness (*cittasamuṭṭhāna: ibid.* 147). It is called *kāyaviññatti* because it is the bodilly expression or bodily intimation of that morally qualifiable thought in response to which it arises; it makes the thought known (*viññāpanā*) ; it is the state of having made that thought known *viññāpita*: *Dhs.* 143)

It is quite clear from this brief explanation given by the Theravadins that *kāyaviññatti* is not identical with the movements of the body. It means the bodily tension, the bodily excitemet, on the part of a person who moves his body or limbs to convey an idea.

The Sāmmitīyas and the Vātsiputrīyas adopt a more direct approach. They consider *kāyavijñapti* to be bodily movement (*Abhk.* ch. IV, *v.*2 f; *La Siddhi de Hiuan Tsang*, tr. Poussin, p. 48). The *Karmasiddhiprakarana* says that the movement is that of the body (*kāya*), and it is this movement that is recognised as the *vijñapti*, because it makes manifest or expresses that thought in response to which it arises. It is included in the sphere of the visible (*rūpāyatana*), because it is the movement of the body, of matter, that is visible. Hence it is the opinion of the Sāmmitīyas and the Vātsiputrīyas that *kāyavijñapti* is apprehended by the organ of sight Le Traite de La Demonstration de L'Acte, *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, tr. by E. Lamotte, IV, p. 214, n.22).

The Vaibhāṣikas object to this interpretation on the ground that there is no movement in an ultimate sense. All elements of existence (*dharma*) are momentary. Wherever they come into existence, there itself they cease to exist (*Sphuṭārtha abhidharmakoṣa-vyākhyā*, p. 33). Motion is not something that exists in reality, but is a name given to the appearance of momentary elements in adjacent locations (*Abhk.* ch. IV, vv. 2ff). If somebody retracted his arm or stretched it forth, in an ultimate sense, it is incorrect to say that his arm had moved. What actually happened was that the series of momentary elements that constituted what was called the arm arose in adjacent locations in a certain direction. Only the place of the arising of elements had changed; not a single element had moved.

To identify *kāyavijñapti* with bodily movements is, therefore, to deprive it of its position as a real *dharma*. To deprive it of its position as a real *dharma* is to undermine the very foundation of the *avijñaptirūpa*, in the defence of which, the Vaibhāṣikas, time and again, joined issue with the Sautrāntikas.

Hence, according to the Vaibhāṣikas, *kāyavijñapti* is not the movement of the body, but is such and such figure (*samsthāna*) of the body, given rise to, or conditioned by, a volitional thought (*cetanā*). This *kāyavijñapti-samsthāna* is something that is visible (*ibid. v.* 2. ff). It can be apprehended independently of the colour of the body (*Sphuṭartha*...... p. 26.).

Thus, although the Vātsiputrīya-Sammitīyas and the Vaibhāṣikas differ in answering what exactly constitutes *kāya-vijñapti*, both agree that it comes under the sphere of the visible (*rūpāyatana*); it can be apprehended by the organ of sight.

Viewed against this background, the *kāyaviññatti* (Skt. *kāyavijñapti*) of the Theravādins (*Dhs.*p. 179) raises one important problem. It was not identified by the Theravādins with the bodily movements, nor was it taken by them as something that is apprehended by the organ of sight. Its inclusion in the category of mind-objects under the heading *dhammāyatana-pariyāpanna* (*ibid.*) shows that it cannot be known by any of the senses other than the mind (*mano*). It is known through a process of inference. In which way, then, does it function as a mode of self-expression? This is a question about which the *Dhammasangaṇī* is practically silent.

It may be noted here that in the *Dhammasangani*

account reference is made not only to the state of bodily tension or excitement which is *kāyaviññatti*, but also to bodily movements such as retracting an arm or stretching it forth. This is an indication to the fact, although bodily movements are not *kāyaviññatti*, yet they have a close connection with it: they too have a part to play in the expression of thought.

What this close connection is would be clear if a correspondence could be established between the *kāyaviññatti* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and that of the Darṣṭantikas as given in the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*, according to which there is a certain *rūpa* which is neither colour nor figure, but is the cause of bodily movements (*La Siddhi*. p. 48). What this certain *rūpa* is not explained here in more definite terms. In the *Karmasiddhi-prakaraṇa* (pp. 219 ff) of Vasubandhu an almost identical, if not the same, theory is attributed to the Sauryodayikas. According to this theory bodily movements are due to the air-element (*vāyu-dhatu*), given rise to by a certain variety of consciousness. And it is this air-element which is recognized as the *kāyavijñapti*.

Kāyavijñapti, according to these two accounts, is the course of bodily movements. From this it may be concluded that the Dārṣṭāntikas do not seem to have overlooked the contention of the Vātsiputrīyas, namely, that *kāyavijñapti* occurs only when there is some kind of movement of the body, and not otherwise (*Abhk.* Ch. IV, *v.* 2f).

It may then be asked why the designation, *kāyavijñapti*, is given to the course of bodily movements themselves? For, according to this explanation, the significance of *kāyavijñapti* as a mode of expression is rather indirect. But, like the Vaibhāṣikas, they, too, were committed to the theory of the denial of motion. For, although they speak of movements, they do not recognize them in an absolute sense. Strictly speaking, there is no movement of a thing from one locus in space to another (*deśantarasaṅkrānti*), but only the appearance of momentary elements in adjacent locations (*deśāntarotpatti*, *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, pp. 219-20). It seems very probable, therefore, that it was with a view to retaining its reality that *kāyavijñapti* was sought to be identified with the course of bodily movements.

It is clear that there is some similarity between the *kāyaviññatti* of the Theravādins and that of the Dārṣṭāntikas and the Sauryodayikas.

The former, too, is neither colour nor figure, for its exclusion from *rūpayatana* and its inclusion in *dhammayatana* precludes its being identified with either. This similarity goes still further. One of the terms used in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* in defining *kāyaviññatti* is *thambitatta*, tension or distension. This term is used in the same text also in defining the air-element (*Dhs*.p. 177). It may be noted here that the Sauryodayikas have identified *kāyavijñatti* with the air-element.

Does this mean that the *kāyaviññatti* of the Theravādins, like that of the Sauryodayikas, is the air-element? Two of the seventeen material elements listed in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* under the heading *cittasamuṭṭhana*, i.e., arising in response to, or conditioned by, consciousness are *vāyo-dhātu*, the air-element, and *kāyaviññatti* (*Dhs*.p. 147). If the two are identical they would not be mentioned separately and counted as two items. On the other hand, if the *kāyaviññatti* were different from, or if it had no connection with, *vāyo-dhātu*, it would not be explained as tension of the body. The relation between the two seems to be one of identity as well as difference.

Kāyaviññatti is a condition for the occurrence of bodily movements. It is through bodily movements, which are conditioned by *kāyaviññatti*, that a particular thought is expressed or intimated. The thought is known by inference after the apprehension of the colour of the body which is in movement (*ibid*. 273-75; *VismA*. 451).

In recognizing *kayaviññatti* as a condition for the occurrence of bodily movements, the Theravādins are in general agreement with the Dārṣṭāntikas and the Sauryodayikas. However, there is this significant difference to be noted. According to the Sauryodayikas *kāyavijñapti* is the air-element whereas, according to the Theravādins, it is an alteration of the mode of the air-element.

Kayaviññatti seems to have been so called by the Theravādins because of two reasons: In the first place, it makes manifest or expresses that particular thought in response to which it arises. This manifestation or expression is a certain tension or excitement of the body. It is not something that is visible (*Abhidhammatthavikāsini*, p. 275), but it is the physical representation of a mental event. In this sense it is that which makes known, i.e. *viññapana*.

Elsewhere in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* it is stated that the *kāyaviññatti* is co-existent with the thought (*citta-sahabhū*) in response to which it arises, and follows the pattern of the thought (*cittānuparivatti*) in response to which it arises (*Dhs.*p. 148) The implied reason is that since it is the physical manifestation or representation of a thought, its duration, too, should be equal to the duration of that particular thought. And since it is brought about by being conditioned by that thought which it make manifest, it, too, follows the pattern of that particular thought.

It should be noted in this connection that, in the view of the Theravādins, the duration of a material element is longer than that of a mental element (*S.* II, 94; *Kvu.* 620 ff). Accordingly, although the consciousness-born air-element and its concomitants cannot be described as co-existent with the thought , because, to describe them so is to admit that their duration is equal to that of the thought-moment. But *kāyaviññatti*, has to be co-existent with the thought. This explains why the designation, *kāyaviññatti*, is given, not to the air-element and its concomitants, but to their alteration of mode.

It appears contradictory to recognize *kāyaviññatti* as a material element while describing it as co-existent with thought. It should be noted here that what is called *kāyaviññatti* is not a material element in its usual sense (see *viññatti-rūpa*). It is not something which is distinct and separate from the air-element and its concomitants. It signifies only a particular situation or position, i.e, alteration of mode, of the latter. It is a name given to the latter when they are in a particular position. Apart from the air-element and its concomitants, of which it is an alteration of mode, there is no separate material element called *kāyaviññatti*. In other words, *kāyaviññatti* is a name given to the air element and its concomitants when they function as the bodily expression of a thought. Stated otherwise, the air-element and its concomitants are called *kāyaviññatti* as long as that particular thought in response to which they arise, exists, because it is during this time that they make manifest or represent that thought and function as a condition for the occurrence of bodily movements and thereby make known that thought.

However, the air-element and its concomitants do not cease to exist concurrently with the cessation of that particular thought in response to which they arise; but their position and function as *kāyaviññatti* do.

Thus it is clear that *kāyaviññatti* is not a material element, distinct and separate from the air-element and its concomitants, signifying as it does only an alteration of mode of the latter.

However, in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* not only the air-element and its concomitants, but also *kāyaviññatti* are described as given rise to by thought (*citta-samuṭ ṭhāna: Dhs.* p. 148), a situation which gives the impression that the latter has an arising separate from that of the former. Nevertheless, the fact that *kāyaviññatti* is described as co-existent with thought, although no material element can be so described, suggests that thereby the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* does not mean that it is a separate material element. The logic that seems to have guided it in taking such a step could be that, since the air-element and its concomitants are *citta samuṭṭhāna*, given rise to by consciousness, their *ākāra vikāra*, alteration of mode, *i.e. kāyaviññatti*, too, is *citta-samuṭṭhāna*. See *Viññattirūpa* and *Vacīviññatti*.

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KEGON (Ti-lum Tsung in Chinese), one of the Chinese Buddhist sects based on the doctrine of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* of Vasubandhu which is a commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, a section of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

The translation of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra:* The preface by Th'ui-kuang to the Chinese version speaks of the translation of this text as follows: In the first year of the Yung-p'ing era (508 A.C.), the emperor gave the mandate to Bodhiruci from nothern India, Ratnamati from central India and to more than ten other scholars to translate this text. They were well versed in Buddhism and investigated the doctrine of this text completely. They finished the work of translation of this text in the early summer of the fourth year of the said era (511 A.C.)

So, the Chinese version gives the translaters' names as Bodhiruci and others. But the *Li-tai-sa-pas-chi* (*Taishō*, No. 2034) and the *Hsü-kao-seng-chuan* (*Taishō*, No. 2060) mention the divergence of opinion among the translators. According to the *Hsü-kao-sêng-chuan* (*Taishō*, Vol. 50, p. 429), Bodhiruci, Ratnamati and Buddha-śānta translated the text separately and later someone else collated them into one text.

It is doubtful whether there were three translations, but it is believed that this sect was divided into two

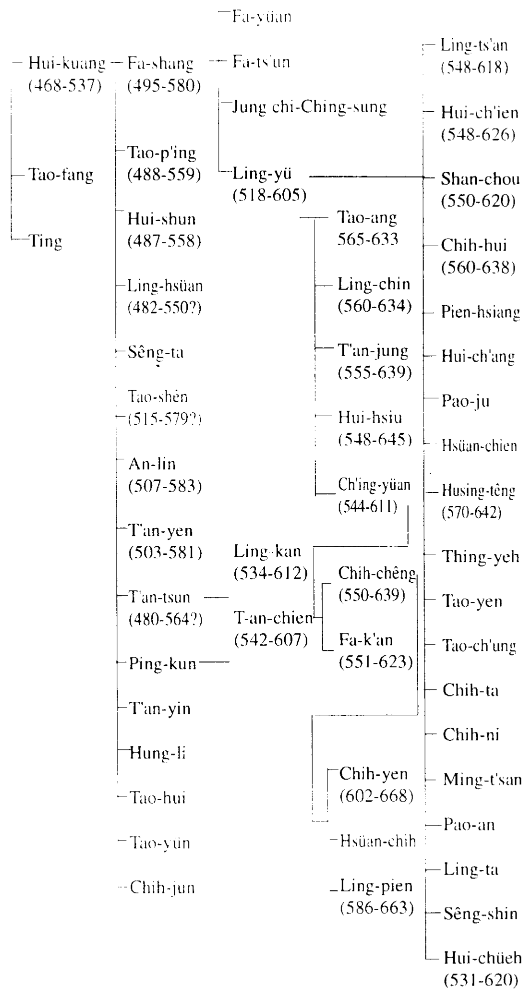
sub-sects because of the differences in interpretation between Bodhiruci and Ratnamati. It is believed that the fundametal idea of Bodhiruci is based on the concept of *ālaya-vijñāna*, when Ratnamati's standpoint is based on that of the pure mind, the *tathāgatagarbha*.

Hsiang-chou nan - Tao Pai: 'Hsiang' is the name of a country (Chou) in northern China. Then, the capital was in Hsiang county. 'Nan-tao' means southern way. So, this is the sub-sect (P'ai) which flourished in the southern part of the Hsiang county. And the other sub-sect was the Hsiang-chou Pei-tae P'ai which flourished in the northern part of the Hsiang county.

The *Hsü-kao-sêng-chuan (Taishō*, Vol. 50, p. 482) states a scholar's opinion of the origin of sub-sects as follows: Ratnamatī taught the doctrine to three disciples. To Tao Ting, the *Dharma* of the mind was transferred. And the *Dharma* and *Vinaya* were taught to Hui-kuang alone. Bodhiruci taught the doctrine ot Tao-ch'ung only, who taught it to four monks including Lao-i. Hui-kuang, who stayed at the southern part of the Hsiang county, taught the doctrine to ten disciples including (Tao) p'ing and (Sêng) fan.

This view is believed widely. The Nan tao P'ai or the southern sub-sect inherited the doctrine of Ratnamati which was promulgated by Hui-kuang.

The lineage of the Nan-tao P'ai (southern-sub-sect)



Hui-kuang (468-537 A.C.) was ordained under Buddhas'ānta and participated in the work of the translation of the *Das'abhūmika-sūtra-s'astra*. Later, he commented on the *Das'abhūumikasūtra-śastra*, *Avataṃ-saka-sūtra*, *Mahāparinirvānasūtra*, *Vimalakīrtinir-des'a*, *Bodhisattvacaryā-nirdesa*. *Srīmālā-siṁhanāda-sūtra etc*. He wrote the commentary on the *Dharmagu-ptaka-vinaya*, too. He was appointed by the emperor as the administrator of the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. He is called the founder of the Dasábhūmika sect and the restorer of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya sect.

Fa-shang (495-580) was the most eminent disciple of Huikuang. He lectured on the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* at the age of fifteen. Then, he became a diciple of Hui-kuang. The emperor Wen-hsuan received the precepts from him. According to the imperial mandate, he stayed at the Ting-kuo temple in the capital. He founded the Ho-shui temple at Hsi-shan. He lectured and commented on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra. Bodhisattvacaryā-nirdeśa, Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, etc. He wrote the *Fu-hsing-lun* (A treatise on the Buddha nature) and the *Ta-ch'eng-i-chang* (An outline of the doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhism).

Seng-fan studied the doctrine of the Nirvāna sect, then, became a scholar of the Dasābhūmika sect. He stayed at the Ta-chuch temple in the capital and lectured on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra, Daśabhūmikasūtra-sāstra, Bodhisattvacaryā-nirdeśa, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, Srīmālā-siṃhanāda-sūtra*, etc., and worte commentaries on them.

Hui-shun realised the essential doctrine of the Daśabhūmika sect under Hui-kuang. He stayed at the Tsung-ch'in temple in the capital and lectured on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śastra, Bodhisattvacaryā-nirdeśa, Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, and *Vimalakirti-nirdeśa* and commented on them.

Sêng-ta studied the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra* under Ratnamati at first, and later under Hui-kuang. He was very much admired by the emperer Wu (464-549) of the Liang dynasty. He stayed at the Hung-ku and the Ting-kuan temples and lectured on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra, Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra* and *Bodhisattva-caryā-nirdeśa.*

An-lin (507-583) studied the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śastra* under Hui-kuang. He lectured on the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* as well as on many Mahāyāna *sūtras* and *śā stras.*

Fa-ts'un, Jung-chih and Hui-yüan were eminent disciples of Fa-shang. Fa-ts'un was formerly a scholar of Taoism. During the T'ien-pae era (550-559 A. C.) he was converted to Buddhism and became a disciple of Fa-shang. Later, he was appointed to the *karmādāna* of the Ho-shui temple.

Jung-chin lectured many times on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra* and was believed to have always had about five hundred disciples.

Hui-yüan (523-592) is famous as a scholar on the history of Chinese Buddhism. He stayed at the Ching-ying temple. He wrote the commentaries on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra, Bodhisattvacaryā-nirdeśa Avataṃsaka-sūtra, Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, Vimalakīrti-nirdesa, Srīmālā-siṃha-nāda-sūtra*, etc. He wrote the *Ta-ch'eng-i-chang (Taisho*, No. 1851), which is greatly valued by Buddhist scholars, even today. Among his many disciples, Ling-ts'an, succeeded Hui-yüan as the chief incumbent of the Ching-ying temple. Hui-ch'ien, Chih-hui, Hsüan-chien, Tea-yen, Chih-ni, Pao-an, Sêng-hsin and others lectured on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-Śāstra* and *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra.*

T'an-ch'ien, a disciple of T'an-tsun, at first studied the doctrine of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra, Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śastra, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, Laṇkāvatāra-sūtra, Bodhisattvacaryā-nirdeśa*, etc. But when the emperor Wu (543-578 A.C.) of the Chou dynasty, banned Buddhism he escaped to southern china, where he obtained the *Mahāyānasamparigraha - śāstra.* T'an -ch'ien is considered as the founder of the Mahāyānasamparigraha sect in nothern China.

Ling-yu, a disciple of Tao-p'ing lived in the Ta'tz'u temple and the Yen-k'ung temple and studied the doctrines of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra, Mahaparinirvāna-sūtra, Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra* and *Vinaya.* He commented on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra, Bodhisattva-caryā-nirdeśa* and so on.

Tao-ang, a disciple of Ling-yu, lectured on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra.* Ch'ing-yüan, another disciple of Lingyu founded the Chih-hsiang temple at Chung-nan-shan and excelled in the doctrines of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra, Daśabhūmi-kasūtra-śastra, Bodhisattvacaryā-nirdeśa, Mahāpari-nirvāṇa-sūtra* and so on.

Hsiang - chou Pei - Tao P'ai: The southern sub-sect (Nan-tao P'ai) thus flourished but the nothern sub-sect seems not to have been so prosperous as the southern sub-sect. Seng-hsin, Fa-chi, Tan-li, Lao-i, Ju-kao, Chih-nien and others are mentioned as disciples of Tao-ch'ung. But the careers of many of them are not known.

The lineage of the Pei-tao P'ai (nothern sub-sect):

Tao-ch'ung	Sêng-hsiu-pao-hsi	T'an-hung
Fa-chi	Hui-ning	Ning-hung
Tan-li	Tao-chao	
Lao-i	Ming-ju	
Ju-kuo	Yüan-ch'ang	
Chih-nien	Hui-tsang	
(534-607)	Hung-kai	
	Fa-i	
	Huai-chêng	
	Tao-shên	
	Hui-hsiu	
	Yüan-ts'an	
	Shan -chu	

Tao-chung was at first a scholar on Confucianism and had more than one thousand disciples. But later he was converted to Buddhism. Hearing the translation of the *Das'abhūmikasūtra -s'āstra*, he went to see Bodhiruci under whom he studied the text for three years. Later, he lectured on the *Das'abhūmikasūtra-sāstra*. Tao-ch'ung had more than one thousand followers who promulgated the doctrine of this sect.

Chih-nien (534-607 A.C.) studied at first the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* under Tao-ch'ang, then the *Das'abhūmikasūtra-s'āstra* under Tao-ch'ung and Hinayāna Buddhism under Hui-sung. When Buddhism was banned by the emperer Wu in 574 A.C., he escaped to Pohai, where he studied further the doctrines of Hinayana Buddhism. He stayed at the K'ai-i temple, and a t the Ta-hsing kuo temple and wrote the commentary on the *Abhidharma-hṛdaya-sāstra* in nine facicles and the interpretation of the same work also in nine fascicles.

Among Chih-nien's disciples, Hui-hsin is best known. He studied the Hinayana texts under Chih-nin. Vinaya under Hung-li and Fa-li, the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-s'āstra* under T'an-ch'ien and Tao-ni, and the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* under Ling-yu. He and his disciples, too, were excellent exponents of the *Mahāyānasamparigraha-s'āstra*. Thus, he and his disciples and thereby the northern sub-sect seem to have been absorbed into the Mahayanasamparigraha sect.

According to the *Fa-hua-haiien-i-shih-ch'ien* (Taisho, Vol. 33 p. 942), the instructors of the southern and the nothern sub-sect disputed with each other on the problem of the foundation of all *dharmas*. From this account, we can recognise that the nothern sub-sect was also powerful during the Chou (557-589 A.C.) and the Sui (589-618 A.C.) dynasties. But it is not known who the instructors of the nothern sub-sect at this dispute were.

The Classification of Buddhism: Buddhist doctrines of several schools, that developed in India, were systematically introduced into China. Thus, Chinese scholars had to classify these doctrines in order to realise why so many doctrines were found in Buddhism and also in order to uphold a particular doctrine as the highest, and what was the real content of the enlightened teaching of the Buddha. It is interesting to note that in these classifications it is always the sect to which the classifier belonged that is given as the highest or ture doctrine to attain enlightenment.

In this sect also, many kinds of classifications were attempted. Two classifications are known as those of Hui-kuang. According to Fa-tsang, Hui-kuang classified Buddhism into three divisions, namely, 1. Chien-chiao (gradual teching), 2. Tun-chiao (Immediate teaching), and 3. Yuan-chiao (complete teaching). In the first division the Buddha taught the doctrines of impermanence and then of permanence or emptiness at first and then non-emptiness. In this way, the Buddha taught the profound teachings after the elementary teachings meant for immature people. The second division is the teachings that include all profound teachings; for instance, the teaching in which both emptiness and non-emptiness are included simultaneously. These teachings were preached to the matured people. The complete teaching, the third division, is the ultimate fruit, the enlightenment itself of the Buddha.

According to Chi-i, Hui-kuang believed in a classification of four divisions.

1. Yin-yüan (causality: *Abhidharmakoṣa-s'āstra*, etc.), the teachings which deal with the doctrine of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* and state that all *dharmas* have their own natures. This is the elementary teaching of the Hinayāna doctrines.

2. Chia-ming (temporality: *Satyasiddhi-s'āstra*), the profound teaching of the Hinayāna Buddhism. The doctrine of the *satyasiddhi-sástra* which clarifies that all *dharmas* are temporal.

3. K'uang-hsiang (negation: *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, Mādhyamaka-kārika, Dvādas'anikāya-sāstra, S'ata-s'āstra etc.*), the doctrine, according to which all *dharmas* are empty like a phantom. This is the elementary teaching of the Mahāyana doctrines.

4. Ch'ang (eternity: *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, etc.), the doctrine that phenomena occur depending on the reality, i.e., the *tathāgatagarbha*. In other words, *tathatā* become phenomenal in birth and death. This is the ultimate doctrine of Buddhism.

This classification became the basis of T'an-yin's fourfold classification and An-lin's sixfold classification.

T'an-yin, a disciple of Hui-kuang, made the sixfold classification of Buddhism. The first four are the same as those of T'an-yin; the fifth is Ch'ang (eternity) and the sixth is Yuan (completeness.) The *Avataṃsaka-sutra* is involved in the sixth division.

Anlin, also a disciple of Hui-kuang, made the sixfold classification of Buddhism. The first four are the same as those of T'an-yin; the fifth is Ch'ang (eternity) and the sixth is Yuan (completeness). The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is involved in the sixth division.

Thus, the typical classification followed by the southern sub-sect was Hui-kuang's fourfold classification. Against it, the typical classification believed by the nothern sub-sect was the fivefold one. The *Fa-hua-ching-hsüan-i (Taisho*, Vol. 33, p. 801) refers the fivefold classification of Tzu-kuei as follows: "A certain monk made the fivefold teachings. The first four are the same as those mentioned above (Hui-kuang's classification). After those, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is called the teaching of Fa-chieh *(dharmadhātu)*. This was believed by Tzu-kuei". Datails of the life of Tzu-kuei are not known but this fivefold classification is believed to have been that of the nothern sub-sect.

Chi-tsang of the San-lun sect records the threefold classification of the Daśabhūmika sect, namely, 1. Li-hsiang (establishment of phenomena: Hīnayāna), 2. She-hsiang (negation of Phenomena: *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra etc.*) 3. Chen-shih (reality: *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, etc.). It is not known whose classification this is. Hui-yuan had his own fourfold classification.

The Consciousness Theory. In the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*, there occur terms such as *Ālaya-vijñāna, Ādāna-vijñana*, and *Avidy* based on the interpretation of these words, the consciousness theory developed in this sect.

Typically saying, the southern sub-sect had the consciousness theory that the eighth consciousness was the real, eternal and pure consciousness, from which all phenomena originated, but according to the northern sub-sect, the eighth consciousness is the *ālaya-vijñāna* which is illusory consciousness (*avidyā*), from which all phenomena are produced.

Hui-yüan of the southern sub-sect refers to the consciousness theory in his work, *Ta-ch' eng-i-chang (Taisho*, Vol. 44 p. 524 f.) as follows: There are eight kinds of consciousness. The first six are the consciousness of eye, of ear, of nose, of tongue, of body and of will. These are named according to the sense organs. But last two are fundamental. The seventh consciousness, *ādāna-vijñāna*, is *avidyā* in its character. The eighth consiousness, *ālaya-vijñāna*, is translated into Chinese as *wu-mo-shih* (inexhaustible consciousness) which means the consciousness not to be exhausted in the successive births and deaths. This is identified with the *buddhatā* of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and with the *tathāgatagarbha* of the *Laṅkavātāra-sūtra*.

Hui-yüan states that the *ādāna-vijñāna* can be explained in eight terms, too, according to its contents.

1. Illusion consciousness: because the nature is *avidyā*.
2. Activity-c. : because, due to *avidyā*, evil thoughts occur.
3. Progress-c. : because, due to the activity-consciousness, phenomena are recognized.
4. Representation-c.: because phenomena are represented.
5. Knowledge-c. : because, this is the knowledge to differenciate pure *dharmas* from impure *dharmas*.
6. Continuity-c. : because, this consciousness clings to objects and preserves the results of deeds, good and bad.
7. Erroneous-c. : because, all the six mentioned above are not pure.
8. Clinging-c. : because, this consciousness clings to the self.

In the same way, the eighth consciousness, *ālaya-vijñāna*, can be expressed by eight terms, too.

1. Store-consciousness : because, this consciousness is *tathāgata-garbha*.
2. Divine-c. : because, this produces the activities common to Buddhas.

3.	Supreme-c.	: because this is extraodinarily fine.
4.	Pure-c.	: because in the nature of this consciousness there is no defilement.
5.	Real-c.	: because this consciousness is detached from all defilements.
6.	Thusness-c	: because, in this consciousness there is no point either to be denied or to be established.
7.	House-c	: because, all phenomena depend on this consciousness
8.	Fundamental-c.	: because, this consciousness is the foundation of illusion.

Here, we can see Hui-yüan's standpoint that the *tathatā* or *tathāgatagarbha* is equal with *ālaya-vijñāna.*

According to Chi-i, monks of the Das'abhumika sect believed that the *ālaya-vijñāna* is the real, eternal and pure consciousness (*Taisho*, Vol. 33 p. 744). Chi tsang also states that instructors of the earlier Das'abhumika sect believed the seventh consciousness to be illusory and the eighth consciousness to be real (*Taisho*, Vol. 42. p. 104). In another work also, Chi-tsang mentions that according to the Das'abhūmika sect the eighth consciousness is the *buddhatā* (*Taisho*, Vol. 34 p. 380). Thus, Hui-yuan's theory is believed to be most typical for the Das'abhumika sect.

The doctrines of the Mahāyānasamparigraha sect believed in a ninth consciousness, too, namely, *amala-vijñāna* which was pure. But the Das'abhūmika sect did not recognise the ninth consciousness. Hence there were disputes between the two sects about the consciousness theory.

The Decline. In 563 A.C., Paramartha translated the *Mahāyānasamparigrahas'āstra*, based on which the Mahayānasamparigraha sect (She-lun Tsung) was established and prospered in southern China, when the Das'abhūmika sect flourished in nothern China. But after the prohibition of Buddhism by emperor Wu in nothern China, the Mahāyānasamparigraha sect was introduced into nothern China. Both sects influenced each other. However, the Das'abhūmika sect declined gradually.

Many monks of the Das'abhūmika sect joined the Mahāyānasamparigraha sect. Hui-hsin of the nothern sub-sect studied the *Mahāyānasamparigrahas'astra* under T'an-ch'ien and Tao-ni. His disciples, Ling-fan, Sheng-chao. Tao-chieh received the doctrine of the Mahāyānasamparigraha-s'astra from Hui-hsin. Thus, the nothern sub-sect seems to have been absorbed into the Mahāyānasamparigraha sect at the time of Hui-hsin. Not only the nothern sub-sect, but many monks of the northern sub-sect also became members of the Mahāyānasamparigraha sect. T'an-ch'ien, Chingsung, Fa-k'an and their disciples constituted the Mahāyānasamparigraha sect. Although Hui-yuan and his disciples and the group of Ling-yu, Ling-pien and Chin-cheng remained in the Das'abhūmika sect, later the followers of Hui-yuan also became members of the Mahāyānasamparigraha sect.

In the history of Chinese Buddhism, this period is called 'the period of investigation' by some modern scholars. Thus, the word 'sect' indicates the monks of the same learning rather than of the same belief. Therefore, when another or superior text of the similar doctrine was introduced, changing of sects would not have been so difficult. Both sects, the Das'abhumika and the Mahāyānasamparigraha, were overwhelmed by the Vijñapti-vāda sect which had been introduced into China by Hsuan-tsan. So, both sects disappeared in the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.C.).

During the Sui (589-618 A.C.) and the T'ang dynasties, many so-called Chinese sects were established. The Avatamsaka sect, one of these Chinese sects, received great influence form the Das'abhūmika sect. The *Das'abhūmika-sūtra* is a section of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. Although the lineage of the patriarchs of the Avatamsaka sect consists of Tu-shun (Fa-shun 557-640 A.C.). Chih-yen (602-668), Fa-tsang (643-712) and so on, the line of the learning of this sect is Hui-kuang, Tao-p'ing, Ling-yu, Ch'ing-yuan, Chih-cheng, Chih-yen, Fa-tsang and so on.

K. Tamura

KETUMALA. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Y. Krishan and several other scholars present interesting interpretations about the features in the Buddha head in Buddhist iconography.[1] Krishan has pointed out that in the ancient Gandhara Buddha images as well as in Mathurā Buddha images there was no evidence of the exist-

1. Krishan, Y. "The Hair on the Buddha's Head and Uṣṇīṣa". East and West, new series, Vol. 16, Nos. 3-4, (September-November) 1960, pp. 275-283

ence of a feature depicting a projecting from the summit of the head of the Buddha image.[2] Reference could be made to the head of an image of a *bhikkhu* living in the S'unga period (2nd centuryB.C.to 1st century B.C.). Even in Sri Lanka there was no evidence of an abnormal projection on the head of a Buddha image. However there is evidence of the existence of a symbolic projection in the Sarvāstivāda tradition as discussed in the *Lalitavistara*.[3] It was the belief among the Sarvāstivādins that there was *pūrva-buddhānupasmrt-yasaṅgagñānaras'mi* (the radiance of knowledge to recall lives of previous Buddhas) from which a radiance rose upwards from a spot below the *uṣṇis'a* in the skull. The sculptors of Mathurā used a symbol similar to the shell of a snail in appearance as a device to depict this feature. The Katrā image is an example (PL, XIX). The Katrā image depicts a *bodhisattva* as inscribed in the seat of the image. Buddha images were sculptured in the form of bodhisattva images owing to the belief prevalent at the time that the Buddha had not permitted the making of Buddha images. The Katrā image has its head shaven.[4]

According to Theravāda Buddhist texts, on the day of the renunciation, the *bodhisatta* cut his hair leaving two inches, which remained for the rest of his life attached to his head turned clockwise.[5] According to the *Vinaya* a monk is pernitted to retain his hair up to a length of two inches. If it grows beyond this length it has to be cut.[6] If this advice is followed, shaving of the hair is not necessary. But, according to the *Vinaya* a monk should cut his hair once in two months. If the head is not shaved hair will grow to about four inches. Hence cutting of hair once in two months was not enough. If the head is shaved it is likely that the growth in two months would be about two inches. It could easily be surmised that the Buddha and the *bhikkhus* shaved their heads and did not shave again till the hair grew to two inches. The accounts to the contrary, especially the account occuring in the *Nidānakathā* could have been a later development after the Buddha sculptures came into being. If it was not so it is more plausible that the *Nidānakathā* account of the Buddha's hair developed to conform to *mahapurisa lakkhaṇa* as discussed in *Mahāpadāna, Lakkhaṇa* and the *Brahmāyu Suttas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*.[7] Therefore the theory advanced by Ananda Coomaraswamy and a few other scholars that the Buddha retained sufficient hair on the head to form a knot on the top and shaved the rest cannot be accepted as it goes against all textual data.

In some Gandhāra Buddha images a crest of hair is depicted on the head close to the forehead (PL.XX). Such images do not possess locks of hair turned clockwise. Short wavy hair is evident in them. The Gandhara sculptors would have implied a form of the radiance of the Buddha by this device. It could be interpreted to mean the concept of *pūrva-buddhānusmrtyasaṅgag ñanaras'mi* of Sarvāstivādins.

In postcanonical Pali literature available in the form of commentaries of the period after 3rd centruty B.C. and in the Pali chronicles, a feature desribed as *ketumālā* has been added on to the Buddha images. By the 12th cent. A.C. the Sri Lanka liteary tradition has recorded *ketumālā* as the eightieth of the eighty minor marks (*asītyanuvyañjana*).[8] In the second half of the 5th century A.C. it is recorded that king, Dhatusena added a new feature called the *raṃsicūḷāmaṇi* (crest jevel of rediance) to the old Buddha images.[9] This is also referred to as *nīlacūḷāmaṇi* (blue crest jewel) in the same source.[10] In the 9th century A.C. it is referred to as *raṃsipuñja*.[11] It is called *siraspata* at present. All these terms are synonymous with the original term *ketumālā* and was intended to symbolize a form of radiance emanating from the head of the Buddha. The term *nīlacūḷāmaṇi* may have been designed to convey the colour of the hair (*nīla* in the

Lalitavistara, ed. S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902, p.3

Coomaraswamy, A.K. "The Buddha's Hair and Uṣṇīṣa and Crown", *JRAS* 1928.

Jātaka, ed. V. Fausboll, Vol. I, London, 1962, p. 64

Cullavagga, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids, and H. Oldenberg. *SBE* Oxford, 1885, p. 69.

Please see Note 4

Samantapāsādikā (Hewavitarana ed.) I, 1929, p. 25; *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā* (Hewavitharana ed) 1925, p. 260; *Sāratthadipanī*, ed. Deverakkhita, 1941, p. 105; *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, ed. G.P. Malalasekera (*PTS*), London, 1935, p. 304; *Pūjāvaliya*, ed. Bentara Saddhatissa, Panadura, 1930, p. 139.

Culavaṃsa, ed. W. Geiger, London, 1925, Vol. 1 38, 62, 65-67

cūlavaṃsa, op.cit, p. 304

Vaṃsatthappakāsinī, op.cit, p. 209.

Vaṃsatthappakāsinī, op.cit., p. 304

present text denotes the colour black). In the Buddha images this feature has been depicted by inserting a blue gem into the *ketumālā*. However in certain bronze Buddha images even red coloured gems have been used to obtain this rediance. This apparently is due to a lack of understanding of the proper concept conveyed by the *ketumālā* and the features associated with it. In certain Japanese Buddha images there is a symbol to depict the *cūlāmaṇi* which is located between the crown of the head and the topmost forehead. In the Buddha images sculptured during the later Mathurā Amarāvatī and Gandhāra Schools is to be seen a projection suggestive of a fleshy and boney protuberance. This feature is found in the Buddha images belonging to the Abhayagiri and Jetavana monasteries in Sri Lanka. *Ketumālā* was the term used to denote this feature in Sri Lanka.

Altogether four terms have been used in Sri Lankan iconography to suggest the radiance of the Buddha. They are *byāmappabhā* (halo), *ketumālā, the radiance issued forth from the bottom of the uṣṇīsa raṃsijāla* (nimbus) and *sarīrappabhā* (radiance of the body identified with six colours).

Ketumālā, although depicted in different forms in Buddha images in different countries, had one concept in common, viz to represent the rays of the Buddha confined to this spot in the Buddha's body.

The definition of the concept of *uṣṇīsa* appears to contradict the above interpretation of *ketumālā*. This term appearing as *uṇhīsa-sīsa* in Pali and *uṣṇīṣa-s'iraskhā* in Buddhist Sanskrit is considered one of the thirty two major marks of the Buddha. This concept is common to all Buddhist traditions. However, it is noteworthy that this feature is not considered in early Buddhist sculptures to mean the radiance of the Buddha or to indicate an abnormal protuberance on the top of the Buddha's head. In a Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara* and in the Mahāyana canons of art, this feature described as a protuberance on the summit of the Buddha's head is called *uṣṇīsa* which indicated *uṣṇīṣa-siraskatā*.[12] This was an incorrect interpretation of the symbol which indicated the radiance from the Buddha's head. Buddhaghosa's interpretation of this term *uṇhisa-sīsa* in the early part of the 5th century A.C. can be accepted as the most appropriate explanation. According to him *uṇhīsa-sīsa* was a term used to mean the round head and the fully formed fore head.[13] Up to the second half of the 5th century A.C. the Buddha images sculptured in Sri Lanka conformed to the standards set out by Buddhaghosa. In fact this was the standard maintained by the artists belonging to the Mahāvihāra tradition even up to the present day in Sri Lanka. The bump-like formation on the top of the head of the Buddha images belonging to Abhayagiri and Jetavana Schools of art was considered as *ketumālā* as already discussed. Buddhaghosa's interpretation was not his personal view but was the view accepted by the Mahāvihāra from ancient times.

The symbol used to indicate the rays of the Buddha emanating from his head is shown as a part of the head. Two representative examples would be Kātrā Bodhisattva image belonging to the Mathurā style in India and Mänikdena Buddha image from Sri Lanka (PL. XXI). In these two images the symbol used for the purpose was in the shape of the shell of a snail. This feature in the Meṇikdeṇa statue has gone through substantial changes due to wear and tear but has retained its conical shape. Three other images with similar features were unearthed during excavations of the sand terrace of the Abhayagiri *stūpa* in Anuradhapura. There has been a difference in the evolution of these images during later times. In the Buddha images of the Mathurā and Gandhāra style this symbol is shown in the form of a bun projecting from the top of the head. In the Buddha images of the Abhayagiri-vihāra in the 8th Century A.C. this feature is shown artistically in a stylised fashion. The bronze Buddha image found at Badulla, presently kept in the National Museum, Colombo, shows the Buddha rays in the same style (PL. XXII).

Flame like *ketumālā* was in use from the latter part of the Anuradhapura period. The oldest available examples are the Buddha images found at Veheragala (PL XXIII). The number of flames has increased from one to six. It has not been a development that has taken place along with the passage of time, but according to the preference of the sculptors. While the statue of the 8th Century A. C. contains twelve flames a statue of the 12th century A.C. has only three flames. Apart from this, the style of the flame, too, has undergone change. At the beginning it was a projection from the top of the head, but later it was a flat object. *Ketumālā* in the shape of flames have, in most instances, been made

12. Beal, S., *The Fo Suo Rsang Ching*, SBE.XIX, Oxford, 1883, p. 359, n. 11.
13. *Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā*, *SHB*. Vol. I., 1918, p. 304; *Majjhima Nikaya Aṭṭakathā*, *SHB*. Vol III, 1947, pp. 265-266

separately and affixed to the top of the head (PL. XXIV).

During the Kandy period it appears in the shape of a hand with fingers shown upright. Traditional artists (*sittara*=artists) have shown it as a lotus bud in the present day. The flame symbol is shown inconspicuously.

On examination of the *ketumālā* found is Sri Lanka it is possible to understand the formation of the flame-like *ketumālā*. The focal point of the *ketumālā* was the gem affixed to it. The radiance was indicated by the flames. Both the gem and the flames represented the rays. The gem is not found in many of the large Buddha images. There is literary and archaeological evidenc regarding the affixing of gems to the eyes and to the *ketumālā* of Buddha images. There was the possibility of these precious gams being removed by vandals and therefore the practice of affixing gems to the *ketumālā* seems to have been abandoned in later times.

Ketumālā was a common feature in the Buddha images belonging to all schools of Buddhist art in Sri Lanka as is proved by the Buddha images belonging to the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana. In the images belonging to the Mahāvihāra, there is no evidence of the existence of a projection from the top of the Buddha head. Instead a flame-like *ketumālā* had been used. In the Buddha images of Abhayagiri and Jetavana schools the *ketumālā* has been indicated in the form of a projection from the top of the head. In addition there is evidence to prove that Abhayagiri-vasins had fixed the *ketumālā* on the projection on top of the head. The perforation on the projections appearing on top of the Buddha head, as is evident in the Toluvila image (PL. XXV) presently kept in the National Museum in Colombo and the Pankuliya Buddha image available with the remains of the shrine to the north-east of the Abhayagiri vihāra, are undoubtedly meant to fix the *siraspata* in the flame-like appearance.

Ketumālā as a feature is not found among the eighty minor signs in other Buddhist traditions. If this was not a feature of Sri Lankan origin, it could have been a symbol introduced to Sri Lanka by the Vibhajjavadins of India who became dominant in this country.

Ketumālā has been found in many of the Buddha imges discovered in South India, but those Indian images belong to a period much later than the Sri Lankan Buddha images with the *ketumālā*. Several such bronze images discovered at Nāgapaṭṭanam are preserved in the National museum in Colombo and these can be regarded as South Indian sculptures based on the Sri Lankan style.

The Buddhists of Thailand became aware of the *ketumālā* through the Pali commentaries and through the religious links they had with Sri Lankan Buddhists. As a result of this influence the *ketumālā* became a popular feature in Thai Baddha images, too. Myanmar (Burma) showed a special inclination to the *ketumālā* of the category falling within *raṃsipuñja*.

It is said that Indian princes wore a *cūlāmaṇi* on their heads. Prince Siddhartha, son of Suddhodana, too, wore this gem, and he had to cut his hair along with the *cūl āmaṇi* when he renounced the world. The phrase *moliyā saddhiṃ cūlaṃ...........sindhi*[14] is interpreted, in the *Jataka Aṭuvā gātapadaya* of the twelfth, thirmteenth century to mean the *cūlāmaṇi* used to adorn the lock of hair. *Cūla* is also interpreted to mean the knot of hair. Having arranged the hair on the top of the head, royal princes used to tie it with a ribbon; but at ordination this hair was cut and removed.[15] This feature is not at all relevant to the Buddha image. The term *cūlamaṇi* occuring in the chronicles should be interpreted to mean a gem on the head and not as a gem associated with the hair; for it could find a place on the head without hair. In effect this usage has nothing other than the application of the meaning associated with the hair and the gem to give a new interpretation in the present context. This type of usage is common in language. The term *siḷumiṇa* derived from *cūlāmaṇi* is used to indicate the gem placed on top of the spiral summit of a *dāgäba*. There is no connection whatsoever with hair in that context. The *cūlāmaṇi* worn by a king on his head is an ornament. In the case of the Buddha it is symbolic of the rays of the Buddha and hence the *cūlāmaṇi* on the head of the Buddha is called *ransicūlāmaṇi*. Therefore the *cūlāmaṇi* associated with the Buddha image should not be confused with a *moli* of a royal prince. The symbol on the top of the Buddha image signifying the rays of the Buddha is the *ransicūlāmaṇi* which is also called *ketumālā*.

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14. *Jataka Aṭuvā Gātapadaya*, ed. D.E. Hettiarachchi, Colombo, 1950, p. 116.
15. *Jatakaṭṭhakatha*, *HSB*., Colombo, 1929, p. 25.

During the past one hundred years the attention of Indologists had been drawn to the feature on the top of the Buddha image and this had been a subject of indepth discussion. In these discussions sufficient attention had not been drawn to the ketumālā, resulting in serious ommisions in the conclusions so far arrived at. As shown in this aticle the projection from the top of the Buddha's head shown in the ancient Buddha images was nothing other than a device to express the rays of the Buddha and was never meant to be an *uṣṇīṣa*. The rays of the Buddha associated with this symbol have been interpreted by the Vibhajjavādins and Sarvāstivādins in two different ways. The Vibhajjavādins interpreted it to mean rays from the head, specially emanating from the hair. It was taken as one of the minor signs of the Buddha. However, according to the Sarvastivādins it was the rays which rises from the bottom of the *uṣnisa* called *pūrvabuddhā nusmrtya sangagñānaras'mi*. But they did not consider this as an item among the *asītyanuvyañjana* ie. the eighty minor signs.

Chandra Wickramagamage

KHALUPACCHĀBHATTIKAṄGA, the seventh of the thirteen Dhutaṅga practices adopted by some *bhikkhus* to discipline themselves. See DHUTAṄGA

KHAṆA (Skt. *kṣaṇa*)

Introductory: The Pali term *khaṇa* is originally used in the *suttas* in its literal sense of a moment, a very small fraction of time, without any technical importance attached to it (*tena khaṇena tena muhuttena: Vin.* I, 12; III, 119). It has also been used synonymously with the term *anicca*, meaning 'impermanence,. It is said that 'life is momentary' (*khaṇikaṃ jīvitaṃ: Nd.* I, 44, 119) instead of saying that life is impermanent (*Jīvitaṃ aniccaṃ*). Impermanence, as understood by Buddhists, means the momentary (*khaṇika*) nature of all phenomena. The essential nature of all phenomena is appearance (*uppāda* or *samudaya*) and disappearance (*vaya* or *nirodha*) as is evident from such phrases as: "Whatever is of the nature of origination is also of the nature of cessation" [1] and "All phenomena are, indeed, impermanent, they are of the nature of appearance and disappearance.[2]

The term *khaṇa*, together with its Sanskrit equivalent *kṣaṇa*, acquired technical importance when the doctrine of impermanence (*anicca*) came to be elaborate and interpreted in the different schools in their attempt to provide it a logical and metaphysical basis. This became necessary especially in view of the criticism levelled by non-Buddhist schools of philosophy and religion against the Buddhist doctrine of impermanence which, at the beginning, was purely empirical. Buddhists themselves differed in its interpretation and this explains the existence of divergent views in this regard among different schools.

In the process, the original term *anicca*, meaning impermanence, was replaced by the term *khaṇa* or *kṣaṇa* (moment) or by *kṣaṇikatva* (momentariness or instantaneousness). The whole concept of impermanence or momentariness underwent a complete overhaul when logic took the place of Abhidharma, there by giving rise to a fully-fledged theory of moments. The theory of moments, thus developed in the schools, may therefore be considered as the logical extension of the doctrine of impermanence.

The germs of the theory: It is very difficult to determine definitely the epoch when the theory of moments was framed. The germs of the theory are, however, to be found in the Pali canon itself, rather as a doctrine of momentariness than as a theory of moments. In a *sutta* in the *An'guttara Nikāya*, the Buddha is represented as saying that there is nothing in the world that changes so quickly (*lahuparivatta*) as does the mind (*A.* I, 10; cp. *S.* II, 94). Also a verse in the *Niddesa*, quoted probably from a then existing redaction of the canon, says that life and personality, pleasure and pain, exist only the duration of one moment of thought (*Nd.* I, 177-188).

By the time of the third Buddhist Council (third century B.C.) divergent views on a multitude of topics had already emerged among the Buddhists and we find the doctrine of momentariness being discussed as a common subject among them, only with certain technical variations.

Some of the old schools held the view that all phenomena, all elements of existence, exist only the duration of one thought-moment (*eka-cittakkhaṇikā sabbe dhammā : Kvu.* xxii, 8). According to Buddhaghosa, it was the Pubbaseliyas and Aparaseliyas, two of the intermediary schools that did not last long, who held that

1. *Yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ Vin.* I, 16.
2. *Aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino*: *S.* IV, 14; V. 30; *A.* I, 286, 296; II, 248

view. Another debate recorded in the same text centres round the guestion as to whether a single unit of consciousness lasts a whole day. This view is attributed to the Andhakas, another intermediary school, and is rejected by the Theravadins as a heresy (*KvuA*. II, 7).

Except for the Andhakas, all other schools agreed that the elements of mind (*citta and caitta-dharma*) are momentary in their existence. This view, as we saw, finds support from the early sutta's themselves (*A*. I, 10; *S*. II, 94). As to whether the elements of matter (*rūpa-dharma*), too, are as momentary as the elements of mind, we find difference of opinion among the schools. While all the schools, except the Andhakas, recognised the momentary duration of mental elemetns, some of them assigned a relative permanence to material elements. There were other shcools who objected to introducing any such distinction, and held that both mental and material elements are equally momentary in their existence.

A difference between the two categories of elements, as regards their duration, is recognised and upheld by the Theravādins. They held that the mind changes and breaks up quicker than matter.[3] A number of controversies recorded in the *Kathāvatthu* suggest very clearly that the Theravadins had no hesitation in recognising the momentarines of mental elements (*Kvu*. pp. 204-208). On the othr hand they do not seem to have denied the relative permanence of matter in general. In point of fact, the thesis of the Pubbaseliyas and Aparaseliyas that the duration of a material thing is equal to the duration of a thought-moment, is rejected by the Theravādins as untenable (*Kvu*. pp. 620 ff; *KvuA*. p. 196).

It was not the Theravadins alone who upheld this tradition. Vasumitra records that, in the view of the Mahasanghikas, the material sense-organs and the primary elements evolve (*pariṇamati*) whereas consciousness and mental concomitants do not evolve. This statement has been interpreted to mean that while material elements endure for a longer time, mental elements perish every moment (*kṣaṇa-bhaṅgura*). Yasomitra notes that in the opinion of the Āryasammitīyas, matter is of longer duration whereas consciousness and mental concomitants are characterised by instantaneous being (*Abhkvy*. p. 179). A similar view is attributed to the Vatsiputriyas: Some *saṅskāras* exist for some time while others perish at every moment (Masuda, A.M. II, p. 54)

On the other hand, many other schools, notably the Sarvāstivāda, the Mahīsāsaka, the Pūrvas'aila and the Aparas'aila (Pubbaseliya and Aparaseliya of the *KvuA*. xxii, 8) disapproved of this distinction. In their view, not only mental but also material elements are of instantaneous being (Masuda, A.M. II, p. 54, n.2; Bareau, *les Secte Bouddhique Du Petit Vehicule*, pp. 103, 105, 144, 186).

The Development of the Theory: The interpretation of the characteristics of that which is conditioned (*saṅkhata lakkhaṇa, saṃskṛta-lakṣaṇa*) played a very important role in the development of the theory of moments. When the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* refers to these characteristics, namely origination (*uppāda*), cessation (*vaya*) and becoming otherwise of that which is existing (*ṭhitassa aññathatta: A*. I, 152) which is apparently a development of the original idea of appearance and disappearance (*uppāda-vaya* or *samudaya-nirodha: S*. IV, 14; V. 30; *A*. I, 286, 296; II, 248; *Vin*. I, 16, etc.), the purpose is to show the impermanence of all elements, both mental and material. But, when doctrine of impermanence, which in the *Nikāyas* was described in simple andgeneral terms, came to be explained more systematically and with greater precision, attempts were also made to reinterpret the three characteristics. The most interesting outcome of this reinterpretation is the development, at the hands of the scholiasts, of the theory of moments.

The Vaibhāṣika School: The Vaibhāṣikas (the Sarvāstivādins) interpreted "the becoming otherwise of that which exists" (*ṭhitassa aññathatta, sthityānyathatva*) as decay (*jaratā*) and postulated another term *sthiti* meaning duration, thus increasing the number of *sanskrta-lakṣaṇa* to four, namely, birth or origination (*jāti* or *utpāda*), duration (*sthiti*), decay (*jaratā*) and impermanence or destruction (*anityatā or nāsa: Abhidharmadīpa* with *Vibhasāprabhāvrtti*, ed. P.S. Jaini, Patna, 1959, pp. 103ff) . All elements of existence, mental as well as material, characterised by these four features are called *saṅskṛta-dharma*.

The Vaibhāṣikas explain the momentary nature of elements (*dharmas*) in the following manner: Every element appearing in phenomenal existence is affected

[3] *Rūpam dhandhanirodhaṃ garuparivattī, cittaṃ khippanirodhaṃ, lahuparivatti* (*Vism*. p. 526). *Rūpaṃ garupariṇāmaṃ dhandhanirodhaṃ, arūpaṃ lahupariṇāmaṃ khippanirodhaṃ* (*VbhA*. p. 25).

simultaneously by the four characteristics of what is conditioned. The four characteristics are forces which are neither mental nor material (*rūpacittaviprayukta-saṅskhāras* or simply (*viprayukta-saṅskhāras*. They always appear together and simultaneously: they affect every element at every moment of its existence. They are the most universal forces, the characteristic features or the manifesting forces of phenomenal existence. Since they are considered as elements, they are in need of secondary forces (*anulakṣaṇa* or *upalakṣaṇa*) in order to display their efficiency. It was also maintained that these four forces and the secondary potencies affecting them in their turn were as real as the elements (*dharma*) they characterize (*dravyataḥ santi, L'Abhidharmakosa de Vasubandhu*, Louis de Le Valle Poussin, Paris, 1926, ii, 46).

The elements of existence are momentary appearances momentary flashings into the phenomenal world. They are disconnected in space, not being linked together by any pervading substance; they are also disconnected in time, in duration, since they last only one single moment (*kṣaṇa*). They disappear as soon as they appear, in order to be followed the next moment by other momentary element. Thus a moment (*ksana*) becomes a synonym of an element (*dharma*): two moments, therefore, represent two different elements. An element becomes something like a point in space-time. Disappearance is the very essence of existence. What does not disappear does not exist.

Against this theory of elements which are simultaneously originating, existing and disappearing (*utpāda-sthiti-bhaṅga: Lank*. 42, 3), a very natural objection was raised by the Buddhists themselves that production (*utpāda*) and destruction (*bhaṅga* or *nāsa*) could not be simultaneous (bhanga or nasa) could not be simultaneous (*Mdhvr*.pp. 545 ff). On the other hand, it was impossible to allow an element more than one sigle moment's duration, since two moments constituted two elements.

The Vaibhāṣikas met the objection by pointing to the difference between an element in itself, its real nature (*svabhāva*) and its efficiency moment, its function or manifestation (*lakṣaṇa: Abhk*. V. 26, *Abhidharmadīpa* with *Vibhāsaprabhāvṛtti* pp. 259-60). The elements or forces may be opposed to each other; yet their effect may result in some sigle real fact. They cite the case of three assassins who have resolved to kill a man hiding in some dark recess: One of them pulls him out (*utpāda*) of his hideout place; the other seizes him (*sthiti*) and the third stabs him (*bhaṅga*), all acting simultaneously. The victim appears only to disappear. The reality moment (*kṣaṇa*) is the moment of action, of its being achieved. "We call a moment", the Vaibhasikas maintain, "the point when an action is fully achieved" (*L'Abhidharmakosa de Vasubandhu*, ii, 46). Thus the *ksaṇa* is the moment the four forces, (*Jāti*, etc.) accomplish their operation.

A significant consequence of this theory of moments is the denial of motion. A really existing oject, according to this theory, cannot move, because the object disappers as soon as it appears; there is no time for it to move. Hence in keeping with the theory of the momentariness of being (*kṣaṇa-vāda*), motion (*gati*), too, is given a different interpretation: Motion is not the movement of an object from one locus in space to another (*deśāntara-gamana*), but the appearance of different elements in adjacent locations (*deśāntarotpatti: AbhKVy*. p. 33). For, in the case of momentary elements, whenever appearance takes place, there itself takes place disappearance. The classic example given in this connection is the light of a lamp. The so-called light of the lamp is nothing but a common designation given to an uninterrupted production of a series of flashing points. When the production changes place, one says that the light has changed. But, in reality, other flames have appeared in another place (*ibid*).

The theory of moments, as described above, gives rise to the problem of continuity and identity. If the elements are discrete and momentary, how can we account for the continuity of the stream of elements? This involves a number of problems which are of a more fundamental character: the problem of the identity of the elements in a single individual stream of life, the problem of memory, of moral responsibility and of rebirth. If these difficulties could not be explained satisfactorily, the whole ethical foundation of the Buddhist doctrine of *karma* and *pratītyasamutpāda* is bound to collapse.

The Vaibhāṣikas attempted to solve this problem with the help of the two theories of *dharma-svabhāva*, and *prāpti*; it is *svabhava* and the *prāpti* that maintain the continuity of elements. *Svabhāva* means own (*sva*)

4. This standpoint of the Vaibhāṣikas, besides strengthening their realist position, gave them the more popular name - Sarvastivada.

being (*bhāva*) which exists always, in past, present and future. Although it is not eternal (*nitya*), since eternality means absence of change, it represents the potentiality have of the appearanc of elements into phenomenal life. The potentialities exist for ever.[4] *Prāpti* is a special force, another, *viprayakta saṅskāra*, which holds the elements combined. It operates only within the limits of a single stream and not beyond. This stream of elements (*dharma or kṣaṇa-santati*), which is kept together by the force of *prāpti*, is not limited to the present life, but has its roots in past existences and its continuation in future ones.

Sautrāntika School: The Sautrāntikas took a more simple view of the whole question. They pointed out that the four characteristics of the conditioned (*saṅskṛta-lakṣaṇa*) considered to be real by the Vaibhāṣikas, were mere characteristics, mere designations, with no objective reality (*Abhkbh.* ch. ii, *v.* 46) and argued that the recognition of the secondary forces (*anu-or upa-lakṣaṇa*) would lead to infinite regress (*anavasthā*: *ibid*). The four characteristics refer, not to a single momentary element but to a series of them (*santāna*: *ibid.*). It is the series or the stream itself that is called subsistance (*sthiti*); its origination is called birth (*jāti*); its cessaton is called destruction (*vyaya*); the difference in its preceding and succeeding moments is what is called the change of the thing that exists (*sthityānyathatva*). In their opinion duration (*sthiti*) and decay (*jarā*) cannot be applied to a momentary element, because whatever that originates had no time to subsist or decay, but to perish.

This school which accepted the reality of moments, *i.e.*, the discrete and momentary elements, but refused to accept the reality of any of the *viprayuktasaṃskāras*, explained the inherent problems of continuity and identity of the moments and the attendant problems such as memory, moral responsibility and rebirth by postulating a theory of seeds (*bīja:* q.v.), in place of the theory of *prāpti* advanced by the Vaibhāṣikas. After defining *bīja* as *nāma-rūpa* (q.v.), i.e., the complex of the five aggregates (*khandha*, q.v.) capable of producing fruit either immediately or mediately, by means of a special kind of evolutionary process (*pariṇāma-viśesa*) of the stream (*santāna*) of moments, the Sautrāntikas argued that the seeds of *kusala* and *akusala* (or *anusaya*: q.v.), accumulated in a stream, determine the character of the latter (*Abhkbh*). ch. ii, *vv.* 35-36, *Abhkvy.* pp. 147f).

Personality, according to this school, is a succession of moments, each moment handing over its force to the next before breaking up itself. The individual is, therefore, nothing over and above a series of moments (*kṣaṇa-santāna*).

We saw that the germs of the theory of moments are traceable in the early *suttas* themselves which do not belong to any particular school of Buddhism. These germs are also to be found in the Abhidhammapiṭaka of the Theravādins which was compiled in India and was brought to Sri Lanka by Mahinda Thera in the third century B.C. In both, it appears as a doctrine of momentariness, and not as a theroy of moments. As a theory, it appears for the first time in the writings of Buddhaghosa who compiled commentaries on the texts of the Pali canon, in the fifth century A.C.

The fact that the theory was new to both the canon and the commentarial tradition preserved at Mahavihara in Anuradhapura is amply illustrated by a statement made by Buddhaghosa himself. While explaining the present (*paccuppanna*) as threefold, namely, the continued present (*santati-paccuppanna*), the enduring present (*addhā-paccuppanna*) and the momentary present (*khaṇa-paccuppanna*: *Vism.* 364; *DhsA*. 420). He says: "Here the continued present finds mention in the commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*), the enduring present in the *suttas*; hence some say that the thought existing in the momentary present becomes the object of telepathic insight (*cetopariya-ñāṇa: DhsA*. 421). Thus those who upheld the theory of moments are referred to as 'some' (*keci*) thereby implying that it did not belong to the commentarial tradition maintained at Mahavihara.

It is also very significant that the examples quoted by Buddhaghosa to illustrate the rapidity with which moments succeed one another are examples rather popular in the texts belonging to the Sarvastivada school (*Vism.* 388).

Although in his works we do not come across a fully developed theory of moments as we find in the later Abhidhamma manuals like the Abhidhammattha-sangha of Anuruddha, yet Buddhaghosa accepts three moments or phases of an element, namely, the nascent (*uppāda*), the static (*thiti*) and the cessant (*bhaṅga: Vism:* 241, 400, *VbhA*. 7).

The most striking fact about the Theravada theory as found in Buddhaghosa's commentaries is that momentariness is explained in a way which is quite

different from that of the Vaibhaṣikas: Each element of existence (*dhamma*), according to this theory, has three moments, namely, the moment of origination (*uppāda*), of subsistance (*ṭhiti*) and of cessation (*bhaṅga*). These three moments do not correspond to three different *dhammas*; nor do they act simultaneously on a single *dhamma*, as is the case with the Vaibhaṣika theory. On the contrary, they represent three phases (*avatthā*) of one momentary *dhamma*; a *dhamma* arises in the first moment, subsists in the second moment and perishes in the third moment (*Vism.* 241, 526, *VbhA.* 7-8, 25-29). This view of Buddhaghosa is upheld also by Anuruddha in his *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (pp. 16-17.)*

The three moments, according to Theravada, are not separate elements having different natures, but three phases of a single *dhamma*. *Thiti* is said to represent *jarā* and *jarā* is interpreted to mean not the loss of nature (*svabhāva*), not a qualitative change, but only the loss of novelty (*navabhāva*). It is like new paddy becoming old (*Vism.* 380; *Abhvt.* 71). This interpretation of *jarā* seems to approach the theory of evolution (*pariṇāmavāda*) according to which the essence, the substance, remains the same while its modes undergo change.[5]

Sumangala, the author of the *Abhidhammattha vikāsinī*, a subcommentary on *Abhidhammāvatāra* and of the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī*, a sub-commentary on *Abhidhammattha saṅgaha* takes notice of the whole problem that stems from the recognition and definition of *jaratā* and attempts to re-interpret it. His interpretation, it may be mentioned, really amounts to its denial: Novelty (*navabhāva*), according to him, is only a figurative expression for the moment of birth (*uppādakkhaṇa*), so called because of its chronological priority in relation to the moment of subsistance (*ṭhitikkhaṇa*). the loss of novelty is nothing but the lapse of *uppādakkhaṇa*; and the immediate lapse of *uppādakkhaṇa* means the succession of *ṭhitikkhaṇa* (*Abhidhammatthavikāsinī*, ed. D. Paññasāra and P. Wimaladhamma, Colombo, p. 284; Y. Karunadasa *Buddhist Analysis of Matter,* ch. V).

According to Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta, the static moment (*ṭhitikkhaṇa*) is also called decay (*jaratā*), because at this moment, an element undergoes a change, although it does not lose its complete identity. According to Sumangala, although *ṭhitikkhaṇa* is called *jaratā*, the latter term is not to be understood as decay or as implying any idea of change, modification or transformation of an element. Thus, according to the former, *ṭhitikkhaṇa* is really *jaratā* (decay, change) but according to the latter, *ṭhitikkhaṇa* is *ṭhiti* (*duration*) in the true sense of the term.

This new interpretation successfully eliminates the problem stemming from the earlier definition of *jaratā*, but upsets the correspondence between the three moments (*khaṇa*) and the three characteristics (*saṅkhatalakkhaṇa*). According to the earlier account, the static moment (*ṭhitikkhaṇa*) represented the third characteristic, i.e., *ṭhitassa aññathatta*. Since *ṭhitikkhaṇa* was interpreted as *jaratā*, one connot say that some justice was not done to the idea of change, conveyed by the phrase (*ṭhitassa aññathatta*). But in the later account, *ṭhitikkhaṇa* is not understood as *jaratā*, although it is figuratively called so. The third characteristic, *ṭhitassa aññathatta*, thus remains unrepresented in Sumangala's scheme by any of the three moments. Anyway, Sumangala did not deny the *ṭhitikkhaṇa* of a momentary element.

It will be interesting in this connection to know thath there was in Ceylon a school of thought (or at least one teacher) that denied the existence of a static moment. Both Sariputta and Sumangala, who accept the traditional view of the three moments, refer to this school, only to refute it. Sariputta does not refer to the name of the teacher or the school advocating the theory, but merely says that it was held by "some teacher or teachers" (*samahara ācarya kenek*: Sinhala; *Abhidha rmā rthasaṅgraha-Purāṇa-Sannaya*, ed. W. Somaloka, Colombo, 1960, pp. 92, 101f). But Sumangala in his *Abhidhammatthavikāsini* (p. 304) openly states that it was Ananda who denied the existence of a static moment (*ṭhitikkhaṇa*; cp. *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī*, pp. 77, 117f).[6]

This Ananda is none other than the author of the *Abhidhammamūlaṭikā*, a sub-commentary on Buddha-

5. Change, as it came to be finally interpreted in the Buddhist School of logic, is not the transformation of one and the same element, from one stage to another, but the replacement of one momentary element by another.
6. Sumangala further says that both Jotipala and Dhammapala, two Theravāda teachers, while disagreeing with Ananda, accept both *ṭhiti* and *jarā* (*Abhidhammatthavikāsini*, pp. 304 f).

ghosa's commentaries on the Pali Abhidhamma Piṭaka.[7]

According to Ananda, who was a native of India, an element (*dhamma*) has only two phases (*khaṇa*): one is origination (*uppāda*) and the other cessation (*bhaṅga*). Duration is recognised as applying, not to a single element, but only to a series of them. This is called (*pabandhaṭhiti* i.e., the series itself as subsistance. *Ṭhitassa aññathatta* is interpreted as *pubbāpara-visesa*, i.e., the diffrence between the preceding and the succeeding elements that constitute a series.

However, Ananda attributes this theory to the residents of Abhayagiri monastery of Anuradhapura.[8]

We saw that one of the most important problems connected with the theory of moments on which the Sarvāstivadins and the Sautrāntikas disputed with each other was whether a momentary element had duration or not. We also saw that while the former recognised it the latter rejected it.[9] The majority of the Theravāda teachers of Sri Lanka fell in line with the Sarvāstivādins in accepting a moment corresponding to duration (*ṭhiti*) while the school represented by Ananda took the opposite view.

But on the question of elements (*dhamma*) taken in relation to moments (*khaṇa*), the Theravādins of Sri Lanka totally differed from the two Indian schools referred to above. The Indian schools held that the characteristics of phenomena (*saṅskṛta lakṣaṇa*) act simultaneously on an element, and that the moments (*kṣaṇa*) are identical with elements (*dhamma*) both in space and in time. Two moments, therefore, constitute two elements. The school in Sri Lanka, on the contrary, thought that the moments do not constitute separate elements, but are phases of separate single elements.

A difference to be noticed between the Sarvāstivāda and the Theravāda, as has already been mentioned, is the difference as regards durational length of mental elements and the material elements. The former thought that they are of equal duration whereas the latter were of the opinion that material elements last longer than the mental elements. This difference has been brought to its logical conclusion in the Theravāda Abhidhamma where the phenomenon of perception is discussed.

The *Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā*, in introducing the theory of moments, says that it is peculiar to Abhidhamma and not to the Suttanta. Matter (*rūpa*) is classified as past, present and future in the Suttanta in accordance with the division and future in the Suttanta in accordance with the division of life into birth and death (*bhavena paricchinna*): All matter before birth is regarded as belonging to the past, and all matter after death is classified as future, while matter between birth and death is termed present matter. In the Abhidhamma, this division is made on the basis of moments (*khaṇena paricchinna*): Matter has three moments, a moment of birth, a moment of duration and a moment of death (*uppāda, ṭhiti* and *bhaṅga*). All matter that has passed over these three moments or rather phases is termed past matter; all matter that has not yet reached these three phases is future matter while matter that is in the process of passing through these three phases of existence is present matter (*VbhA*. p. 7; cp. *Vism*. 400).

The existence of matter, thus broken up into moments, is computed in relation to the duration of consciousness which, too, is existing in moments. In accordance with the greater speed of the motion of thought in relation to that of matter, the Theravāda Abhidhammikas make the calculation that sixteen moments of thought arise and cease to exist during the life-time of a single moment of matter. The moment (or point-instant) of matter which arises at the same time as a moment of thought dies simultaneously with the seventeenth moment of the process of thought.[10]

In describing the arising of consciousness at the birth of a child and his first awareness of the external world, Buddhaghosa says: at birth, there arises a single moment of anoetic consciousness which is termed rebirth-consicousness (*paṭisandhi-viññāṇa or citta*). This moment of consciousness is followed by several other consecutive moments of sub-consciousness or life continuum (*bhavaṅga*). Each of these moments of consciousness has its own three phases of origin, du-

7. *Abhidhammamūlaṭīka*, part I, *Dhammasaṅganīmulaṭika* ed. D., Paññāsāra and P. Wimaladharma, Colombo, 1938, pp. 98 f; cp. *Vibhaṅgamulaṭīkā*, Burmese edition, pp. 6, 191; *Abhidhammatthavikāsinī*, pp. 304 f.

8. *Kecit Abhayagirivāsino ti vadanti: te pana cittassa ṭhitikkhaṇaṃ na icchanti...... Dhammasaṅgaṇī-mūlaṭīkā* p. 140.

9. *Abhidharmadīpa* with *Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*, pp. 259 ff; *Abhidharmakoṣabhāṣya*, ch. II, v. 46.

10. *Rūpe dharante yeva coḷasa-cittāni uppajjitvā nirujjhanti taṃ (rūpaṃ) pana sattarasamena cittena saddhiṃ nirujjhati: VbhA*. pp. 25 f.

ration and cessation, (*uppāda*, *ṭhiti* and *bhaṅga*). And, simultaneously with each phase there comes into being a point-instant of matter. Since each point-instant of matter lasts as long as sixteen moments of thought, it will be seen, how the point-instant of matter that arises at the nascent phase of the first moment of sub-consciousness will perish at the nascent phase of the seventeenth moment of sub-consciouness, and so on. Thus, the individual consciousness becomes attuned with the vibrating matter in the outside world, and perception is set up (*VbhA*. 26, 27).

Buddhaghosa also says that the three phases of a moment of thought (*cittakkhaṇa*) are of the same duration, while in the point-instant of matter, the nascent and the evanascent phases are short and the static is long. It is the point-instant of matter in its static phase that continues to remain while seventeen thought moments arise and die (*Vism*. 526).

The *Visuddhimagga* and Abhidhamma-commentaries belonging to about the same period mention the relative speed of vibration of thought and matter; but they do not explicitly analyse a process of thought into a succession of moments. Anuruddha in his *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha*, however, desercbes in detail with the help of the theory of moments, how attunement of mental vibration with the vibrating matter gives rise to perception.

In the *Visuddhimagga*, consciousness is described as consisting of fourteen modes: (1) birth-consciousness (*paṭisandhi-viññāṇa*), (2) subconsciousness of life continuum (*bhavaṅga*), (3) attention (*āvajjana*), (4) visual consciousness (*dassana*), (5) auditory consciousness (*savaṇa*), (6) olfactory consciousness (*ghāyana*) (7) gustatory consciousness (*sāyana*), (8) tactile consciousness (*phusana*) (9) assimilation (*sampaṭicchana*), (10) discrimination (*santīraṇa*), (11) determination (*votthapana*), (12) cognition (*javana*), (13) registration (*tadārammaṇa*) and (14) death consciousness (*cuti*: *Vism*. 387). This classification refers to the various forms in which consciousness may express itself. The functions that would be common to each kind of sensory activity, if taken separately, would be those of (1) attending (no. 3), (2) assimilating (no. 9), (3) discriminating (no. 10), (4) determining (no. 11), (5) cognising (no. 12) and (6) registering (no. 13). If we add to these six the appropriate sensory stimulation, the number of stages would total up to seven.

In the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, the theory is elaborated further and the computation is done on the basis of moments. The actual conscious part of the process of perception consists of the same stages, but to these are added three other functions which take place at the beginning of each process of sense-perception. To each stage is assigned a definite number of moments so that the entire process takes place within the period of seventeen moments (*Abhs*. pp. 16f).

Why the thought process (*citta-vīthi*) is said to consist of seventeen moments and not sixteen is explained by Anuruddha by maintaining that the lifeterm of matter is equivalent to seventeen moments of thought (*Abhs*. 16). Sumangala discusses the problem and alludes to the existence of differences of opinion on the question. He states that some hold the view that the duration of matter is equal to sixteen thought-moments; and that at the very moment of its birth, matter causes a disturbance in the sub-consciousness of the individual. This standpoint is refuted on the authority of *Aṭṭhakathā* according to which, says Sumangala, the point-instant of matter which comes into existence simultaneously with the first moment of consciousness at rebirth perishes together with the seventeenth moment of the same thought series. The point-instant of matter, however, which arises at the static phase of the thought-moment springing up at rebirth perishes at the nascent phase of the eighteenth moment of the thought-series. According to this calculation, he says, matter must be regarded as lasting for seventeen moments. He points out that when one refers to sixteen moments, one takes into account only those moments that are actually necessary for the maintenance of the flow of thought. One moment must be added to the end of the series to account for the force exerted by matter in coming into the avenue of thought (*Ahidhammatthavibhāviniṭīka* p. 58)

The process of perception in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* begins with (1) the vibration of the sub-consciousness (*bhavaṅga-calana*) for two moments in the second moment of which (2) the sub-consciousness is cut off (*bhavaṅga-upaccheda*). The succeeding moments are those of (3) attention, (4) sensation (*viññāṇa*), (5) assimilation, (6) discrimination, (7) determination, (8-14) seven moments of cognition, and (15-16) two moments of registration. The number is made up to seventeen by adding one moment of thought at the beginning of the perceptive process. This thought-moment occurs before the material object makes an impression on the sense organ (*Abhs*. pp. 16 ff).

Mādhymaka-school: The Madhyamaka S'ūnyavāda school denies the reality of the supposed point-instants (*kṣaṇa*) of existence. Against the theory of moments advocated by the Sarvāstivādins, the Mādhyamakas appeal to common sense: "Who is the man of sense," they question, "who will believe that a real thing can appear (*utpāda*), exist (*sthiti*) and disappear (*bhaṅga*) at the same moment? Chandrakirti quotes Nagarjuna and other authorities, scriptures (*sūtra*) and treatises (*s'āstras*) in support of this stand-point (*Mdhvr.* pp. 116, note 1; pp. 173, 281, 343). This denial, however, has no special bearing upon the theory of moments, since that school declares every separate object and every notion to be dialectical, relative and illusive.

Yogācāra-school: The Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school of Asanga and Vasubandu [11] accepts the theory of moments in its details, but suggests a kind of consciousness called *Ālayavijñāna* [12] in which the seeds of good and evil are deposited. It is this *Ālaya-vijñāna* that maintains the continuity, *etc.* of the individual stream of moments or elements. This school advocates a theory of reality according to which 'things exist' on three different levels; namely, imaginative (*parikalpita*), contingent or relative (*paratantra*) and absolute (*parinispanna*). The first refers to concepts like *ātma* which is false; the second refers to the elements and the third to the absolute reality called *tathatā*. It is to the second level of reality (*paratantra*) that the theory of moments is applicable (see *Trihsvabhāvanirdes'a*).

Logical School: Now we come to the final stage in the development of the theory of moments. This stage is represented by the logical sheool of Buddhism founded by Dinnāga and developed by Dharmakīrti, S'āntarakṣita and Kamalasīla, to mention only a few. This school, known as the Sautrāntika-Vijñanavāda or SautrāntikayYogācara, elevated the moments to the position of things in themselves, of ultimate realities (*paramārtha-sat*) which are unique (*svalakṣaṇa*) and are devoid of thoughtconstructions (*kalpanāpodhum*).

The moments (*kṣaṇa*) are unique (*svalakṣana*); the series (*kṣana-santāna*) is general (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*). What appears as duration or continuity, like the flame of a lamp, is a series of discrete-moments. The notion of continuity is nothing but the result of the thought construction; it is the act of the imaginative mind; there is nothing real in the series, only the moments are real.

All that appears as objects, without exception, are nothing but strings of momentary events. Their character of being instantaneous, of being split into discrete moments, pervades every thing. These discrete moments or elements disappear as soon as they appear; their essence is to disappear as soon as they appear; without leaving any trace behind (*niranvaya-nirodhadharmatā: Tattvasaṅgraha- panjika* p. 131).

A critical examination of the supposed stability of existence reveals that there is no other ultimate reality than separate instantaneous bits of existence. Not only the so-called eternal entities, be it God or the *Upanisads* or be it matter of the Sāṅkhyas are unreal, because they are assumed to be enduring and eternal, but even the simple stability of empirical objects is something constructed by our imagination. Ultimate reality is instantaneous. (ibid. pp. 151 ff).

The capacity of being the object of a purposive action (*arthakriyākāritva*) is the essential feature of establishing reality. But a thing cannot be the object of a purposive action and cannot be efficient otherwise than by its last moment. When a seed, for instance, is turned into a sprout, this is done by the last moment of the seed, not by those moments when it lay placidly in the granary (ibid. 140 f). The *kṣaṇa* is the moment when an action is accomplished (*kriyāparisamāpti-lakṣana eva eṣo nah kṣanāh: Abhkbh.* ii, 460).

But an action, in this sense, is never finished; every moment is necessarily followed by a next moment. The break in that moment which constitutes the essence of reality is nothing but the appearance of an outstanding or dissimilar moment (*vijātīya-kṣaṇa-utpāda*). It is outstanding for our practical requirements, because it is natural for us to disregard the uninterrupted change of moments and to take notice of it only when it becomes a new quality, *i.e.*, sufficient to impress a new attitude on our mind; in other words, only when the change is in quality and not in quantity. The identity of the foregoing moments in the existence of a thing

11. Vasubandhu, before being converted to the Vijñanavāda of the Yogācara school founded by his brother Asaṅga was a Sautrāntika, and composed the *Abhidharmakoṣa* and its *Bhāṣya* to refute the Sarvāstivāda views from the point of view of a Sautrāntika.

12. *Ālayavijñāna* first occurs in the *Laṅkavatāra Sūtra* (pp. 221-222), a Mahāyāna text, and the Yogācāra school primarily bases itself on this text.

consists simply in disregarding their difference (*bheda-agraha*). Break in this identity is not a break in their motion; it always is something imagined, it is an integration of moments whose difference we are not able to notice.

The essence of reality is motion (*calabhāva*) which means change; it is momentary (*kṣaṇika*) and therefore impermanent (*anitya*). Reality indeed is kinetic; the world is a cinema. Causality, *i.e.* the interdependence of moments following one another evokes the illusion of stability or duration; but the moments are, so to speak, force or energies (*saṅskāra*) flashing into existence without any real enduring substance in or underlying them, and also without intervals or with infinitesimally small intervals (*Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 138; *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā*, pp. 117, 131, 137).

Thus, in Buddhism, unlike in the Sāṅkhya system[13] the motion representing the world process is discontinuous, although compact: The flashes of energy follow one another and produce the illusion of stabilised phenomena. The universe is then a *staccato* movement. This may be called *saṅskāravāda*.

This theory of universal momentariness implies that (1) every duration in time consists of point-instants following one another; (2) every extension in space consists also of point-instants arising in contiguity and simultaneously and (3) every motion consists of these point-instants arising in contiguity and in succession. There is, therefore, no time, no space and no motion, over and above the point-instants of which these imagined entities are constructed by mind.

Reality, as we have seen, is efficiency (*arthakriyā kāritva*). One real thing cannot exist at the same time in many places, neither can the same reality be real at different times. If a thing is present in one place, it cannot at the same time be present in another place. To be present in another place means not to be present in the former place. Thus, to reside in many places means to be and, at the same time, not to be present in a given place.

According to the realists, empirical things have a limited real duration. They are produced by the creative power of Nature or by the will of God. These created real entities reside or inhere in their cause. Thus, there is a real thing simultaneously residing in a multitude of places. This is impossible. Either is the created unity a fiction and real are only the parts, or the parts are fictions and real is only the ultimate whole. For the Buddhists, the parts (*dharmas*) alone are real; the whole (*dharmi*) is a fiction; for, if it were a reality, it would be a reality residing at once in many places, i.e., reality at once residing and not residing in a given place.

Similarly, if a thing exists at moment A, it cannot also exist at moment E; for, to exist really at the moment A means not to have any real existence at the moment E, or at any other moment. If we admit that the same thing continues to exist at the moment E, this would only mean that it at once really exists and does not exist at the moment A. If a thing could have real duration through several moments, it would represent a real unity existing at once at different times. Either is the enduring unity a fiction and real are only the moments, or the moments are fiction and real is only duration. For the Buddhists, the moments (*kṣaṇa*) alone are real, duration is a fiction, for, if it were a reality, it would be a reality existing at different times at once; i.e. existing and at the same time not existing (*Nyāyavārtikā-tatparya-ṭīkā* p. 92).

Thus the ultimate reality for the Buddhists is timeless, spaceless and motionless. It is timeless not in the sense of an eternal being; motionless not in the sense of an all-embracing motionless whole; but it is timeless, spaceless and motionless in the sense of having no duration, no extension and no movement . It is a point instant, the moment of an action's efficiency.

Efficiency which is the index to real existence means change. What is absolutely changeless is absolutely inefficient and what is absolutely inefficient does not exist. Unexistent and motionless are convertible terms, since there is no other means to prove one's existence than to produce some effect. If something exists without any effect at all, its existence is not real. Whatsoever does not change does not exist.

Thus existing means efficient. Is this efficiency perdurable or is it momentary? If it is perdurable then all the moments the object is supposed to last must

13. In the Saṅkhya system, the world process is a continuous motion. The phenomena are nothing but waves or fluctuations standing out upon a background of an eternal, all pervading, undifferentiated matter with which they are identical. The Universe represents a legato movement. This may be called the *pariṇāmavāda*.

participate in the production of the effect. But this is impossible. The preceding moments cannot overlap the last moment in order to participate in the production of the effect. Perdurable means static and static means non-efficient, *i.e.*, not producing at the time any effect; thus inefficient means non-existing. Every real object is efficient in producing the next follwing moment of its duration. The object must therefore, produce its effect at once, or it will never produce it. There is nothing intermediate between being static and not being static. To be static means to be motionless and eternally unchanging, as the cosmic ether was supposed to be by some. Not to be static means to move and to change every moment. Things cannot stop, and after taking rest, begin to move again, as the naive realism of common life and realistic philosophy assume. There is motion always going on in living reality, but of this motion we notice only some special moment which we stabilise in imagination.

The same thing which is characterised as existent can also be characterised as effeient and as changing. The terms: existence, efficiency and change are connected by what is called existential identity (*tadātmya*), that is to say, they can be without contradiction applied to one and the same point of reality, to a real face. There are other characteristics which are connected with them by the same time of existential identity. "Whatsoever has an origin is always changing" (*Nyāyabindu*, ed. Stcherbatsky, *B.B.*, ch. iii, section 12); "Whatsoever is produced by causes is impermanent (ibid. ii, 13); " Whatsoever is variable in dependence on a variation of its causes, is subject to change" (ibid. iii, 15); and "Whatsoever is produced by a conscious effort is impermanent" (*ibid*).

All these characteristics, although they may have a different extension, are called existentially identical, because they may without contradiction be applied to one and the same reality. A jar which is produced by the effort of the potter, for instance, may be characterised as variable, as a product, as having an origin, as changing, as efficient and existent.

These things are also subject to annihilation. There are two kinds of annihilation: empirical annihilation called destruction (*pradhvaṃsa*) and a transcendental annihilation called evanescience (*vināsa*) or impermanence (*anitya* or *kṣaṇika: Tattvasaṅgraha-Pañjikā*, pp. 137, 156). The first is the annihilation of a jar by a stroke of the hammer. The second is the destruction of the jar by time, an imperceptible, infinitely graduated, constant deterioration or impermanence which is the very essence of reality. S´āntaraksita, therefore, says: "Reality itself is called annihilation, viz., that ultimate reality which has the duration of a moment (*yohibhāvah kṣanasthāyi vināsa itigiyate: Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 137). This annihilation is not produced by a cause (*ahetuka: Tattvasaṅgraha-pañjikā*, pp. 133, 138), like the stroke of a hammer; it arises by itself (*Tattvassaṅgraha*, p. 132, *Nyāyakanikā* p. 131). Since it belongs to the essence of reality, reality is impermanent (*Tattvassaṅgraha pañjika*, p. 138). The fact that the annihilation of a thing always follows upon its previous existence does not apply to such reality. This reality is dynamic, in its essence; it is indivisible; it cannot be divided in parts so that non-existence should follow upon existence. Its evanescence arises simultaneously with its production; otherwise evanescence arises simultaneously with its production; otherwise evanescence would not belong to the very essence of reality (ibid). Existence and non-existence are thus different names given to the same thing, just as 'donkey' and 'ass' are different names given to the same animal (*Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 139).

The moments, are necessarily discrete; every moment, i.e., every momentary thing, is annihilated as soon as it appears, because it does not survive in the next moment. There is in every next moment not the slightest bit left of what has been existent in the previous moment. If something of the preceding moment would survive in the following moment, this would mean eternity, because it would survive in the third and the following moments, too. In this sense, everything represents its own annihilation. Existence itself is constant annihilation.

What then is change? Change means that a moment, an element of existence, is replaced by another. Since there is a change in every moment, the 'thing' will be at every moment replaced by another. The change does not represent something different from the thing changing. The phrase: "The change of a thing" is a perverse expression (*Tattvasaṅgraha pañjika*, p. 141). In the ultimate sense, there is another thing at every consecutive moment.

Existence is not something added to the existing thing; it is this thing itself. Annihilation, evanescence or change are not something real in super-addition to the thing changing or destroyed; they are the thing itself. Similarly, motion is nothing additional to the thing; it is the thing itself. There is no motion because of

annihilation (*na gatir nasat: Abhk.* iv. 1). Things do not move; they have no time to move; they disappear as soon as they appear. Momentary things cannot displace themselves because they disappear at that very place where they have appeard (*tasya ksanikasya janmado'syaeva cyuteh, nasat, desantaraprāpti asambhavāt; Tattvasaṅgraha-pañjikā*, p. 232). The motion is as unreal as the so called stability is. The so called stability is the stability of one moment only (*eka-kṣaṇa-sthiti*), and the so called motion is nothing over and above the consecution of these moments, arising without interruption in close contiguity, the one after the other, and thus producing the illusion of movement. The movement is like a row of lamps sending flashes, one after the other, and thus producing the illusion of a moving light. Motion consists of series of immobilities. The light of a lamp is a common metaphorical designation for an uninterrupted production of a series of flashing flames. When this production changes its place, we say that the light has moved, but in reality other flames have appeared in other contiguous places.

Thus, the theory that the sensible point instants alone constitute the ultimate reality reduces the reality to 'the this', 'the now', 'the here' and converts all the rest of our knowledge into imaginative and relative differentiation based on these point-instants. The instantaneous being is the ultimately real thing. The only thing in the universe which is a non-construction, a non-fiction, is the sensible point-instant; it is the real base of all constructions. It is true that it is a reality which cannot be represented in a sensuous image (*kṣanasya prāpayitum as'akyatvāt: Nyāyabinduṭika*, ed. Stchebatsky, *BB*. p. 12) but this is just because it is not a thought-construction (*Saṃvikalpakaṃ jñanaṃ*: ibid.). The absolutely unique point-instant of reality, as it cannot be represented, can also not be named otherwise than by a pronoun: "this", "now etc. (*Tattva Sangrahapañjikā*, p. 276)

Consequently, it is not a name; ultimate reality is unutterable. What is utterable is always more or less a thought-construction.

Upali Karunaratne.

KHANDHA

Introductory: The analysis of man and universe is a feature common to all systems of Indian religion and philosophy. Each system had its own theory of reality and explained it in relation to the origin and existence of man and universe.

The early *Upanis'ads* which may be considered pre-Buddhistic had analysed the material side of existence into five elements (*dhatu*), namely, earth (*pṛthivi*), water (*āp*), fire (*tejas*), wind (*vāyu*) and ether (*ākāsa*), and considered them to be the diversification of the ultimate reality, called Brahman, the Absolute (*Brhadāraṇyaka Upanis'ad*, I.VI.1). The diversification consists also in the emergence of organic bodies including those of human beings (*Chāndogya Upanis'ad*). They explained the psychological side of man by introducing into every human being a soul which they considered an appearance of the Brahman, the Absolute. The individual soul is, therefore, identical with Brahman (*ibid*).

The relationship between the soul and the organic bodies is dealt with in what is called the doctrine of sheaths (*koṣa*). There are three basic sheaths which provide a cover for the individual soul. The first is the sheath made of food (*annamaya koṣa*), i.e., the body which, being the material covering of the soul, is the outermost of the sheaths; it stands for the physical side of the individual and is renewed at every birth. The second is the sheath of vitality (*prāṇamaya koṣa*) which represents the organic or vital side of the individual; it is the principle of unconscious activity such as those in dreams. The third is the sheath of consciousness (*manomaya koṣa*) which represents the conscious activity of the individual which he performs through his sense-organs. These three together form a sort of empirical home for the soul (*Taittirīya Upanis'ad*, ii.i.5). All these *koṣas* find their support in Brahman.

The true nature of man, therefore, is the *ātman* whereas that of the objective world is Brahman. The fusion of these two apparently different but in reality identical conceptions into one is the central aim of *Upanis'adic* teachning, and is represented in sayings like "That Thou Art" or "I am Brahman" or by the equation "Brahman is Atman". The individual as well as the objective world is the manifestation of the same reality and both are, therefore, basically one. There is, in other words, no break between nature and man, or between either of them and Brahman.

Side by side with this atman-doctrine of the Upanisads which advocated the reality of the one Absolute, the Brahman, there were the materialist doctrines of different types which also had their own analy-

sis of the whole of existence. Some materialists like Ajita Kesakambali analysed man and the universe into four elements, namely, earth (*pathavī*), water (*āpo*), fire (*tejo*) and wind (*vāyo*) : *D*.I. 55). Others like Pakudha Kaccayana advocated a doctrine of seven bodies (*kaya*), namely, earth (*pathavīkāya*), water (*āpokāya*), fire (*tejo-kāya*), wind (*vāyo-kāya*), pleasure (*sukha*), pain (*dukkha*) and life (*jīva*: *D*.I. 56). The materialists were of the view that those elements or bodies alone were real and all other things, man included, were composed of them. The materialist analysis was aimed at denying the existence of any permanent entity, like the *ātman* that underlies the elements and beings.

The Buddha, too, had made an analysis of man and the universe, but its purpose was entirely different from that of the *ātmavādins* and the materialists. He aimed, by his analysis, at proving that there is nothing permanent and real underlying not only man and the universe but also the elements that constitute them, without, at the same time, falling into the extreme of nihilism.

With this end in view the Buddha made a threefold analysis. The theme of the present essay, *khandha*, forms one such analysis, the other two being *dhātu* and *āyatana*. It is not only the individual that is unreal, he says, even the *khandha dhātu* and *āyatana* that constitute man and the universe are unreal. There is nothing permanent and substantial underlying man or the factors (*khandha, āyatana, dhātu*) into which he can be analysed.

These three modes of analysis, as the commentators observe, are due to the difference in disposition and inclination of individuals as well as to their spiritual faculties which are on different levels of development.

There are those individuals whose spiritual faculties are sharp (*tīkṣṇendriya*) but are inclined to the view that the synthesis of all psychological factors constitute the soul: to them the *skhandha* analysis is preached as the most suited, because here the emphasis is on analysing the mind and mental states which constitute four *khandha*. When they grasp the *khandha* analysis they will be able to understand the analysis into *āyatana* and *dhātu*.

There are also those whose spiritual faculties are very weak (*mṛdvindriya*) and who hold that the synthesis of both mind and matter constitutes the soul: to them the analysis into eighteen elements is the most suited, because here the mind as well as matter have been equally analysed.

The third category of individuals have moderately developed faculties (*madhyendriya*) and consider the synthesis of all material elements to be the soul, to them the analysis into *āyatana* is preached as the most suited because here the emphasis is on the analysis of matter (*Abhidharmadīpa*, p.6; *Sphutārtha Abhidharmakosavyākhyā*, pp. 47-48).

To the last category may also belong the analysis of man into six *dhātu* where matter is analysed into five elements, namely, earth, water, fire, air and space while the mind is left unanalysed (*D. III*, 247, *M*. III, 31, 62, 239f).

All these different analyses are found in the *suttas* which are considered the words of the Buddha and which do not belong exchusively to any particular school of Buddhism. The followers of the Buddha who continued this analytic tradition further analysed these *khandha, āyatana* and *dhātu* into what are called *dhamma* or *dharma* which they thought were indivisible ultimates. Although references to *dhamma* in this sense are numerous in the *suttas*, we do not find a systematic analysis of them until we come to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, the first book of the Pali Abhidhamma Piṭaka, where they are analysed and classified on the basis of the good, the bad and the neutral.

When the later Buddhists understood the words of the Buddha in different ways and interpreted them differently giving rise to schools, controversies arose as to the reality or othrwise of those *dhamma*. The Theravadins, in their Pali commentaries and later works, accepted the reality of the *dhamma* by virtue of the fact of their 'becoming' (*dhammānaṃ bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ*) and also by virtue of their bearing their own nature (*sabhāvadhāraṇato dhammā*). The Vaibhasikas who made a distinction between the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) and the nature (*svabhāva*) of *dharma* thought that, although their characteristics may change, their nature remains the same during the three periods of time, thus subscribing to the view of the reality of *dhamma*. The Sautrantikas questioned the validity of the position taken up by the Vaibhasikas; but it was left to Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamaka school, to refute, by a method of dialec-

tic, the Vaibhāṣika theory and prove the unreality of the *dharma* (*dharmanihsvabhava*). And finally we find the Yogacara school advocating the reality of *Vijñapti* alone and the unreality of all other elements.

Meaning of the term: The term *khandha* (Pali) or *skandha* (Skt) has been used in this context in the sense of a heap, a groupp or a mass (*rasi*), a collection of many things belonging to the same kind (*DhsA*. p. 141; *VbhA*. p. 2; *Abhk*. p. 9; *Sphuṭārtha Abhidharmakoṣa Vyākhya*, pp. 42 ff.). It may best be rendered by the term 'aggregate' although there are a number of equivalents given by scholars such as 'agglomerations' (*BHS*. p. 607, Column 2),' Constituent elements of being' (Sir M. Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1256, Column 3) and 'groups' (Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, p. 76).

There are five such aggregates in which all the physical and psychological phenomena have been summed up. They are (1) the aggregate of matter (*rūpakkhandha*), (2) the aggregate of feeling (*vedanakkhandha*), (3) the aggregate of perception (*saññakkhandha*), (4) the aggregate of synergies (*saṅkharakkhandha*) and (5) the aggregate of conciousness (*viññanakkhandha S*. III, 47 etc., *Vbh*. 1-61; *Vism*. 375; *Abhk*. Ch.i; *Abhidharmadipa*, ch.i; *Abhsv*. p. 1). Each of these five constitutes an aggregate as each consists of a number of aspects of the same thing (*VbhA*. p. 2.) and each of these has its own nature, and does not possess the nature of any of the other four aggregates. Thus they are differnt from one another (*Abhk*.p.8).

Definition: The texts give a definition which is applied to all five aggregates. It runs:

"Whatever there is matter (*rūpa*), whether past, present or future; one's own or external; gross or subtle; lofty or low; far or near; all that is called the aggregate of matter."

Identical words are used with reference to the other four aggregates as well - (*S*. III, p. 47; *Vbh*. p. 1 ff; *VbhA*. p. 2f; *Abhsv*.p. 15).

There is nothing specific about this definition except that it aims at comprehensiveness. It includes everything that comes under each of the five aggregates, anything, anywhere, any time and in any form.

Rūpakkhandha: This aggregate stands for the totality of matter (*sabbaṃ rupaṃ: S*. III, 68). It includes all material elements and qualities that enter into the composition of both living beings and the exernal world (ibid; *Mohavicchedani*, p. 116).

The common characteristic of matter as given in the texts is *ruppana* (*S*. III, 47, 86 etc.) or *rūpana* (*Abhsv*. p. 2) as an allegerical exegesis which generally means vexing or afflicting (explained as *ghaṭṭana, dūsana, kappana*). It is said that matter is oppressed by the touch of cold and heat, of sun and wind, of hunger and thirst, and of gnats, mosquitoes and snakes (*S*. III, 86f; *Vbh*.1; *VbhA*. 2; *Vism*. 375 *Abhsy*. 2 etc.) It means that when matter is confronted with such contrary forces as cold and heat, it undergoes climatic disturbance.

According to this description even matter seems to have been regarded as a subjective factor when we consider its being afflicted not only by cold and heat and the like, but also by dangers from snakes and the like. The fact that ethical edification was one of the reasons in using the word *ruppana* or *rūpana* is fairly obvious. For conveying as it does the idea of grief, affliction or molestation, it is very suggestive of the truth of suffering (*dukkha-sacca*), one of the cardinal doctrines of Buddhism.

Later scholars have introduced the terms *pratighāta* (*Abhk. V*. p. 24) and *vyābādhana* (*Abhsy*. p. 2) in their definition of matter. These words refer to the fact of extension, i.e., occupation in space, and to the fact of resistance as the fundamental characteristic of matter. Matter is that which covers (*sapratigha*) or is extended in space The *sapratigha* objects cannot occupy the same space simultaneously. The term *sapratigha* is also reminiscent of the Pali term *paṭigha* that is used in the Theravada Abhidhamma as indicative of the sensory reaction between the first five sense-organs and their corresponding sense-objects. These ten items are, therefore, described as matter that resists (*rūpaṃ sappaṭighaṃ: Dhs*. pp. 133 ff).

The totality of matter, however, includes the four primary elements (*bhūta-rūpa* or *mahā-bhūta*) and the secondary matter dependent on them (*upādā rūpa*). The analysis of matter yields a number of material data (*rūpa-dhamma*), and the number of such data varies with regard to different schools. The Theravadins postulated a list of twenty -eight *rūpadhamma* whereas the *Vaibhāṣikas* and the *Yogācārins* recognised only eleven of them. These material data are the ultimate irreducible factors that constitute the entire physical

world, including that of liviing beings. Any given material object is analysable into these ultimate factors. Apart from them, no other matter is recognised.

Vedanakkhandha : *Vedanā* means feeling (*Vedetīti vedanā: M.* I, 293; *Vediyantīti Vedanā S.* III 86), derived from contact or sensory reaction between sense-organ and sense-object. It is the experience thus acquired (*anubhava* or *anubhūti: Abhk.* p. 7; *Abhidharmadīpa*, p. 69; *Abhsy*. p. 2). One experiences and feels the objects with one's own sense-organs. As there are six sense- organs, feeling derived through them is also sixfold (*M.* III, 260; *S.* III, 60; *Abhsy*. p.4.). These feelings are either blissful (*sukha*), painful (*dukkha*) or neutral (*upekkha, adukkhamasukha* or *ubhaya-vinirmukta: M.* I. 293; *S.* III, 86f *Vism.* 383, 390; *Vbh* 2; *VbhA* 2; *Abhsy*. 4). These three kinds of feeling are further analysed into bodily agreeable feeling (*sukha*), bodily disagreeable feeling (*dukkha*), mentally agreeable feeling (*somanassa*) mentally disagreeble feeling (*domanassa*) and neutral feeling (*upekkha: Vism.* 390). The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (IV, 124 f.) has an analysis of *vedanā* into one hundred and eight modes. Because it is not one but has many modes, *vedanā* is called an aggregate (*VbhA*. 3).

Vedanā, thus analysed into a number of modes and aspects, on the basis of origin and nature, is in short a psychological factor (*cetasika dhamma: M.* I, 301) that obtains in the perceptual process. It represents the stage which immediately precedes the actual stage of perception which is termed *saññā*, the next aggregate. It has contact (*phassa or spars'a*) as its basis (*S.* III, 101; *Vbh.* 13; *Triṃs'ikā vijñaptimātratē bhyāsa*, V. 3, (included in *Viṃs'ikā* et *Trims'ika*, ed. S. Levi) and craving (*tanha*) as its results.

Saññakkhandha: *Saññā* has been described as taking up, comprehension (*udgrahana*), through the sense organs, of outward appearance or signs (*nimitta*) of external objects (*viṣaya, vastu, ālambana* or *ārammana*). The *nimitta* means colour and shape in the case of visible objects (*rūpa*), tastes such as sweetness and bitterness in the case of objects that can be savoured (*rasa*), and so on with other objects (*DhsA.* p. 110; *Abhk*. p. 7; *Abhsy*. p. 2). It constitutes the knowledge of the unity between the external sign (*nimitta*), name (*nāma*) and content (*artha*) of an object (*Abhidharmadīpa* p. 69). It is the mental act that makes ... (*saṃjānāti*) an object (*DhsA*. p. 110; *Vism.* 369; *Abhsy*. 2.).

Thus *saññā*, like *vedanā*, is a psychological factor (*cetasika dhamma*: *M.* I, 301; *caitasika dharma A. dipa*, p. 78) which represents the actual perception, the cognition of external objects through sense-organs. It is immediately preceded by *vedanā* (*yaṃ vedeti taṃ sañjānāti: M.*I. III) and gives rise to *vitarka* (*yaṃ sañjānāti taṃ vitakketi: M.*I. 112;) *saṃjñā vitarkayoniḥ, A. dīpa.* p. 69). And like *vedanā, saññā*, too, has contact (*phassa*) as its basis (S. III, 101). Since *phassa* and *vedanā* are sixfold, *saññā* too, which is imtimately connected with them, is sixfold as all these three factors depend, for their arising, on the six sense-organs and their objects (D. II, 309; M. III, 260; S III, 60; *Abhsy*. 5). And because it is not one, but has many aspects, *saññā* is described as an aggregate (*VbhA*. p. 3).

Saṅkhārakkhandha: *Saṅkhāra* or *saṃskāra* is the force which drives the mind in the direction of good, bad and the indeterminate (*Abhsy*. 2,5,6). It has been described as mental action (*manaskarma*: *Abhsy*. 6) and is identified with volition (*cetanā* : *S.* III, 102; *Vbh.* 28; *VbhA*. 5). Since *cetanā* has been identified with action (*Kamma*:*A.* III, 415), *saṅkhāra* may also be identified with actions. But, a distinction may be made between the force that drives the mind (i.e. *cetanā*) and the mental actions (*kamma*) that results from it (cf. *Vism.* 448f.). *Saṅkhāra* includes both the force and the forced (*cetayitvā kammaṃ karoti*; *A.* III, 415; *cetanā-karma cetayitvā karma ca: Abhsy.* 53). The statement that *saṅkhāra* is that which compounds the conditioned things (*saṅkhataṃ abhsisaṅkarotīti saṅkhāro: S.* III, 87; cf. *Vism.* 391,448; *Abhsy*. 2) is clearly indicative of these two aspects, the force and the forced, of *saṅkhāra*.

The *Visuddhimagga* description of *saṅkhāra* amply illustrates this point. It says that the *saṅkhāras* have the characteristic of compounding (*abhisaṅkharana*); their function is to accumulate (*āyuhana*); they manifest themselves as intervening (*vippahāna*); and their proximate cause is the remaining three immaterial aggregates (*Vism.* 391). According to this description, compounding is the characteristic of *saṅkhāra*:; in other words, *saṅkhāra* is compounding, which is a force. Its action is to accumulate. Accumulate what? Accumulate actions (*kamma*) which are the forced. Thus, the force as well as the forced, volition (*cetanā or cetanākarma*) as well as the actions (*cetayitvā karma*) are both considered as *saṅkhāra*. Contact (*phassa*) is the basis of all *saṅkhāra* (*S.* III, 102)

The *saṅkhāras* are, by nature, of three kinds: the *saṅkhāras* which are good (*kusala*), those that are bad (*akusala*) and those that are indeterminate (*avyākata*: *Vism*. 391). And by way of arising the *saṅkhāras* are, like *vedanā* and *saññā*, of six kinds since they arise depending on six sense-organs and their objects (*S*. III. 87; *Vbh*. 6, 28; *Abhv*. 5).

These *saṅkharas* which are psychological factors (*cetasika dhamma*: *M*. I. 301) are enumerated in the texts and we find different lists of them given by different schools. The Theravadins have a list of fifty psychological factors designated as *saṅkkhāras* (*Vism*. 391 ff; *Mohavicchedani*, 117) while in the Vaibhaṣika list there are sixty *saṅskharas* in two main categories, namely forty-six psychological factors (*caittas*) and fourteen forces which are dissociated from both mind and matter (*viprayukta saṅskara*: *Abhk*. cg. ii. vv. 23 ff; *A. dipa*. pp., 68 ff). The Yogacara school had increased the number of *saṅskaras* to seventy-five, fifty-two *caittas* and twenty-three *viprayukta saṃskaras* (*Abhsy*. 3 ff).

All these psychological factors and other forces are collectively called the aggregate of synergies (*Vism*. 383, 391; *Abhsy*. 5 ff).

Vedanā and Saññā as separate aggregates. The two aggregates, *vedana* and *saññā*, are psychological factors just as *saṅkharas* are (M. I. 301; *A. dipa*. 78). They could, therefore, have been easily included in the aggregate of synergies (*saṅkharakkhanda*) because in the latter are included all other psychological factors. But *vedanā* and *saññā* have been singled out and are reckoned as separate aggregates, and what is the reason for doing so?

Yas'omitra raises this relevant question and answers that these two psychological factors are reckoned as separate aggregates on the ground that they constitute the chief psychological factors that make one attached to the pleasures of the senses (*kāma*) and to views (*dṛṣṭi*), respectively. *Vedanā*, being also the enjoyment of sense-objects, makes laymen attached to them, whereas *saññā*, when it is perverse, makes monks conceive *adharma* to be *dharma*, *dharma* to be *adharma*, *anātma* to be *ātma* and so on, making them attached to those perverse views (*S. Abhk. V.*, p. 48).

It is during a perceptual process that man is given the alternative to choose one way or the other. Man enjoys freedom to comtemplate the objects he perceives, wisely or unwisely. If he is wise in his contemplation (*yoniso manasikaroti*) he is well on his way to freedom; and if he contemplates them unwisely (*ayoniso manasikaroti*) he is in bondage to them. It is in this latter alternative that *vedanā* and *saññā* play the important part. *Vedanā* gives rise to lust (*taṇhā*) if the object perceived gives him pleasure and it gives rise to anger (*dosa*) if the object gives him pain. The experience of pleasure and pain is dependent on the manner in which one recognises (*sañjānāti*) the objects, and also on the attitude one adopts towards them. If one avoids recognising the objects by their colour or shape and different tastes etc. (*na nimittaggāhi*), he is not moved by them one way or the other; he does not become attached to them; he becomes one who works out his own salvation.

Thus it is clear that *vedanā* and *saññā* are of primary importance; They are more important than any other psychological factor in making one turn one way or the other. And it is because of this importance attached to them that they are reckoned as separate aggregates.

And, moreover, says Yasomitra, *vedanā* and *sañjña* characterise the two different spheres of existence: the fine-material sphere (*rūpadhātu*) is characterised by *vedana* whereas the first three immaterial planes, namely, *ākāsānañcāyatana*, *viññānañcāyatana* and *ākiñcañña yatana* are characterised by *sañña* (*Abhk*. V. p. 49).

This amply proves that *vedanā* and *sañjña* are much more important than other psychological factors.

Viññāṇakkhanda: *Viññāṇa* is consciousness which arises always with reference to an object which may be material such as *rūpa*, *sadda* etc. or conceptual such as democracy, freedon and so on, or psychological such as love or hate (*M*. I. 259 etc.). Thus it is participial in formation and dependent in origination. It is always particular, and is referred to always as eye-consciousness (*cakkhuviññāṇa*) and so on.

There are two interpretations of *vijñāna* given regarding the exact function it performs in a perceptual process; one referring to the bare awareness of the object and the other to full cognition of it. According to the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta*, it is the bare awareness of the object (*M*. I. 111f), an early stage in a perceptual process, followed by contact (*phassa*) and feeling

(*vedanā*), and full perception (*saññā:* ibid). This interpretation is seen favoured in the *Sphuṭārtha-abhidharmakoṣa vyākhyā* (p. 38) and the *Abhidharma-dīpa* (v. 120) and its commentary, *Vibhāṣaprabhā-vṛtti* (p. 78) which says that *vijñāna* is the bare awareness of an object (*vastumātragrahaṇam*).

The other interpretation is given in the *Mahāvedalla Sutta* according to which *viññāṇa* is the knowledge which discriminates what is pleasure (*sukha*) and what is pain (*dukkha: M.* I, 292). This definition of *viññāṇa* tallies more with *saññā* than with *viññāṇa* of the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* (*M.* I, 111) where *vinññāṇa* represents bare awareness of the object, an initial stage in a perceptual process, whereas *saññā* represents actual perception.

Buddhaghosa seems to favour the definition of viññāṇa given in the *Mahāvedalla sutta:* he syas that *saññā* is to perceive (signs such as) colour etc., whereas *viññāṇa* is that perception (*saññā*) plus the knowledge of the characteristics (such as impermanence etc.) of the object (*Vism.* 369).

Mention may also be made of the use, in some contexts, of the two terms, *saññā* and *viññāṇa*, synonymously and alternately. The origin of sorrow is, for instance, traced to *viññāṇa* in the *Suttanipāta*, just as it is traced to *saññā* as well as *phassa* in the same text (*Sn.* v. 374 etc.).

Sometimes, *viññāṇa* is considered to be one of the three vital factors, for the continuity of life, the other two being *āyu* and *usma* (*D.* II, 338, *S.* III, 143) and it is said that when these three factors leave the body the latter lies motionless like a log of wood (ibid). It is to this *viññāṇa* that the term *saṃvattanika viññāṇa* (*M.* II, 262) most probably refers. This *viññāṇa* is linked to this life and the life after (*D.* III, 105) and continues up to *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* (*M.* II, 262 ff.).

This somewhat fluid situation regarding the exact function of *viññāṇa* and the apparently different meanings it conveyed led to controversies on the nature and function of *viññāṇa,* and we find the reference to a view expressed by a monk named Sāti during the life time of the Buddha himself (*M.* I, 256). He held that *viññāṇa* is the transmigrating factor, that part of the individual, which experiences the results of good and bad actions through various lives. It fares on and continues without change of identity (*tadeva, anaññaṃ: ibid*).

This view was rejected on the ground of its dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppanna*). *Viññāṇa* too is subject to change (*ibid.*); it changes every moment. Even the *saṃvattanika viññāṇa* arises with reference to an object. It cannot arise or exist except with reference to an object.

Two other terms used with reference to *viññāṇa* are *citta* and *mano* (*S.* II, 94). The Theravadins have considered these three terms as synonyms which refer to one and the same thing (*Vism.* 383). But the Yogācāra Vijñāṇavadins have interpreted these three terms to mean three different aspects of the *vijñānaskandha*. By *citta* they understood the resultant *ālayavijñāna* in which all the seeds of past actions are stored with the result that it is perfumed by them. By *mano* they understood the thinking mind which is associated with the four passions, namely (1) belief in the existence of a soul (*ātma dṛṣṭi*), (2) attachment to it (*ātma-sneha*), (3) the view that 'I am' (*asmi-māna*) and (4) ignorance (*avidyā*); it is also the consciousness that survives the attainment of cessation (*nirodha-samāpatti*) as well as the sixfold consciousness. And by *vijñāna* they understood the sixfold consciousness which is empirical consciousness (*Abhsy.* 11-12).

The Theravādins and the Vaibhāṣikas accepted only the sixfold consciousness which in the *dhātu* classification constitutes seven elements, i.e., the sixfold consciousness plus the element of mind (*manodhātu: Vism.* 464).

All these instances of consciousness which, by nature, are threefold, vis., morally good (*kusala*) morally bad (*akusala*) and morally indeterminate (*avyākata: Vism.* 383) are collectively called the aggregate of consciousness (*Vism.* 383; *Abhsy.* 11).

The precise number of khandhas as five: Buddhaghosa raises the question as to why the precise number of *khandhas* is five neither more nor less and gives three reasons for analysing existence into five *khandhas*.

In the first place, he says, all compounded things (*sabbe saṅkhata-dhammā*) that resemble each other fall into one of these aggregates, for, when the numerous categories of compounded things are grouped together, according to similarity, all instances of matter (*rūpa*) form one aggregate, feelings (*vedanā*) another aggregate, and so on (*Vism.* 405).

Secondly, these five include all compounded things. Even the five spiritual aggregates of morality (*silakkhandha*), concentration (*samadhikkhandha*), wisdom (*paññakkhandha*), emancipation (*vimuttikkhandha*), and of knowledge and insight into emancipation (*vimuttiñāṇadassanakkhandha S.* I. 99) come under one of these five *khandhas*, namely the aggregate of synergies (*saṅkhārakkhandha: Vism.* 405). The Vaibhāsikas hold a different view; they have included the aggregate of morality (*sīlaskhandha*) in the aggregate of matter (*rūpaskhandha*) and the other four spiritual aggregates in that of synergies (*saṃskārakkhandha: A. dipa.* p. 10; *S. Abhk.* V. p. 53 on *Abhk. v.* 27). The point stressed is that all compounded things come under one or the other of these five aggregates. Only the uncompounded element (*asaṃskṛta-dhātu*), i.e.; nirvāna, is excluded from the *skandha* classification (*A. dīpa.* p. 10).

The third reason is much more important. It is the five *khandhas* which constitute the widest limit that provides the basis for the assumption of the existence of a soul (*atta*) and what pertains to a soul (*attaniya*); for, when these five aggregates exist, it is through clinging to them and through interpreting them that the view arises: "This is mine; This am I; This is myself" (*S.* III, 183ff). There is nothing outside the five aggregates that a man can possibly cling to (*Vism.* 405). Asanga, too, says that the five aggregates form the basis for the belief in a soul (*Abhsy.* p. 1).

The sequence of the khandhas: The question has been raised as to why this particular order of the aggregates has been adopted: Why matter is placed first; feeling second; perception third; synergies fourth, and consciousness fifth?

In explaining this particular order, Buddhaghosa gives as reason for doing so, the different degrees of difficulty or ease with which the different aggregates can be comprehended. He says that to the individuals who have fallen into the belief that there is a soul among the five aggregates owing to their failure or inability to analyse them, the Buddha has first taught the grosser aggregate, i.e., matter being the objective field of the sense-organs. After that he has taught sense-experience (*vedanā*) which feels matter as desirable and undesirable; as pleasurable and painful. Then he taught perception (*saññā*) which apprehends the aspects of feeling's objective field, since 'one perceives what one feels' (*M.* III, 293) There after are listed *saṅkhāras* which volitionally compound things by way of perception. And finally, he has taught the aggregate of consciousness because it provides support for and dominates feelings, perceptions and synergies (*Dhp.* v. i, *VismA.* 503).

Yasomitra accepts Buddhaghosa's explanation which is based on the grossness and subtleness of the different aggregates and gives three more reasons for adopting that particular order (*S. Abhk. V.* p. 48f).

In the first place, he says, this particular order explains the process in which the mind of human beings is defiled. Men and women are attracted to each other because of their physical form made of matter (*rūpa*). Then they become eager to derive pleasure, which is feeling (*vedanā*), from each other. This eagerness is due to the perversity of sensation (*sañjñā*) and this perversity is due to passions (*kleṣa*) which are synergies (*saṅskāra*) by which the mind (*vijñāna*) is defiled (ibid). He illustrates this position by comparing matter to a vessel (*bhājana*), feeling to food (*bhojana*), perception to condiment (*vyañjana*), synergies to a cook (*paktṛ*) and the mind to one who partakes of the food (*bhoktṛ: S. AbhkV.* p. 48f; cf. *Vism.* 405).

Their relationship to each other: It is said in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* that the first four aggregates, namely, matter, feelings, perceptions and synergies, act as a sort of home (*oka*) for the last aggregate, i.e., the mind, which makes its movements (*oka-cāri*) in it (*S.* III, 9 f). What this comparison shows is that mind can exist only in relation to the other four aggregates; it cannot exist independently of them (*S.* III, 54-55).

This clearly points to the fact that the *khandha* theory in Buddhism is purely psychological and ethical. Even if it is granted that matter can exist independently of the mind, the former comes into our picture only because of the latter (mind), which considers matter to be a part of the individual and to be factors, existing in the form of external objects, connected with the individual. It is in this sense that the mind may be considered as more important.

The first psychological reaction one has when one is confronted with an object, whether material (*rūpa*) or psychological (*nāma*), is contact (*phassa*) which is described as the synthesis of the three factors, i.e., the sense-organ, the sense-object and the resultant awareness. Depending on that contact arises feelings (*vedanā*). One perceives (*sañjānāti*) what one feels. One investigates (*vitakketi*) the object one has

percieved. This investigation as whether the object perceived is pleasurable or painful and so on, gives rise to psychological factors such as lust or aversion which are synergies (*saṅkhāra*). The mind (*viññāṇa*) is associated throughout in this process (*Vism.* 507; cf. *M.*I. 11 ff.).

This is a psychological description of the perceptual process. Although ethical considerations-underlie it, since Buddhism is interested only in the processes which are relevant to their ideal of ethical perfection, yet, in fact, it is an actual picture that may be drawn of man and his environment, as it depicts his dealings with the external world. there is no world unless it is percieved by man; or, at least, no meaning can be found in it unless human beings play their part in it. Man's dealings or his relationship with the world is made through his cognition of the world. The *khandha-analysis* is made on the basis of perception and all the five *khandhas* can be explained in relation to it; the *khandhas* are well integrated in this picture, and no *khandha*, in the Buddhist sense, has any meaning, individually; and the analysis into five loses its meaning when they are divorced from the perceptual process and taken individually. It should be mentioned, at the same time, that the Buddhists were very careful not to introduce metaphysics into their *khandha*-theory.

Their relation to āyatana and dhātu: The content of the five aggregates may be explained in relation to *āyatana* and *dhātu*; the only thing to be remembered being that these two classifications, *āyatana* and *dhātu*, embrace both the compounded things (*saṅkhata dhamma*), i.e., *saṃsāra*, and the uncompounded element (*asaṅkhata-dhātu*), i.e., *nibbāna*, whereas in the *khandha*-classification, only the compounded things are included. *Nibbāna* in the *āyatana* and *dhātu*-classification comes under *dhammāyatana* or *dhammadhātu*.

By aggregate of matter we generally understand the first five sense-organs, and their corresponding sense objects, plus a section of matter that come under *dhammāyatana* or *dhammadhātu*. This latter part of matter is described in the suttas as matter which is formless (*anidassana*) and unresisting (*appaṭigha*: *D.* III, 217; *Dhk.* p. 1 f; *Vism.* 505). According to the *Theravada* School, this part of matter consists of sixteen items which are not matter proper. The Vaibhāṣika accepted only one item of matter as coming under *dharmāyatana* or *dharmadhātu*, and that is called *avijñapti-rūpa*; *Abhidharmāmṛta*, p. 14; *Abhk.* ch. i, *v.* 10; S. *AbhkV* p. 36). The Sautrantikas took strong exception to its recognition on the part of the Vaibhāṣikas as a real element of existence. They do not seem to have included any item of matter in the *dharmāyatana* or in the *dharmadhātu*. The Yogacara school, too, recognises a kind of matter to be included in the *dharmāyatana* (*Abhsy.* p. 3.)

No substance and quality in the khandhas: The *rupakkhandha* represents matter in its varied manifestations as primary (*bhūta-rūpa*) and secondary (*bhautika* or *upādā rūpa*). the other four aggregates, generally called *nāma-dhamma* (*Vism.* 506), represent mind (*citta, mano* or *viññāṇa*), the fifth aggregate, and the mental factors (*caitta* or *cetasika*). The *Abhidharmadīpa* recognises this difference between the primary and the secondary matter as well as between mind and mental factors on the ground of their difference as regards their nature and functons. Although in this recognition the *rūpadhammas* and *nāmadhammas* are postulated as if they were desercte entities, this does not imply that they have an independent existence. It is simply for the purpose of description that they are so postulated. In actual fact, they always exist in inseparable association with a set of other allied *dhammas*. Their inter-relationship is explained with reference to the law of causation and conditionality. One does not inhere in another, nor is one a substance of another. In brief, no distinction between substance and quality is introduced into the analysis of existence.

Nature of the khandhas - Impermanent and Unsubstantial: The five aggregates are described in numerous places as compounded things (*saṅkhata-dhamma*:*S.* III, 114 etc.). The chief characteristic of things compounded are arising (*uppāda*), cessation (*vaya*) and change (*ṭhitassa aññathatta*) *A.* I, 152; *S.* III, 38ff). They are therefore, impermanent (*anicca*) and unsubstantial (*anatta*) and subject to ill (*dukkha*: *Vin.* I. 13f; *M.* I, 138f). The comparison made of the five aggregates in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* clearly brings out their impermanent and unsubstantial nature. Matter (*rūpa*) is compared to a lump of froth (*pheṇa-piṇḍa*), feelings to a bubble (*bubbula*), perception to mirage (*marīci*), synergies to a plantain trunk, and consciousness to a conjuring trick (*māyā*: *S.* III, 142). Buddhaghosa, commenting on this comparison, says that a lump of froth cannot stand squeezing; a bubble on water is momentary; mirage causes illusion; a plantain trunk has no core; a conjuring trick is calculated to deceive others (*Vism.* 505).

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* uses a total of forty terms to explain the nature of the *khandhas*. Thirteen of them emphasise their unreal and impermanent nature. The comparison made in the *Bhāra Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S*. III, 25f.) is very significant as it has led to a controversy with regard to the nature of the *khandhas*. The five aggregates in our *sutta* are compared to a burden (*bhāra*), the individual is compared to the taking up of the burden and cessation of craving to laying down of the burden.

It is the allusion to *puggala* as the bearer of the burden that created all the trouble as it suggests the existence of a *puggala* over and above the *khandhas*, a position very much alien to the spirit of Buddhism. This comparison has led the Vātsiputriyas, an intermediary Buddhist school, to propound the theory of the existence of the individual (*pudgalavāda*). The other Buddhists take up this theory for criticism, refute it as unwarrented by the context and reject it as heretical.

The position of khandhas at death and birth: If the *khandhas* are unsubstantial, how do the Buddhists account for such phenomena as survival (*punabbhava*), identity and moral responsibility. What is the link that connects death and rebirth so that moral responsibility (*kammavipāka*) finds any meaning?

In the *suttas* which explain the twelve factors of the causal formula, birth (*jāti*) is described as the emergence of the aggregates (*khandhānaṃ pātubhavo*) and death (*maraṇa*) as the distintegration of the same (*khandhānaṃ bhedo*): *S*. II, 3; *Ps*. II, 72 etc.)

If death is the disintegration of the aggregates and birth their emergence, is there any connection between the two? The *Upanis'ads* had *ātman* to account for this phenomena. Buddhists have rejected *ātman* as well as *pudgala* as mere names. And if there is no connection between death and birth, death amounts to annihilation in which case identity and moral responsibility find no meaning. Buddhism rejects annihilationism (*ucchedavāda*) as an extreme, and recognises the continuity of the aggregates in the form of a stream (*skandha-santāna*: *A. dīpa*, p. 183; *Skandhasantati*, ibid. 225; *Abhk*. Ch. iii, *v*. 18) which in common parlance is known as 'being' (*sattva, satta*) or individual (*Pudgala, puggala*: *A. dīpa*, 255; *S*. I, 135; *Mlin*. 28). This stream is also called *saṃsāra* (*Vism*. *463*) Buddhism advocates not mere birth, but rebirth or rebecoming (*punabbhava*) which clearly suggests the continuity and identity of the stream. This resolves the problem of moral responsibility; its possibility without reference to an entity such as *ātma*.

The acceptance of the continuity of the stream and the moral responsibility on the part of the individual at once demands an explanation of the link that maintains that continuity, the link between death and rebirth, in other words. Is it *khandhas* themselves or something over and above the *khandhas* that constitutes that link? Although there is no explicit theory regarding this problem in the *suttas*, the sporadic statements found in the *suttas* may be connected and interpreted to give such a theory.

The term *viññāṇa* occurs several times in the *suttas* in the sense of a "survivor". In the *Ānañjasappāya-sutta*, this *viññāṇa* is called the *"evolving-consciousness"* (*saṃvattanika-viññāṇa: kāyassa bhedā paraṃ maraṇā ṭhānaṃ etaṃ vijjati yaṃ taṃ saṃvattanikaṃ viññāṇaṃ assa ānañjūpagaṃ M*. II, 262). This *viññāṇa* is regarded as continuing up to the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception (*nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatana*): ibid. 264). This *viññāṇa* is no other than the "stream of consciousness" (*Viññāṇa-sota*) extending into both worlds, this and the next) *D*. III, 105), also called the stream of becoming (*bhavasota*: *S*. I, 15; IV, 128) implying thereby its constant change. In the scholastic period it is termed the rebirth-linking consciousness (*paṭisandhi-viññāṇa*) which is a species of *bhavaṅga-citta*, (q.v.). And it is clearly this *viññāṇa* to which the monk Sāti referred "as the consciousness that fares on and continues", but erred in saying that it did so "without change of identity (*tadeva anaññaṃ*), and also in taking it as an agent and experienceer (*vado vedeyyo*: *M*. I, 256.).

The *Pāyāsi-Sutta*, makes clear reference to this *saṃsāric viññāṇa*. With the simile ofthe conch-shell, *viññāṇa* is made analogous with *purisa* (*D*. II, 338).

In view of such evidence the conclusion is irresistible that *viññāṇa* in early Buddhism was regarded as the surviving factor at death which, by re-entering "womb after womb' (*gabbha gabbhaṃ*: *Sn*. *v*. 278) for repeated conceptions, result in what is generally known as *saṃsāra*. The difference between this saṃsāric *viññāṇa* and the *vijñānātman* that was held to be the survivor in the *Upanis'ads*, according to the doctrine of re-incarnation is only too clear, for, in the *Upanis'ads*, the term *ātman* expressly denotes a meta-

physical substate that is permanent and unchanging whereas in early Buddhism the "surviving" *viññāṇa* is identical with *bhava* implying the very opposite nature of impermanence (*anicca*) and evolution (*pariṇāma*).

Sometimes the term *gandhabba* occurs in place of this *saṃsāric viññāṇa*. Accoridng to the *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya-sutta* and the *Assalāyana-Sutta*, *gandhabba* is one of the three vital factors that are essential for conception to take place (*gabbhassa avakkanti: M.* I, 265; II, 157). In the phrase *"gandhabbassa avakkanti"* the original meaning seems to have been 'decent of the embryonic being", for *gabbha* means "embryo" as receptacle as well as the "being" inside it. Hence it is that *gabbha* is said to derive from the six elements (*dhātu*) of which *viññāṇa* is the last and is also the cause of *nāma-rūpa*, at least in one version of the *paṭiccasamuppāda* formula (*channaṃ bhikkhave dhātūnaṃ upādāya gabbhassāvakkanti hoti, okkantiyā sati nāmarupaṃ: A.* I, 176) which is obviously parallel with the usual *viññāṇapaccaya nāmarūpaṃ*; D. II, 56 etc.). It is also said that if *viññāṇa* does not descend into the mother's womb, *nāmarūpa* would not develop (*D.* II, 63)

Thus *viññāṇa*, sometimes called *gandhabba*, constitutes the factor most essential for conception to take place. It is no less essential for the continuity of life within the individual; when it, together with *ayu* and *usma*, leaves the body, the latter lies motionless like a log of wood (*D.* II, 338, *S.* III, 143). In the *Abhidhamma* terminology is it called *bhavaṅga* which is the *sine qua non* of continued existence; at death, this *bhavaṅga-citta* is called *cuti-citta* and at birth it is called *paṭisandhi-citta*. The interval between the *cuti-citta* and the *paṭisandhi-citta* is the same that obtains between any two consecutive thought moments, because the preceding moment is *cuti-citta*, which is immediately followed by *paṭisandhi-citta*.

Buddhaghosa says that the moment conception takes place all the five *khandhas* appear simultaneously (*VbhA*. 21ff). In the Yogācāra school this rebirth-linking consciousness is called the *ālaya-vijñāna* in which, they say, all seeds of the past actions, both good and bad, (*sarva-bījakaṃ*) are stored.

Like any other *viññāṇa*, the rebirth linking consciousness, too, arises having an object as its basis. These objects are described as 'What one thinks" (*yañca ceteti*), "what one formulates" (*yañca pakappeti*) or "what lies dormant" (*yañ ca anuseti*) in the stream of consciosness (*S.* II, 66).

The three phrases in fact refer to synergies (*saṅkhāra*) or actions (*kamma*) which are included in the sphere of the objects of mind (*dhammāyatana*). In the Abhidhamma terminology these objects re called *kamma*, *kammanimitta* and *gatinimitta* and, it is said that the mind of a dying man has one of these three as its object, and the next moment, i.e., the moment immediately after death (*cuticitta*) he is reborn (i.e. with *paṭisandhi-citta* : *Vism.* 387 ff, *VbhA.* 155f). This *viññāṇa* is not something different from the five aggregates. It constitutes an aspect or an instance of the aggregate of consciousness (*viññāṇa-khandha*).

The foregoing discussion has made it clear that the Buddhist theory of *khandha* has steered a course which is clear of both eternalism (*ātmavāda*, *sassatavāda*) and nihilism or materialism (*uccheda-vāda*). *Viññāṇa* that is responsible for survival is, by nature, not different from any other *viññāṇa*. This surviving *viññāṇa*, like any othr *viññāṇa* or any other conditioned thing for that matter, is dependent in origination; it does not arise without a cause (*M.* I, 256). It is not a permanent entity like the *Upanis'adic ātman or nirāsrava-viññāṇa*: it is impermanent. The Buddhist theory of *khandhas* is, therefore, not eternalist. Although it is not a permament entity, this *viññāṇa* is the factor that is responsible for the survival and 'identity" of the stream which, in common parlance, is called the individual or being, thereby making moral responsibility intelligible. So, Buddhism does not fall into the other extreme of nihilism either.

Upali Karunaratne.

KHANDHA-PARINIBBĀNA, 'Utter waning away of the substrata (*khandha*) of repeated becoming' (*punabbhava*). The Buddha attained emancipation (*nibbāna*) with the attainment of Buddha-hood at the age of thirty five years. This attainment is called *kilesaparinibbāna* (q.v.) ie. 'utter waning away of defilements connected with samsaric rebecoming. The Buddha lived for forty five years after attaining Buddhahood and passed away at the age of eighty, and with this the samsaric sojourn of the Buddha came to an end, and this is called the 'utter waning away of the substrata of rebecoming'. The disciples of the Buddha, too, do away with all defilements (*kilesa*) with the attainment of arahantship and continue to live normal lives, till they finally pass away due to exhaustion of

kamma or due to reaching maturity of age, and this is described as their *khandhaparinibbāna* (utter waning away of the substrata of rebecoming). see KILESA-PARINIBBĀNA, NIBBĀNA.

T. Ariyadhamma

KHANTI (Skt. *Kṣānti*) is a very wholesome ingredient in the psychology of a spiritually advanced person, accordig to Buddhist teachings. The *PTS* dictionary renders it into English as 'patience', 'forbearance' and 'forgiveness'. *Dhammasaṅgani* (*Dhs*. 1341.) defines *khanti* as: ' forbearance' and 'absence of intoleranc', ability to forgive and endure' (harm done to oneself), 'absence of ferocity' 'absence of bluntness' (*khanti, khamanatā adhivāsanatā acaṇḍikkaṃ, anasurūpo*). *Jataka* defines *khanti* as: psychological ability in a person not to become angered when he is reviled, beaten and slandered by others (*akkosantesu paharantesu paribhasantesu akkujjhanabhāvo-J*. III. p. 40). In the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* (*Sn*. p. 47) *khanti* is extolled as a blessing (*maṅgala*) to human beings. In the *Saṃyutta Nikaya* (*S*. 1. p. 226) it is said that the virtue of *khanti* surpasses all other virtues (*khantiyā bhiyyo navijjati*).

Developing the power of endurance and tolerance (*khanti*) is part and parcel of the training of a disciple of the Buddha and the Buddha emphasised the importance of developing this virtue in several of his discourses. In the *Kakacūpama Sutta* (*M*. 1. 122. 29), the Buddha admonished his disciples not to lose control of themselves and allow anger to overpower them, however great a provocation that they may have to encounter. In this *sutta* the Buddha relates an episode of a rich lady of Savatthi by name Vedehikā who had a reputation of being gentle (*sorata*), obedient, humble (*nivata*), tranquil (*upasanta*) and tolerant. Vedehikā had a slave woman (*dāsi*) called Kāli who was obedient, clever, active and well disciplined in work. When Vedehikā's reputation as a patient, gentle and tolerant lady was thus spreading widely, Kāli thought of testing Vedehika's integrity. So, one day Kali overslept a lettle and delayed to perform some of her routine household duties. At this Vedehikā became a little annoyed and reviled Kāli in harsh and unkind words that day. Kali overslept the second, third and the fourth day and Vedehikā's anger increased day by day. The fifth day when Kāli overslept and neglected to perform her routine duties, Vedehikā lost control of herself completely and attacked Kali on the head with a club. Kāli was injured badly and with blood-stained cloths she ran about in the neighbourhood shouting: 'See, the work of this kind and gentle lady, Vedehikā'. The Buddha, having related this eposode, admonished the bhikkhus to train themselves not ot lose their temper and utter harsh words or act violently even if someone were to cut them limb by limb with a double-handled saw (*kakaca*). "On the contrary", the Buddha told the bhikkhus, "you should train yourselves to wish for the welfare and happiness of those who attack you or do harm to you or abuse you".

The prominent place given to the development of this psychological factor in Buddhism is quite evident by its being accommodated as the sixth of the ten perfections (*pārami*) of a Buddha-aspirant (*bodhisatta, bodhisattva*) in Theravada Buddhism (*J*. 1, 173; *DhpA*. 1.84) and the third of the six perfections is Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The Bodhisatta who practised *khanti* as a *pārami* trained himself to bear up all unjury and pain inflicted on him by others and forbore other's misdeeds. He observed and practised this noble quality of patience and endurance to such as an extent that he was not provoked even when his limbs were severed off.

There are several stories in the *Jātaka* describing how the bodhisatta practised this virtue in former births in *saṃsāra*. The *Khantivādi Jātaka* (*J*. 1. pp. 39-43) illustrates how the *bodhisatta*, born as an ascetic, bore up the severe agony and pain that he experienced when the intoxicated king Kalābu got the executioner to cut his (ascetic's) limbs one by one. King Kalābu was infuriated when the ascetic did not show any signs of anger and pain even when his limbs were brutally severed by the executioner and ordered the executioner to stab the ascetic on his chest. The ascetic breathed his last mindfully and peacefully, wishing the king and the executioner happiness and long-life.

The *Mahasilava Jataka* (*J*. 1. 261-68) describes how the bodhisatta, born as king Mahāsilava of the powerful and great kingdom of Bārānasi, allowed a petty king of Kosala who came with his small army, to subjugate him unchallenged, because king Mahasilava did not wish people on his side or the side of the rival king to be killed or injured by going to war. When the rival king took Mahasilava and his ministers and officials captive, Mahasilava admonished his ministers and officials not to harbour ill-will and hatred towards the rival king, but to tolerate with loving kindness (*mettā*) all the wrongs done to them.

The *Culladhammapalajataka* (*J.* III, 177-82) illustrates how the *bodhisatta* in a past birth as young prince Dhammapala, aged seven months, bore up the pain and agony, caused to him when his wicked father got him mutilated. Dhammapāla maintained balance of mind and died peacefully without harbouring ill-will and hatred to his executioners.

The *Chaddantajataka* (*J.* V. 37-57) describes how the bodhisatta in a past birth, as a majestic white elephant with full-grown beautiful tusks, offered his tusks willingly to the hunter who shot a poisoned arrow and injured him, for the sake of the two tusks. The elephant endured the pain caused to him by the hunter, without any ill-will and hatred to him.

The *Saṅkhapālajātaka* (*J.* V. 161-177) records how the *bodhisatta*, born as a majestic serpent king (*nāgarāja*) in one of his past births, tolerated the cruel actions of sixteen village brats who wounded him with spikes and dragged him long a path full of thorns and rough stones, thereby causing him a great pain. The serpent king was very strong and possessed psychic powers and he could have destroyed the village brats with a mere glance at them, but without utilising his physical strength, or the psychic powers the serpent king passively endured the severe pain caused by the injuries, without allowing anger and hatred to overpower him.

These and other stories in the *Jataka* such as the *Mātuposakajātaka* (*J.* IV. 90-95) *Campeyyajātaka* (*J.* IV 454-468) and *Bhuridattajātaka* (J. VI. 157-219) illustrate how the bodhisatta practised the perfection of endurance and tolerance (*khanti*) in several of his past existences in *saṃsāra*.

There were sevaral instances in the life of the Buddha where he displayed the noble virtue of endurance and tolerance (*khanti*). Devadatta (q.v.), Siddartha Gautama's estranged cousin and later the Buddha's arch rival, made several attempts to kill the Buddha. Once Devadatta bribed an elephant owner to let loose his intoxicated fierce elephant, Nālāgiri, to confront the Buddha and kill him. The ferocious elephant ran towards the Buddha, but the unruffled Buddha with his thoughts of loving kindness (*mettā*) controlled the elephant. The elepant knelt before the Buddha by way of salutation and turned back to go (*Vin.* II, 194f.)

Devadatta on another occasion hurled a massive boulder from a mountain peak to crush the Buddha who was walking on the path underneath the mountain. The boulder missed its target, but a splinter from the boulder hit the Buddha's foot and unjured him. The Buddha, with no grudge and ill-will, bore up the pain with thoughts of loving kindness to the conspirators (*Vin.* II, 193).

Once a haughty brahamin abused the Buddha calling him an 'out-caste' (*vasala*). The Buddha was not angered when he was addressed as an out-caste and with his normal composure asked the brahamin whether he knew who an out-caste (*vasala*) was and what type of social behaviour made one suitable to be called an out-caste. When the brahamin expressed willingness to listen, the Buddha spoke at length giving a socially wholesome ethical interpretation to the words *vasala* and *brāhmana* (*Sn.* pp. 21-25).

Two other episodes in the life of the Buddha, wherein the Buddha's incomparable ability to bear up, endure and tolerate physical or psychological injury caused to him without allowing his mind to corrupt, are the episodes of Ciñcā Mānavikā and Sundari paribbājika. In the first episode heretical religious groups, who were envious of the growing popularity of the Buddha and his disciples, once employed a young and beautiful wandering ascetic woman by name Ciñcā to discredit the Buddha and his disciples. Ciñcā let herself be seen going to Jetawanarama monastery where the Buddha lived and spent the night in the heretic's quarters nearby and in the morning men saw her returning from the direction of the *vihāra*. When questioned she said that she had passed the night with the Buddha. After some months Ciñcā simulated pregnancy by tying a disc of wood around her belly and appearing thus before the Buddha, as he preached to a vast congregation, she charged him with irresponsibility and callousness in that he made no provision for her confinement. The Buddha with his normal composure remained silent and before long the truth was out when the wooden disc that was underneath Ciñcā's clothes fell down injuring her feet. The enraged audience chased Ciñcā out of the monastery gates (*DhaA.* III, 178; *J.* IV, 187 f).

In the second episode it is shown how a young wandering ascetic woman (*paribbājika*) by name Sundari was utilised by rival heretical groups to discredit and slander the Buddha and his disciples. The heretics persuaded Sundari to hover around in the vicinity of Jetavanarama by night fall, to give the impression to the public that she was a regular visitor to

Jetawanārama. When some heretics questioned her behaviour she blatantly said that she went to Jetavanārāma to stay the night with the Buddha. When the character assassinating slander had sufficiently spread, the heretics hired several criminals to murder Sundari and to hide the body in a shrub land close to Jetavanarama. They also spread the news of the mysterious disappearance of Sundari, implicating the Buddha and his disciples for her disappearance. When Sundari's decomposing body was discovered several days later, the public around became very hostile and antagonistic to the Buddha and his disciples. The Buddha confined himself to his bed chamber (*gandhakuti*). When things took such an unpleasant turn Venerable Ananda, in desperation, requested the Buddha to leave Savatthi along with the disciples and go to another distant place. The Buddha pacified Ananda telling him that when a problem arises, one should face it and settle it then and there and admonished the disciples not to get annoyed and harbour ill-will and hatred towards those who reviled them, but to endure and tolerate them with loving kindness.

Several days later the conspiracy of the heretics came to light when the criminals became talkative and boisterous and boasted about the crime, after a drinking party held to celebrate their success (*Ud.* IV, 8; *UdA*. 256 ff; *DhpA*. III. 474f.; *J*. II, 415 f).

What is remarkable in both episodes is that the Buddha was neither dejected and angered when he was slandered and vilified by the misled people, nor was he elated and jubilant when he was exonerated by the same people later, when the truth was out. He maintained complete equipoise (*upekkha*). He was like the Indra's post (*indrakhila*) which withstood gales that came from the four directions. (*Sn*.p.40).

Ability to forbear, endure and tolerate the misdeeds of the people without allowing the mind to be polluted with anger and hatred, is reckoned as one of the ten special virtues of a righteous ruler (*J*. III, 274). see. PĀRAMITA.

T. Ariyadhamma.

KHATTIYA (Sanskrit: *Kṣatriya*), derived from the word *kṣatra*, meaning power, is the name by which the ruling or the knightly class in Aryan India was designated. They belonged to the old Aryan nobility who had led the tribes to conquest as well as to those families of the aborigines who had managed to maintain their princely estates in spite of the conquest. Hence they were the ruling and the warrior elements in Indian society and their functions, as in the case of the other castes, became hereditary in course of time.

During the time of the Buddha the *khattiyas* had not only established themselves as the political leaders of India but also had gained social supremacy over the other castes, with the brahmans occupying the second place. Thus it is seen that whenever the four castes are referred to in the *piṭakas* the *khattiyas* always come first (e.g. *S*. I. 98; *D* III, 82; *A*. II, 86 etc.). The fact that the bodhisatta is said to have surveyed the world prior to taking conception considering the few factors, including the caste recognised as the highest at the time (*lokasammata*) is also significant in this respect. It is also important that according to the Buddhist tradition at times when the brahmans are the highest caste Buddhas are born in that caste while when the *khattiyas* are the highest they are born as *khattiyas*. It was in keeping with this traditional law that Gautama Buddha selected the *khattiya* caste, says the *Jataka* commentary: (*J*.I, 49). The well-known and oft-quoted Pali stanza runs as:

> "The khattiya is the best among the folk
> Who put their trust in lineage,
> But one in wisdom and virtue clothed
> Is best of all among gods and men"

may also be quoted in this respect (*D*. III, 97; *M*. I., 338; *S*.I., 153, II, 284). This stanza gives gives not only the superiority of the *khattiyas* at the time but also the Buddhist view of caste.[1] The established custom during the Buddha's time was for the *Khattiyas* to look after the administration and the defence of the country by fighting in war and governing in peace whereas the brahman priests with their wide learning were to help them by wise counsel, whenever the rulers needed it. In other words the *khattiyas* were the political leaders whereas the brahmans were the religious leaders. It may also be mentioned here that some of the more important *Khattiya* clans, which were specially noted for their well-organised systems of government in Buddhist India, were the Licchavis, Videhas, Mallas and Sakyas the last of which was the clan to which Gautama

1. It is of interest that Sanskrit work *Vajrasūci*, which is a polemic against the Indian caste system and which is attributed to As´vaghoṣa, deals first with the brahmans and then with the *khattiyas* as in the case of the later brahmanic works.

Buddha belonged.

The division of labour according to which fighting in war and governing in peace were the responsibilities of the *khattiyas* while the brahmans looked after the religious matters was not at all a bad arrangement, but in course of time the desire of one class for the supremacy ever the other naturally arose and the power struggle between the two groups cropped up intermittantly. For instance it is the subjugation of *khattiya* supremacy in post-Buddhist India that is symbolised by the sixth incarnation (*avatara*) of Vis'nu as taught by the Hindus. The following observations of Sir Charles Eliot may be quoted in this respect (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, pp. 147-8) : "The sixth *avatara*, that of Parasurama or Rama with the axe, may contain historical elements. He is represented as a militant Brahman who in the second age of the world exterminated the *ksatriyas*, and after reclaiming Malabar from the sea settled it with Brahmans. This legend clearly refers to a struggle for supremacy between the two upper castes, though we may doubt if the triumphs attributed to the priestly champion have any foundation in fact."

Although the *khattiyas* more or less had occupied the place of both nobility and the ruling class during the Buddha's time, the wealth and power of the brahmans who came into contact with the Buddha as recorded in the Pali works. It is also important that comparatively only a small percentage of the *khattiyas* are portrayed as wealthy. They being always the rulers and chieftains were not at all poor but had considerable wealth, power and influence. It may be that those *khattiyas* who are referred to as specially wealthy as (A. II, 86 (*khattiya-mahāsālā*) were those who were bent more on the acquisition of wealth and property than on ruling and administering. However, the *khattiyas* were, in general, synonymous with the ruling class (*J.* III, 441; *M.* II, 151-2; *A.* III, 299). Even in the *puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Rgveda* (x, 90) where the brahman version of the origin of the four castes is given, the *khattiyas* are called *rājanya*, the rulers. In the *Dhammapada* too they are similarly called *rājano* (v. 294). As fighters their wealth is said to consist of bow and quiver (*M.* II, 180). As the defence of the country was a part of the duties of the ruling class it was natural that fighting for the defence of the country was treated as part of its administration. Thus it is seen how the *khattiyas* are made to be born from the arms of the *primordial purusa* in the *Purusasūkta*, symbolising their duty as fighters. Military science is said to be the knowledge of the ruling class in the *Chandogya upansad* (vii, 1,2,4), and hence called *kṣatravidya* or the science of the bow (*dhanurveda*). In this respect it is quite significant that it is only a *khattiya* who is said to be capable of becoming a world-ruler (*cakkavattin*: *D.* III, 61). Teaching and officiating were done by the brahmans and hence the *khattiyas* generally did not concern themselves much with the sacred lore of the priests other than in exceptional cases. Heroism, vigour, steadiness, resourcefulness, not truning away in battle, generosity and leadership a re given as the natural qualities of a *khattiya* in the *Bhagavad-gīta* (xviii, v.43).

It is also important that it was the *khattiya* who revolted against the brahmanic sacerdotalism of the day and brought about an intellectual and social revolution in India as exemplified by Gautama Buddha himself. The role of the *khattiyas* as religious and philosophical speculators is also equally significant, specially in Buddhist and pre-Buddhist India where they seem to have more or less initiated the new and unorthodox ways of thinking as shown by the *upanisads*. They are even said to be the original possessors of the new knowledge.[2] Gautama Buddha and Vardhamana Mahavira, the two most important religious founders of ancient India, were both *khattiyas*. Their's was a healthy and natural reaction against the priestcraft of the brahmans. The *Aggañña-sutta* which gives quite a logical and a historical account of the origin of the castes (*D.* III, 93ff) in contrast with the symbolical one given in the *Purusa-sukta*, classes the khattiya primarily as an agriculturist or more correctly as a land - owner (*khettānam patiti khattiyo*), [3] while, however, including them in the ruling class designated by the two terms *mahāsammata* (unanimously elected) and *rāja* (king). All are collectively referred to as the "circle of *khattiyas*" (*khattiyamaṇḍala*) and hence even as an agriculturist or a landed proprietor the *khattiya* falls within the ruling class.

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2 For a detailed discussion on this point see Paul Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanisads*, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906, pp. 17ff.

3 In the *Vedas*, the word *kṣetrapati*, the "owner of a field' is the name of a person possessed of landed property and the name *kṣatrapati* 'the possessor of power' seems to have been applicable to any party exercising authority of any kind or extent". John Wilson, *Indian Caste*, Bombay, Edinburg and London, 1877, p. 108.

The Pali works refer to a secret formula of the *khattiyas* (*khattiyamaya*) handed down traditionally among the *khattiyas* alone and kept secret from others. This seems to be a formula of admittance, a kind of password, whereby one could be identified as a *khattiya* with certainty (*Miln*. 190; *DhpA*. I. 166; J VI. 375)

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

KHAYĀNUPASSANĀ, contemplation of consumption or decay, one of the eighteen principal kinds of contemplation by means of which, in the case of the perception of solid compactness (*ghanasaññā*), one develops insight regarding the transitory nature of phenomena.

As through these eighteen kinds of insight-knowledge the averse ideas and views are overcome, they are also called "ways of over coming by the opposits' (*tad-aṅga-pahāna*). Thus attachment to the solid, the firm, the permanent is overcome by contemplation of dissolution or waning (*Vism*. 694).

KHĪṆĀSAVA (Skt. *Kṣināsrava*), an adjectival phrase meaning "one whose defiling influxes (*āsava*) are destoryed" (*khīṇa*), is a stock epithet of an arahant (*khīṇāsavā arahantō* - *S*. I, 235). The *āsavas* that function as mental intoxicants or fermenting agents are generally reckoned to be three-fold, i.e. those of sensuality (*kāmāsava*), of becoming (*bhavāsava*) and ignorance (*avijjāsava* - *M*. I, pp. 7, 55). Sometimes influx of views (*diṭṭhāsava*) is added as the fourth category (*D*. II, pp. 81, 84, 91 etc). These constitute all corruptiong tendencies, inclinatons and obsessions that defile and degenerate the mind, thereby keeping beings tied to the continuous process of rebirth. Therefore, the sole purpose of leading the holy life (*brahmacariya*) is the destruction of these *āsavas*, which, in other words, means the attainment of arahantship (*S*.V, p. 28).

The *Sabbāsava Sutta* (*M*. I, p.6 ff.) categorises the *āsavas* into seven kinds and enumerates seven modes of getting rid of them, viz. those to be got rid of by insight (*dassana*), by restraint (*saṃvarā*), by indulgence (*paṭisevanā*), by forbearance (*adhivāsanā*), by avoidance (*parivajjanā*), by dispelling (*vinodanā*) and those to be got rid of by cultivation (*bhāvana*) of certain virtues. The *Aṅguttara nikāya* (*A*. III, p. 83) enumerates five practices such as the reflection on the loathesomeness of the body and constant reflection on death as effective means of destroying *āsavas*. *SaṃyuttaNikāya* (*S*.V. p. 236) cites the cultivation of the five faculties of faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*sati*), concentration of mind (*samādhi*) and insight (*paññā*) as leading to the destruction of *āsavas*. The same source (*S*.V.340) mentions that mindfulness with regard to inbreathing and outbreathing (*ānāpānasatisamādhi*) as an effective means of dispelling *āsavas*. The same source elsewhere (*S*.V. 434) states that the comprehension of the Four Nable Truths brings about the destruction of *āsavas*.

It is clear from these and similar other references in the *nikāyas* that whatever is the way that is cited as leading to the destruction of *āsavas* the main underlying emphasis is on knowing and seeing things in their true nature (*yathābhūta*), for in the final analysis it is this insight that brings about complete freedom of the mind from *āsavas*. The *Aṅguttara nikāya* (*A*. II, p. 183) explicitly states that the the destruction of *āsavas* is to be experienced (*saccikaraṇīya*) through insight (*paññā*). Numerous other *suttas* such as the *Sabbāsava Sutta* (*M*.1, p. 7 f) stress this point. Explaining the origin and growth of *āsavas* it is pointed out that it is unwise-reflection (*ayonisomanasikāra*) that produces *āsavas* so far not produced and increases the *āsavas* already produced. Wise reflection (*yoniso manasikāra*), on the other hand, brings opposite results. It is often pointed out in the texts, that whereas *ayonisomanasikāra* makes one regard thing which are impermanent as permanent, unsatisfactory as satisfactory non-substantial as substantial and unpleasent as pleasant. *Yonisomanasikāra* makes one see the true nature of things. Therefore, it is *yonisomanasikāra* that leads to the full comprehension of the true nature of things through *paññā* (*S*. II, pp. 5,6, 104).

However, a mere intellectual understanding of the true nature of things as impermanent (*anicca*), unsatisfactory (*dukkha*) and non-substantial (*anatta*) is not capable of dispelling all *āsavas* from the mind. It is clear that even with the comprehension reached at the stage og the attainment of *sotāpatti* one is not able to penetrate into the very depth of the nature of things so as to make it possible to burn away the *āsavas* without any residue (*S*. II, p. 127; V. p. 205). Even at this stage there lingers that faint notion of " I-ness", the feeling that "This I am". As long as this notion remains even in its minutest form, one cannot completely become free from *āsavas* for, such a one's comprehension of the true nature of things is insufficient to bring about complete inner calm of the mind (*ajjhattaṃ cetosa-*

mathaṃ). One should dwell constantly reflecting on the arising and ceasing of things till one internalises this knowledge. It is to this practice the texts refer when it is said: "after fulfilling the pre-requirements one directs one's mind to the knowledge of the destruction of defiling influxes" (*āsavānaṃkha- yañāṇāya cittaṃ abhininnāmeti' (M.*I, p. 183). This knowledge brings about the complete comprehension of the four Noble Truths, complete comprehension of the *āsavas* (loc. cit). When thus seen through insight *āsavas* become utterly destroyed and the mind becomes free from the *āsavas* of sensuality, of becoming and ignorance. And with this insight one becomes free of all clingings (*anupādā vimutto hoti- S.*III, p. 161; V. p. 194). With the attainment of this freedom one reflects and knows: "Freed, destroyed is birth, lived is the holy life, accomplished is the purpose, there is no more beyond this". One with such insight is an arahant, a *khīṇāsava*.

In passing, one may note that the phrase is sometimes used as *āsavakhīṇa* (*Sn.* 370). At times the term *anāsava* is used to convey the same meaning (*Dhp. v.* 126). The term *khīṇa-bīja lit.* whose seeds (of rebirth) are destroyed, too, carries the same meaning (*Sn.v.* 235)

S.K. Nanayakkara

KHUDDAKA-NIKĀYA- (Collection of minor anthologies) is the fifth and the last division of the *Sutta Piṭaka* of the Pali Buddhist canon (*Tipiṭaka*), the other four being *Dīgha Nikāya* (q.v.), *Majjhima Nikāya* (q.v.), *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (q.v.), and *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (q.v.). It consists of fifteen independent treatises and is the largest of the five divisons of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. The whole set is sometimes called *Khuddakagantha* and individual texts are called *Khuddakavatthūni*. It may be conjectured that the collection of these texts was named *Khuddaka Nikāya* after the title of the first text of the collection, namely the *Khuddakapāṭha* which is a very short text.

The fifteen texts are:

1. *Khuddakapāṭha* (q.v.) - 'Minor Readings'
2. *Dhammapada* (q.v.) - 'Path of virtuous conduct'
3. *Udāna* (q.v.) - Verses of uplift'
4. *Itivuttaka* (q.v.) - Thus said statements'
5. *Sutta- nipata* (q.v.) - 'Collection of Suttas' (Woven cadences)

06. *Vimānavatthu* (q.v.) - 'Stories of the Mansions'
07. *Petavatthu* (q.v.) - 'Stories of the departed'
08. *Theragāthā* (q.v.) - 'Verses of the male elders'
09. *Therigāthā* (q.v.) - 'Verses of the female elders'
10. *Jātaka* (q.v.) - 'Birth stories'
11. *Niddesa* (q.v.) - 'Expositions'
12. *Paṭisambhidā magga* (q.v.) - 'Path of discrimination'
13. *Apadana* (q.v.) - 'Stories of Arahants'
14. *Buddhavaṃsa* (q.v.) - 'Chronicle of the Buddhas'
15. *Cariyā piṭaka* (q.v.) - Basket of conduct'

The word *khuddhaka* is a derivative from the word *khudda*, with the addition of the suffix *ka*. Both terms, *khudda* and *khuddaka* mean "small", "mean", "less important", "younger" and "inferior". The *Pali Text Society* (*PTS*) of London has translated the texts of the *Khuddaka Nikaya* into English under the title "*Minor Anthologies*". The terms "*Kṣūdrakāgama*" and "*Kṣudrakapiṭaka*" are used in the Mahāyāna tradition as corresponding to the Pali "*Khuddaka Nikāya*". However when the nature of the *Khuddaka* texts is taken into consideration, all the above meanings of the word *khuddaka* are inappropriate. The Meaning 'small' may be found inappropriate as the *Khuddaka Nikāya* consists of large anthologies, too, such as *Jātaka*, *Paṭisambhidā*, *Niddesa* and *Apadāna*. Texts like *Khuddakapāṭha*, *Petavatthu*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Cariyāpiṭaka* and *Buddhavaṃsa* are comparatively small. The word *khuddaka* in this context should not be understood as less important' as treatises like *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Theragāthā*, and *Therīgāthā* cannot be considered as insignificant literary compositions, because they also contain important philosophical teachings of the Buddha. However the *Khuddaka Nikaya* as a whole is considered traditionally as less important compared with the first four *Nikāyas* [1] as it is believed that the first four Nikāyas contain discourses preached by the Buddha, whereas, the texts of the *Khudaka Nikāya* are compositions of the disciples.

A.K. Warder says that outside the first four Nikāyas there were a number of texts regarded as of inferior importance, either because they were compositions of followers of the Buddha or because their authenticity was doubtful, and these texts were collected in the Minor Tradition.[2] Although Warder opines that the texts of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* are less authentic than the other four Nikāyas, the Thervāda tradition considers

1 Oliver Abeynayaka *Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya* p.16
2 Warder A.K. *Indian Buddhism*. pp. 202-203

Khuddaka Nikāya, too, as an integral part of the Tipiṭaka.

According to *Paramatthajotikā* (the commentary on the *Khuddakapāṭha*) the *Khuddaka Nikāya* is a collection of numerous units of the Dhamma which are short and variegated, and hence the name of the collection *Khuddaka Nikāya*.[3]

The Chinese equivalent for *Khuddaka Nikāya* is *Tsa-Tsang*. The definition of the term *Tsa-Tsang* is said to have been found in an old Chinese text entitled "The relation between the compilation of *Tripiṭaka* and *Kṣūdraka Piṭaka*". There are four definitions in this text, as follows:

I. Its reports differ from one another in act and thought. Therefore it is termed *Tsa-Tsang*.

II. The causes of the former births of the Buddha, Arahants, the *devas*, the Brahmā and *tīrthakas* are displayed in it. Therefore it is termed *Tsa-Tsang*.

III. Stanzas are abundant in it. It explains matters pertaining to the twelve causes (*nidāna*) and bases (*āyatana*) in detail Therefore it is termed *Tsa-tsang*.

IV. It contains details about the existence of Bodhisatvas. Therefore it is termed *Tsa-Tsang*.[4]

Chronology of the Khuddaka Nikāya

Although the Theravāda tradition accepts that the five *Nikāyas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* were compiled at the first council, the *Khuddaka Nikāya* is generally believed to have been developed and completed during a long period of time, begining from the Buddha's day up to about the time of the 3rd Buddhist council.

The earliest account of the first council occuring in the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya* states that the five *Nikāyas* were rehearsed at the first council.[5] Buddhaghosa commenting on the first council says that the five *Nikāyas* are *Dīgha Nikāya*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and *Khuddaka Nikāya*. He further says that the *Khuddaka Nikāya* includes all other sayings of the Buddha that are not included in the first four *Nikayas*.[6]

Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, the commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, does not mention that a *Nikāya* named *Khuddaka* was rehearsed at the first council, but says that after rehearsing the first four *Nikāyas* the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* was rehersed and it further says that "The Dīghabhāṇakas are of the opinion that after rehearsing the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, the *Jātaka*, *Mahāniddesa*, *Paṭisambhidā*, *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivattaka*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Theragāthā*, and *Therīgāthā* were rehearsed and were included in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (q.v.) having named them as *khuddakagantha*. The *Majjhima bhāṇakas* also accept the *Khuddakagantha* with three more additions, i.e., *Apadāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and include them in the *Sutta Piṭaka*.[7]

The *Mahāvaṃsa* does not mention about the rehearsal of *Nikāyas*. It says that the *Vinaya* and the *Dhamma* were rehearsed (*Mhv*. ch III. *V*. 32). The *Dīpavaṃsa* reports that the *Āgama Piṭaka* was rehearsed, at the first council and this *Āgama Piṭaka* was named '*Suttas*' by Elders. (*Dpv*. IV. *v*. 20) Although *Dīpavaṃsa* does not mention about the *Nikayas* when reporting the first council, it casually reminds us of the conception of five *Nikāyas* in its report of the third council (*Dpv*. V. *v* 33), saying that the Mahāsaṅgikas destroyed the meaning and doctrine of the five *Nikāyas*. Rhys Davids refers to inscriptional evidence as proof to the existence of five *Nikāyas* by the time of the third century B.C. The term Pañca-nekāyika found in an inscription is said to mean "one who knows the five *Nikāyas* by heart".[8]

Milindapañha, written in the first century A.C. also mentions about *bhikkhūs* who were well versed in the five *Nikāyas*. (*Mil*. p. 22). It mentions also some of the texts of the present *Khuddaka Nikāya* (*op. cit* 281 *Cari yāpiṭaka*. 350-*Buddhavaṃsa*, 411, 414 *Suttanipāta*).

3. *KhapA*. p. 12
4. Oliver Abeynayaka, *op cit p*. 18 ff
5. *Cullavagga* p. 287 (*etena vā upāyena Pañcanikāye pucchi*)
6. *VinA*. I, p. 16
7. *DA*. I, p. 15
8. Rhys Davids, T.W. *Buddhist India*, p. 168

Regarding the emergence of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, two chronological tables of the Pali canon, one by Rhys Davids and the other by B.C. Law, are noteworthy. Rhys Davids's table includes elements of the Theravāda *Tipiṭaka* from the time of the Buddha to the time of Asoka. When it comes to the 9th stage in this list all 15 texts of the *Khuddaka Nikaya* were complete:

1. The simple statemetns of Buddhist doctrine now found, in identical words, in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.
2. Episodes found, in identical words, in two or more of the existing books.
3. The *sīlas*, the *Pārāyana*, the *Octades*, the *Pātimokkha*.
4. The *Dīgha, Majjhima, Aṅguttara*, and *Saṃyutta, Nikāyas*.
5. The *Sutta Nipāta*, the *Thera*-and *Theri-Gāthās*, the *Udānas*, and the *Khuddakapāṭha*.
6. The *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khuddhakas*.
7. The *Jātakas* and the *Dhammapadas*.
8. The *Niddesa*, the *Itivuttakas*, and the *Paṭisambhidā*.
9. The *Peta* and *Vimāna-Vatthūs*, the *Apadānas*, the *Cariyā Piṭaka*, and the *Buddha Vaṃsa*.
10. The *Abhidhamma* books; the last of which is the *Kathāvatthu* and the earliest probably the *Puggalapaññatti*.[9]

B.C. Law offers a detailed criticism regarding some suggestions made by Rhys Davids and gives another chronological table of the Pali canon, in which *Khuddhakapāṭha* is the last text to be added to the texts of the Pali canon:

01. The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found in identical works in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.
02. Episodes found in identical works in two or more of the existing books.
03. The *Sīlas*, the *Pārāyana* group of sixteen poems without the prologue, the *Aṭṭhaka* group of four or sixteen poems, the *Sikkhāpadas*.
04. *Dīgha*, Vol. I, the *Majjhima*, the *Saṃyutta*, the *Aṅguttara*, and earlier *Pātimokkha* code of 152 rules.
05. The *Dīgha*, Vols. II and III, the *Thera-therīgāthā*, the collection of 500 *Jātakas*, *Suttavibhaṅga, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Puggalapaññatti* and the *Vibhaṅga*.
06. The *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*, the *Pātimokkha* code completing 227 rules, the *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu*, the *Dhammapada* and the *Kathāvatthu*.
07. The *Cullaniddesa*, the *Mahāniddesa*, the *Udāna*, the *Itivuttaka*, the *Suttanipāta*, the *Dhātukathā*, the *Yamaka*, and the *Paṭṭhāna*.
08. The *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and the *Apadāna*.
09. The *Parivārapāṭha*.
10. The *Khuddakapāṭha*.[10]

The above given details supports the view that the *Khuddaka Nikāya*; whether a *Nikāya* by that name was rehearsed or not in the First Council, emerged between the period from the day of the Buddha to the time of the third council. When Buddhaghosa visited Sri Lanka in the fifteenth century the *Khuddaka Nikāya* was complete with all its fifteen texts.

Various lists of the Khuddaka texts: The lists of *khuddaka* texts forming the *Khuddaka Nikāya* differ from one another. Some of the lists are as follows:

01. Dīghabhāṇakas' list according to the *PTS* edition of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī: Jātaka, Mahā-niddesa, Cūla-Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Suttanipata, Dhammapada Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimāna-petavatthu, Thera-therīgātha*
02. Dīghabhāṇakas' list according to the Sinhalese edition of the *Sumaṅgalāvilāsini: Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Thera-therīgāthā.*
03. Dīghabhāṇakas' list according to the *Saratthadīpanī: Jātaka, Mahā-Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Apadāna, Sutttanipāta, Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therigāthā.*
04. Majjhimabhāṇakas, list according to the *PTS* edition of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini: Jātaka, Mahā-Niddesa, Cūla-Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānn-petavatthu, Thera-therīgāthā, Cariyā piṭaka, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa.*
05. Majjhimabhāṇakas', list according to the Sinhalese edition of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī: Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu,*

9. Rhys Davids, T.W. *Buddhist India*, p. 188
10. Law, B.C. *A History of Pali Literature*, London, 1933 vol.I p.42

Thera-therigāthā, Cariyāpiṭaka, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa.

06. Majjhimabhāṇakas', list according to the *Sāratthadīpani: Jātaka, Mahā-Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Apadāna, Suttanipāta, Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Cariyāpiṭaka, Buddhavaṃsa.*
07. Aṅguttarabhāṇakas' list: *Jātaka, Paṭisambhidā, Niddesa, Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Apadāna.*
08. The list given in the Chinese *Samantapāsādikā: Dhammapada, Apadāna, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Nipāta, Vimāna, Peta, Thera, Theri, Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidā, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka.*
09. The list found in the Dharmagupta Vinaya: *Jātaka, Ityuttaka, Nidāna, Vaipulya, Adbhutadharma, Avadāna, Upadeṣa, Arthavarga, Dharmapada, Pārāyana, Samcodana, Sthaviragāthā.*
10. The list given in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa: Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theratherigātha, Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidā, Apadāna, Buddhavamsa, Cariyāpiṭaka.*
11. The List given in the *Saddharmaratnākaraya: Sūtranipāta, Dharmapada, Itivuttaka, Vimānavastu, Theragātha, Therigāthā, Jātaka, Nirdesa, Pratisambhidā, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka.*
12. The list given in the Sinhala *Milinda Pras'naya: Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Anāgatavaṃsa, Suttanipāta, Dhampiya, Jātaka, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Udāna, Culla-Niddesa, Mahā-Niddesa, Pratisambhidā.*
13. The Burmese tradition accepts the *Suttasaṅgaha, Peṭakopadesa Nettippakaraṇa* and *Milindapañha* in addition to the works given by Buddhaghosa.
14. The Siamese tradition omits 6-10 as well as the last three of the list of Buddhaghosa whose list was given above.[11]

Khuddaka Ganthas

We have already noticed that there are several lists of *Khuddaka Ganthas* or treatises of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and a list of fifteen texts presented by the commentator Buddhaghosa is generally accepted as the *Khuddaka Nikāya* by the Sri Lanka Theravāda tradition. Following is a brief description of each of them.

1. *Khuddakapaṭha* - "Minor Textual readings". A small book consisting of short (doctrinal) passages (*pāṭha*) selected from the texts of the Pali Canon, for the use of trainee monks (*sāmaṇeras*). The nine passages along with their sources are as follows:

I. *Saranattaya* - ' The three Refuges' (*Vin.*1,22)
II. *Dasasikkhāpada* - ' The ten Precepts' - (*Vin.*1, 83-4 *Vbh* 285ff)
III. *Dvattiṃsākāra* - The Thirty two fold Aspect - (*Ps* 1, 6-7; cf *D* 11, 293; *M.*1, 57; 111, 90 etc.)
IV. *Kumāra Pañha* - 'The Boy's questions - (cf *A.*V. 50 ff; 55ff)
V. *Maṅgalasutta* - ' The Good-omen Discourse' (*Sn. vv* 258-69)
VI. *Ratanasutta*- "The Jewel discourse"-(*Sn, vv* 222-38)
VII. *Tirokuḍḍhasutta*-'The without The walls Discourse (*Pv.*, p.4-5)
VIII. *Nidhikaṇḍasutta*- 'The Treasure-store Discourse'
IX. Mettasutta - The Loving kindness Discourse (*Sn.vv* 143-52)

Khuddakapāṭha is said to have been compiled in Sri Lanka, extracting it's contents from earlier works.[12] *Paramatthajotikā* or *Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā* by Buddhaghosa is the commentary on *Khuddakapāṭha*.

2. *Dhammapada* 'Path of Virtuous conduct' is an anthology of 423 verses culled from cononical texts, arranged under 26 chapters.
3. *Udāna* 'Verses of Uplift' is a collection of 80 discourses containing solemn utterences of the Buddha in verse form along with descriptions of the occasions in which these utterences were made. The eighty discourses are arranged under eight chapters (*Vagga*).
4. *Itivuttaka* 'Thus said statements', consists of 112 discourses treated under four sections (*nipāta*). Each sutta begins with the statement: 'Thus said the Buddha' (*vuttaṃ hetaṃ bhagavatā*) and hence the name of the text.
5. *Sutta Nipāta* 'Woven Cadences' or 'Collection of Discourses (*suttas*)' contains discourses of the Buddha in a mixture of verse and prose arranged

11. Oliver Abenayaka *op cit p.* 38-40
12. The Minor Readings (*khuddakapāṭha*) *PTS*. Translator's introduction (Translated by Bhikkhu Nanamoli)

under five chapters (*vagga*).

6. *Vimānavatthu* 'Stories of the mansions' contains eighty five episodes of deities living in magnificent mansions (*vimāna*). Ven. Mahā Moggallāna, ven. Vaṅgīsa and several other elders meet deities on many occasions and being questioned by them as to what good *kamma* resulted in their present splendour, the deities relate the good acts performed by them in past lives as human beings.
7. *Petavatthu* 'The stories of the Departed' contains fifty one episodes of the Departed Ones (*peta*) arranged under four chapters (*vagga*). In answer to the Buddha as well as to other elder monks like Mahāmoggallāna the *petas* relate their misdeeds in their past lives that has resulted in their present misery. The episodes are presented entirely in verse.
8. *Theragāthā* 'Verses of (male) Elders' contains episodes of 264 elders (*bhikkhūs*) related by each of them after attaining arahantship. These episodes reveal the agonising experiences these elders underwent as laymen and the great change that came upon them after they entered the order of monks and attained Arahantship. The episodes are presented antirely in verse.
9. *Therīgāthā* 'Verses of female Elders' contains episodes of 73 female Elders related by each of them after attaining Arahantship. In these episodes the *theris* reveal the miserable lives led by them as lay women and the peace of mind and happiness they enjoyed as members of the Oder of *bhikkhunis*.
10. *Jātaka* 'Birth Stories', contains 547 stories relating to past lives of the Bodhisattva. The stories are entirely in verse.
11. *Niddesa* 'Expositions', a commentarial work on a section of the *Sutta Nipāta*. The first part of this commentary which is called *Mahā Niddesa* comments on the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta* and the second part called *Cūla Niddesa* comments on the *Pārāyana Vagga* and the third sutta, namely *Khaggavisāna sutta*, of the *Uragavagga*.
12. *Paṭisambhidāmagga* 'Path of Discrimination or 'Path of Analysis', a treatise explaining analytically and systemmatically thirty doctrinal topics, organised under three chapters.
13. *Apadāna* 'Stories of Arahants', contains mainly stories of past lives of Arahants, male and female who lived during the time of the Buddha. Five hundred and fifty nine episodes are about male Arahants while forty are about female Arahants. There are two short chapters at the commencement of the treatise dealing with Buddhas and Paccekabuddhas. The entire treatise is in verse.
14. *Buddhavamsa* 'Chronicle of the Buddhas' deals with the biographies of twenty four, Buddhas who preceded Gotama Buddha, and ends with the biography of Gotama Buddha. The treatise is in verse.
15. *Cariyāpiṭaka* 'Basket of Conduct' is a collection of past birth stories of the Buddha ilustrative of seven out of tem perfections (*pāramis*) of the Bodhisatta. The stories given in verse form have their parallels in the *Jātaka* collection. *

Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

KHUDDAKAPĀṬHA, 'The Minor Reading', is the first and the shortest of the fifteen texts of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (q.v). *Khuddakaptāha* contains the follwing nine extracts (*pāṭha*) from canonical texts.

1. *Saraṇattaya* - 'The Three Refuges'
2. *Dasasikkhāpada* - 'The Ten Precepts'
3. *Dvattiṃsākāra* - 'The Thirty. two Aspects'
4. *Kumārapañha* - 'The Boy's Questions'
5. *Maṅgalasutta* - 'The Good-Omen Discourse'
6. *Ratanasutta* - 'The Jewel Discourse'
7. *Tirokuḍḍhasutta* - 'The Across-The-Wall Discourse'
8. *Nidhikhaṇḍasutta* - 'The Treasure-store Discourse'
9. *Mettasutta* - 'The Loving kindness Discourse'

B.C. Law holds the view that the *Khuddakapāṭha* derived its name from the first four passages which are shorter in comparison with the remaining ones.[1] This text is supposed to have been used as a handbook for the novices or *sāmaṇera*. Most passages in it are of interest to the training novices. According to the tradition prevailing even today the novices should be acquainted with teachings such as *Saraṇattaya*, *Dasasikkhāpada* and *Dvattiṃsākāra*, *etc*. These sections were selected from older texts such as *Vinaya*

The compiler of this article courteously acknowledges utilising material from the following books:

1. Abeynayaka, Oliver. *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya*.
2. Rhys Davids, T.W. *Buddhist India*.
3. Law, B.C. *A History of Pali Literature*, Vol. 1
4. Malalasekera, G.P. *Dictionary of Pali Proper* Names, Vols. 1&2

Mahāvagga, Dīghanikāya and *Suttanipāta*, which are beyond the scope of the novices. Therefore it can safely be concluded that the *Khuddakapāṭha* was compiled subsequently as a text book to fulfil the needs of training young members of the *Bhikkhu* community.[2] And it is also supposed to have been arranged in such a way as to form a continuous theme suitable for the practice of the holy life.[3]

Following is a brief accounts of the contents of the *Khuddakapāṭha*.

1. *Saraṇattaya* or 'the three refuges' referred to here are:

Buddha - 'The Enlightened One'
Dhamma - 'The Doctrine'
and Saṅgha - 'The Community of *Bhikkhus*'

According to the commentary the three refuges were pronounced by the Buddha for the purpose of giving ordination to Yasa and his companions who were among the first sixty disciples (*KhpA.* 14). They are also found at *Vin.* 1. 22, and *M.* 1, 24.

2. *Dasasikkhāpada*, 'the ten training precepts', are as follows:

(1) *Pāṇātipātā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstention from killing.
(2) *Adinnādānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstention from taking what is not given'.
(3) *Abrahmacariyā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstention from unchastity.'
(4) *Musāvādā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstention from speaking falsehood.
(5) *Surāmeraya-majjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstenton from liquer, wine, and besotting drinks.
(6) *Vikālabhojanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstention from untimely eating'.
(7) *Naccagītavāditavisūkadassanā-veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstention from dancing, singing, music, and contortionist shows'.
(8) *Mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇa-maṇḍana vibhūsanaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstention from wearing garlands, *using* perfumes and scents, and embellishment with unguents'.
(9) *Uccāsayanamahāsayanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstention from using high couches and large couches'.
(10) *Jātarūparajatapaṭiggahaṇāveramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.*
'I undertake to keep the training precept of abstention from accepting gold and silver'.

3. *Dvattiṃsākāra* or 'the thirty two constituents'

In this short passage 32 parts constituting the human body are enumerated. This passage, as a whole, is a subject for meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*).

4. *Kumārapañha* or the 'Boy' Question'.

In this section a set of ten questions with brief answers are given. According to the commentary (*KhpA.* 75) the Buddha after testing the knowledge of one of the great disciples named Sopāka by means of this set of ten questions gave him the higher-ordination (*Upasampadā*) as he answered them correctly.

The ten questions and the answers to them are:

(1) One is what? - All creatures subsist by nutriment.
(2) Two is what? - Name and form.
(3) Three is what?- Three kinds of feeling.
(4) Four is what?-Four Noble Truths.
(5) Five is what?- Five categories of grasping.
(6) Six is what?- Six bases.
(7) Seven is what?-Seven Enlightenment factors.
(8) Eight is what? - The Noble Eightfold Path.
(9) Nine is what?- Nine abodes of creatures.
(10) Ten is what? - Ten factors constituting Arahantship.

5. *Maṅgala Sutta:* This is the 'Good Omen Discourse' preached in answer to a question asked by a *deva* as to what the auspicious things (*Maṅgalāni*) are. The *sutta*

1. A History of Pali Literature Vol. 1 p. 194
2. Liver Abeynayaka, *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, p. 116
3. U.K. Lay, *Guide to Tipiṭaka*, p. 124

contains thirty seven good omens.

6. *Ratana Sutta* or 'the Jewel Discourse': This was preached at Vesali on the invitation of the Licchavis who begged from the Buddha to rid the city of the threefold dangers which had fallen upon it. *Ratana Sutta* consisting of seventeen verses is the longest discourse (*pāṭha*) of the *Khuddakapāṭha*.

7. *Tirokuḍḍa Sutta*, 'the Without the walls discourse', describes how human beings can help their dead relatives who are born among the departed spirits (*peta*) by transfering to them the merit that accrue from giving alms to the Saṅgha.

8. *Nidhikhaṇḍa Sutta*, 'the treasure store discourse', is the only one of its kind that cannot be traced else where in the canon. The *sutta* says that a man buries his treasure in order to use it in time of need, but very often he loses it. Not so is the merit accrued from good deeds.

9. *Metta Sutta* or 'the loving kindness discourse' which is popularly known as *Karaṇīyametta Sutta* contains fifteen qualities that an individual should strive to develop in him in order to attain perfection. The *Sutta* further says that an individual, having developed those qualities, should then harbour thoughts of loving kindness to all living beings in all directions. Such an individual will not fall into error and being virtuous and endowed with insight he discards attachment to sense-desires.

Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

KILESA (*Skt. kleśa*) literally means impurity, defilement or corruption. Derived from the root *kliś*, *kilesa* refers to 'things which are defiled" (*svayaṃca kliṣṭatvāt: Madhyantavibhāga-ṭīkā*, p. 239-40; *sayaṃ saṃkiliṭṭhattā*, (*Vism*. 586) and which in turn defile the mind of sentient beings (......*kilesavatthūhi saṅkilissati lokasannivāso" Ps*. I, 130; *kilesenti upatāpentīti kilesā: PsA*. I, 285; *Vism*. 586; *kleśāh kliśyanti: Vibhāṣāprabhavṛtti*, p. 18; *kliśyantīti kleśāh*: ibid. p. 219 *kleśāh kliśyanti satvacittasantānāni: Mdhvr*. p. 334). Asanga says that *kleśas* possess the characteristic of being agitated and stirred and that the mind and body of beings are agitated and stirred by them (*Abhsy*. p. 43). Thus *kilesas*, being the defiled mental states which agitate and defile the mind, may be rendered as 'passion' in English.

Passions also cause the defilement of man's actions and birth (*karma-janma-saṅkleśa: Madhyantavibhāga-ṭīkā* p. 239-40); and forms one of the two main causes of continued existence (*saṃsāra*), the other cause being karmic actions themselves (*Mdhvr*. p. 451; *Netti*. p. 113; *Vism*. p. 591). Of these two causes, i.e. passions and actions, the former occupies the dominant place, for it is only those actions which are dominated by passions that are capable of producing rebirth (*ibid*.); actions of a person who has put an end to all passions (*prahīṇakleśa*) does not produce rebirth (*Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*; ed. s. Levi, Paris, 1925, pp. 38-9).

In Pali literature passions have been identified with what constitutes the truth of the origination of suffering (*samudaya-sacca: Vbh*. p. 120; *Netti*. p. 191 the second of the four noble truths. Asanga adds actions (*karma*) and says that the *samudayasatya* consists of passions as well as passion-dominated actions (*Abhsy-p*. 43).

Craving (*tṛṣṇā*), one of the passions, has been cited in the *sūtras* as the cause of suffering because it is the basic passion which is mainly instrumental in bringing about rebirth and suffering (*ibid*).

Thus, passions become a hindrance to the attainment of emancipation (*mokṣaprāpter āvaraṇaṃ: Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, p. 15), because the mind which is defiled with passions is neither soft, nor pliant, nor gleaming, nor perfectly composed for the destruction of the cankers (*āsava: S*. V., 92-3).

We find in Pali literature the terms *kilesa* and *saṅkilesa*, being used with reference to passions. the term *upakkilesa* denoting 'impurity' is found more frequently than the other two terms in the early *Nikāyas*. But, as we come to the later works of the Pali *Sutta Piṭaka* such as the *Niddesa* and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and to the texts of the *Abhidha- mma Piṭaka*, and, still later, to the Pali commentaries, we find *upakkilesa* and *saṅkilesa* being relegated to the backgorund and their place being occupied by *kilesa*. The term *kilesa* has thus become the standard term for passions in the scholastic works of Pali literature.

The well-known three roots of evil (*akusala-mūla*), namely, lust, greed or craving (*rāga, lobha or taṇhā*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha or avijjā*) are spoken of as *kilesa* (*Vin*. III, 93; *Dhs*. p. 181). These three are called *upakkilesa* in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 91).

The *Nettippakaraṇa* (p. 86) gives two of them, *taṇhā* and *avijjā*, also under *upakkilesa*. According to these contexts, passions are the roots of evil. This is in complete agreement with the *Abhidharmakoṣa* which expressly says that passions are the roots of evil (*Abhk.* p. 147). They are like roots or seeds which produce as well as sustain evil volitions (*akusala-cetanā*) which find expression in the form of evil actions (*akusalakamma*).

The *Niddesa* (I, p. 433f.), after explaining *kilesa* as *duccarita*, gives *rāga*, *dosa*, *moha* as well as all evil formative forces (*sabba-akusala-abhisaṅkhāra*) as examples of *kilesa* (see also *Vbh.* p. 44). The inclusion of *akusala-abhisaṅkhāra* in *kilesa* is very significant. The term *akusala abhisaṅkhāra* is synonymous with *apuññābhisaṅkhāra*, and they refer to evil mental states (*akusala-cetasika*). The Theravāda *Abhidhamma* has a list of fourteen *akusala cetasika*, namely, delusion (*moha*), lack of moral shame (*ahirika*), lack of moral dread (*anottappa*), restlessness (*uddhacca*), greed (*lobha*), speculative views (*diṭṭhi*), conceit (*māna*), hatred (*dosa*), jealousy (*issā*), avarice (*macchariya*) scruples (*kukkucca*), torpor (*thīna*), langour (*middha*) and sceptical doubts (*vicikiccha*): *Abhs.* p.6). These fourteen include the three roots of evil, *moha*, *lobha* and *dosa* and according to the *Niddesa* (I, 433-4) and the *Vibhaṅga* (p.44), the remaining eleven *akusala cetasikas*, too, should be considered *kilesa*. But, the standard list of *kilesa* in the Theravāda consists of only ten; three roots of evil plus seven of the remaining *akusala-cetasikas*, namely *māna*, *diṭṭhi*, *vicikicchā*, *thīna*, *uddhacca*, *ahirika* and *anottappa* (*Ps.* I, 130; *Dhs* 1548; *Vbh.* 341; *Vism.* 683; the eight *kilesas* given in the *Vibhaṅga*, p. 385, are the first eight of the above ten). Why the remaining four *akusala-cetasikas*, viz., *issā*, *macchariya*, *middha* and *kukkucca*, are not considered *kilesa*, is not stated in the texts. The *Dhammasaṅganī* (p. 216-17) only says that all *akusalas* are not *kilesa*, that only ten of them are *kilesa* which are also called *saṅkilesikadhamma* because they defile the mind. *Akusalas* other than the above ten are not classed as *kilesa*.

KILESA	AKUSALA CETASIKA		
1. *Lobha*	*lobha*	-	greed
2. *dosa*	*dosa*	-	hatred
3. *moha*	*moha*	-	delusion
4. *māna*	*māna*	-	conceit
5. *diṭṭhi*	*diṭṭhi*	-	dogmatic views
6. *vicikicchā*	*vicikicchā*	-	doubts
7. *thīna*	*thīna*	-	torpor
8. *uddhacca*	*uddhacca*	-	restlessness
9. *ahirika*	*ahirika*	-	lack of moral shame
10. *anottappa*	*anottappa*	-	lack of moral dread
11.	*issā*	-	envy
12.	*macchariya*-		avarice
13.	*middha*	-	langour
14.	*kukkucca*	-	scruples

In the classification of the five mental hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*), *middha* is coupled with *thīna* and considered as one hindrance; so is *kukkucca* with *uddhacca*. Even if, on this basis, we include *middha* and *kukkucca* in *thīna* and *uddhacca* respectively of the *kilesa* classification, the question remains as to why *issā* and *macchariya* are left out. They, too, defile the mind as, say, *ahirika* or *anottappa* do. It should be mentioned here that *issā* and *macchariya* occur as two of the seventeen *kilesas* given in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (II, 102) and also as two of the sixteen *upakkilesas* given in the *Majjhimanīkāya* (I, 36ff). All this shows a certain flexibility in early Theravada not only in the use of terms like *kilesa*, *upakkilesa* and *saṅkilesa*, but also in the classification of *kilesa* and *upakkilesa*.

In Buddhist Sanskrit literature which represents a number of later schools of Buddhism, we find a systematic classification of passions, and as a result, the two terms, *kleśa* and *sāṅkleśa*, refer to two distinct categories of passions. in these texts, the passions are classified into two groups, primary or basic passions (*kleśa* or *mūlakleśa*) and secondary or derived passions (*upakleśa*): this classification is entirely based on the nature of the passions. All *kleśas*, according to these texts, are also *upkleśas* but all *upakleśas* are not *kleśas* (*Abhk.* p.147; *Abhsy.* p. 47). The difference, as the *Abhidharmakoṣa* puts it, is that the *kleśas* are the roots of evil while the *upakleśas* are not, the latter refers to secondary passions which arise from basic passions.

There are six basic passions, namely, lust (*rāga*), hatred (*pratigha*), delusion (*moha or avidyā*), conceit (*māna*) dogmatic views (*dṛṣṭi*) and doubts (*vimati* or *vicikitsā*: *Abhk.* ch. V, *Vijñaptimatratāsiddhi*, p. 28; *Abhsy.* p. 43). Dogmatic views are of five kinds, namely, belief in a personality (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*), extremist views (*antagrahadṛṣṭi*), wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*), clinging to views (*dṛṣṭiparāmarśa*) and to rites and rituals (*silavrataparāmarśa*). If the five kinds of views are taken as separate passions, the number will be ten. All Buddhist Sanskrit texts agree on these passions

which are six or ten in number.

We may compare with advantage the two lists of passions given in the Pali and the Sanskrit texts.

Pali	Sanskrit
1. *lobha*	1. *raga*
2. *dosa*	2. *Pratigha*
3. *moha*	3. *moha* or *avidyā*
4. *māna*	4. *māna*
5. *vicikicchā*	5. *vicikitsā* or *vimati*
6. *diṭṭhi*	6. *dṛṣṭi*
7. *thīna*	
8. *Uddhacca*	
9. *ahirika*	
10. *anottappa*	

It appears from the above that the first six passions in both lists are identical; *rāga* 'lustful attachment' and *lobha* 'covetousness' refer to the same passion, so do *dosa* 'malice' and *pratigha*, 'hatred'. The last four of the Pali list have not found a place in the Sanskrit list.

The six passions in the Sanskrit list which are identical with the first six of the Pali list are the basic passions. All other passions arise from them. This is in complete agreement with the classification of passions into seven latent tendencies (*anusaya* or *anuśaya*), a calssification of *kilesa* made from a different standpoint . In fact, the two terms *kleśa* and *anuśaya*, are used synonymously (*Vism.* 586; *Abhk.* ch. V. *Abhsy.* 44), with the exception that the two latent tendencies, namely, sensuous greed (*kāmarāga*) and lust for continued existence (*bhavarāga*) are considered one in the *kilesa/kleśa* classification, under *rāga*.

Kilesa/Kleśa	Anusaya/Anuśaya
1. *lobha/rāga*	*kamarāga* + *bhavarāga*
2. *doṣa/pratigha*	*paṭigha/pratigha*
3. *moha/avidyā*	*avijjā/avidyā*
4. *māna*	*māna*
5. *vicikicchā/vicikitsā*	*vicikicchā/vicikitsā*
6. *diṭṭhi/dṛṣṭi*	*diṭṭhi/dṛṣṭi*

The *anusaya* are passions that lie dormant in an individual's stream of consciousness (*citta-santāna*) which in the Theravāda is called *bhavaṅgacitta* and in the Yogācāra school, the *ālayavijñāna*. This stream of consciousness exists from time unknown (*S.* II, 178) and continues to exist until an individual attains *parinibbāna*. The *anusaya* that lie dormant in it exist until the individual attains arahantship or the eighth stage (*bhūmi*) of a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva. Thus it is quite clear that the *anusaya* are basic passions.

The inclusion of *thīna, uddhacca, ahirika* and *anottappa* in the *Theravāda* list of ten passions is due to the fact that the *Theravādins* do not distinguish between basic passions (*mūla-kleśa*) and secondary passions (*upakleśa*). These four passions in fact have found their place among secondary passions enumerated by the Yogācāra school (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, ed. by S. Levi, 1925; p. 29-30). But an exception may be made with regard to *uddhacca* which, in addition to the six basic passions, is regarded as one of the ten fetters (*saṃyojana*) enumerated in the Pali texts.

Kilesa - passions	Saṃyojana-fetters
1. *lobha/rāga*	1. *Kāmarāga*
2. *dosa*	2. *rūparāga*
3. *moha*	3. *arūparāga*
4. *māna*	4. *vyāpāda*
5. *vicikicchā*	5. *avijjā*
6. *diṭṭhi*	6. *māna*
	7. *vicikicchā*
	8. *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*
	9. *sīlabbataparāmāsa*
	10. *uddhacca*

The first three fetters in the above list represent the first passion while the eighth and the ninth fetters represent the sixth passion. Others are identical except the tenth fetter which is not found among the six basic passions, but is given as one of the ten passions enumerated by the Theravadins.

Thus a distinction may be made with regard to the ten passions of the Theravadins on the basis of their nature. The first six passions are the most radical ones which are otherwise described as *anusaya*. *Uddhacca* may be considered second in importance, for it is one of the fetters. The remaining three, *thīna, ahirika* and *anottappa*, may be considered secondary ones.

Although the two terms, *kilesa* and *upakkilesa* are used indiscriminately in the Pali literature, an examination of passions given in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (I, 36ff) as *upakkilesa* will help us to make a distinction between *kilesa* and *upakkilesa*, namely, 1. greed and covetousness (*abhijjhā-visamalobha*, 2. malevolence (*vyāpāda*), 3. anger (*kodha*), 4. treachery (*upanāha*), 5. hypocricy (*makkha*), 6. spite (*palāsa*), 7. jealousy (*issā*), 8. envy (macchariya), 9. deceit (*māyā*), 10. trick-

ery (*sāṭheyya*), 11. obstinacy (*thambha*), 12. impetuosity (*sarambha*), 13. arrogance, (*mana*), 14. pride (*atimana*), 15. conceit (*mada*) and 16. indolence (*pamāda: M*.I. 36-7).

Moha or *avijjā*, the most radical of all passions, is conspicuous by its absence from the list. Except perhaps for *abhijjā-visamalobha*, *vyāpāda* and *māna* which may be considered as *lobha*, *dosa* and *māna* respectively which are basic passions, all others are secondary passions derived from one or the other of the basic passions. *Kodha*, and *upanāha*, for instance, are passions derived from *dosa*; so are *atimāna* and *mada* which are different intensifications of *māna*. If, on the other hand, the three passions, *abhijjhā-visamalobha*, *vyāpāda* and *māna*, are intensified states of *lobha*, *dosa* and *māna*, all the sixteen may be considered secondary passions.

There is also a list of seventeen passions called *kilesa* in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (II, 107); most of these seventeen correspond to the sixteen *upakkilesa* discussed above; a comparison of the two lists, therefore, may be made with advantage.

	Upakkilesa, *M*. I, 36-7	Kilesa, *Ps*. II, 107
1.	*abhijjhā-visamalobha*	*rāga*
2.	*vyāpāda*	*dosa*
3.	*kodha*	*kodha*
4.	*upanāha*	*upanāha*
5.	*makkha*	*makkha*
6.	*palāsa*	*palāsa*
7.	*issā*	*issā*
8.	*macchariya*	*macchariya*
9.	*māyā*	*māyā*
10.	*sāṭheyya*	*sāṭheyya*
11.	*thambha*	*thambha*
12.	*sārambha*	*sārambha*
13.	*māna*	*māna*
14.	*atimāna*	*atimāna*
15.	*mada*	*mada*
16.	*pamāda*	*pamāda*
17.		*moha*

In the *Paṭisambhidamagga* list we find the three roots of evil *rāga* (1), *dosa* (2), and *moha* (17), the first two are represented in the *Majjhima nikāya* list by *Abhijjhāvisamalobha* and *vyāpāda* respectively. *Moha* is absent in that list. All the remaining passions in both lists are identical. They are called *kilesa* in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, and *upakkilesa* in the *Majjhimanikāya*.

Of the sixteen passions mentioned as *upakkilesa* in the *Majjhima*, only *māna* is found as one of the *kilesa* in the standard list of ten *kilesa*: if *abhijjhā-visamalobha* and *vyāpāda* be identical with *lobha* and *dosa* respectively, the number of passions common to the two lists would be three. As far as the seventeen passions mentioned in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* are concerned, we find four of them in the standard list of *kilesa*; they are *rāga* or *lobha*, *dosa*, *moha*, and *māna*. If we compare these three lists, one of 10 *kilesas*, the second of 17 *kilesas* and the third of 16 *upakkilesas* with the list of *akusala-cetasika*, we find in addition *issā* and *macchariya* as passions common to all three lists; they are not found in the standard list of ten *kilesas*.

The Standard list of 10 kilesas	Akusala cetasika	16 Upakkilesa in M.I., 36-7	17 kilesas in Ps. II 107
1. *lobha*	*Lobha*	*abhijjhā-visama Lobha*	*rāga*
2. *dosa*	*dosa*	*vyāpaada*	*dosa*
3. *moha*	*moha*	....	moha
4. *māna*	*māna*	*māna*	*māna*
5. *diṭṭhi*	*diṭṭhi*	....	....
6. *vicikicchā*	*vicikicchā*	....	....
7. *thīna*	*thīna*	....	....
8. *uddhacca*	*uddhacca*	....	....
9. *ahirika*	*ahirika*	....	....
10. *anottappa*	*anottappa*	....	....
11	*issā*	*issā*	*issā*
12.	*macchariya*	*macchariya*	*macchariya*
13.	*middha*	....	....
14.	*kukkucca*	....	....

The remaining eleven passions (*upakkilesa; M*. I, 36-7; *kilesa: Ps*. II. 107) are not *akusala-cetasikas*. They include *kodha*, *upanāha*, *makkha*, *palāsa*, *māyā*, *sāṭheyya*, *thambha*, *sārambha*, *atimāna*, *mada* and *pamāda*. These eleven may be considered purely secondary passions. Their origin may be traced in one or the other of the basic passions.

The term *upakkilesa* is more frequently used with reference to the five mental hindrances, namely, sensous desire (*kāmacchanda*), ill-will (*vyāpada*), torpor and languor (*thīnamiddha*), restlessness and scruples (*uddhaccakukkucca*) and sceptical doubt (*vicikicchā*: *D*. II, 49; *S*.V. 92-3, 108, 115, *A*. II, 17, III, 16 386; V. 195; *Vbh*. 256; DhpA. 162 etc). In all the lists of passions so far discussed, the term

...*macchanda* is not found; it is identical with ...*marāga*, an aspect of *rāga*, which is found in other ...s. We saw *vyāpāda* as one of the sixteen *upakkilesas* ...entioned in the *Majjhimanikāya* (I, 36-7). ...*uddhaccakukkucca* is split into two and considered as ... separate *akusala* ...*cetasikas*. So is *thīnamiddha*. ...*ikicchā* is both a *kilesa* and an *akusalacetasika*. ...us, *nīvaraṇa* add nothing new to the passions we ...ve seen.

We also find a division of *upakkilesa* in the ...*guttaranikāya* (I, 254) made on the basis of their ...ensity. It gives three kinds of them: The first is gross ...es (*olārika upakkilesa*) consisting of evil actions per...rmed by deed, word and thought. These may be iden...fied with the tenfold courses of evil action (*dasa-...usala-kammapatha*). The second group consists of ...derately gross ones (*majjhima*): they include ...ughts of lust (*kāma-vitakka*), thoughts of hatred ...*āpāda-vitakka*) and malevolent thoughts (*vihiṃsā* ...*kka*). The last goup is called subtle (*sukuma*); which ...lude reflections on one's relatives (*ñātivitakka*), ...s land (*janapadavitakka*) and on one's reputation ...*aññattivitakka*).

In this connection mention should be made of the ...istence of a controversy on the three mental evil ac...s (*mano-duccarita*) given in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* ...254) as the third category of *olārika upakkilesa*: ... three mental evil actions are covetousness ...*ijjhā*), ill-will (*vyāpāda*) and wrong views ...*hādiṭṭhi*). According to the *suttas* they are purely ...ntal evil actions (*mano-kamma*), and actions are ...tical with volitions (*cetanā: cetanāhaṃ bhikkhave* ...*mam vadāmi: A* III, 415). While the Sautrāntikas ...ered to this view that the three mental evil actions ...volitions (*Sphuṭārthābhidharmakoṣa -vyākhyā*, p. ... the *Vaibhāṣikas* who favoured the Abhidharma ...ition considered them to be passions (*kleśa*) that ...duce evil volitions, and not actions by themselves ...*āṣaprabhāvṛtti* on *karikā* 188 of *Abhidharmadīpa*.

In Buddhist Sanskrit literature we find a very sys...atic and detailed treatment of passions, based on ...ature of their different categories. Six (or ten) of ...m are termed basic passions, and others the sec...ry passions. The *Abhidharmakoṣa* (ch.V.) gives a ... sixteen secondary passions; ten of them are ...*avasthāna* and the remaining six are called *kleśa-*...

The six *kleśa-mala* are 1. deceit (*māyā*) 2. trickery (*śāṭhya*), 3. complacency (*mada*), 4. spite (*pradāśa*), 5. treachery (*upanāha*) and 6. violence (*vihiṃsā: Abhk.* p. 148).

The *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (ed. S. Levi, 1925, 29-30) adds 8 more secondary passions to the *Abhi dharmakoṣa* list of sixteen which are given above, and calls all the twenty four *upakkileśas*. The eight are 1. indolence (*pramāda*), 2. reflection (*vitarka*), 3. investigation (*vicāra*), 4. lack of faith (*aśradhya*), 5. lethargy (*kauṣidya*), 6. forgetfulness (*muṣita-smṛti*), 7. perplexity (*vikṣepa*), and 8. lack of awareness (*asamprajanya*).

Of these twenty-four secondary passions, *āhrikya, anapatrāpya, styāna* and *auddhatya* are considered *kilesa* in the Pali texts, and are included in the standard Pali list of ten *kilesa*. Ten of the *upaklesa*, namely, 1. *krodha*, 2. *upanāha* 3. *mrakṣa*, 4. *pradāṣa*, 5. *īrṣya* . 6. *mātsarya*, 7. *māyā*, 8. *saṭhya*, 9. *mada* and 10. *pramāda* have their parallels among the sixteen *upakkilesa* of the *Majjhimanikāya* (I, 36-37) a majority of which correspond to seventeen *kilesa* listed in the *paṭisambhidāmagga* (II, 107). The remaining ten *upakleśa*, namely, 1. *midda*, 2. *kaukṛtya*, 3. *vitarka*, 4. *vicāra*, 5. *aśrādhya*, 6. *kauṣidya*, 7. *muṣita-smṛti*, 8. *vikṣepa*, 9. *asamprajanya* and *vihimsā*, though they occur fairly frequently in the Pali texts, are not described in them as either *kilesa* or *upakkilesa*. Two of them, *middha* and *kaukṛtya* are, however, found in the Pali texts associated with two *nīvaraṇas*, namely, *thīna-middha* and *uddhacca-kukkucca*.

Now, we may compare the four lists of secondary passions found in the *Majjhimanikāya* (I, 36-37), the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (II, 107), the *Abhidharmakoṣa* ch. V and the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* pp. 29-30)

Upakkilesa	Kilesa	Paryavasthāna	Upakleśa

...e ten *paryavasthāna* are 1. jealousy (*irṣyā*), 2. envy (*mātsarya*), 3. lack of moral shame (*ahrikya*), 4. lack of moral dread (*anapatrāpya*), 5. restlessness (*auddhatya*), 6. scruples (*kaukṛtya*),7. torpor (*styāna*), 8. langour (*middha*), 9. anger (*krodha*) and hyprocricy (*mrakṣa: Abhk.* p. 147 f.)

M.I., 36-37	Ps. II. 107	and *kles'amala* Abhk. pp.147-48	Vijñaptimātratā Siddhi. pp.29-30
1. *abhijjhā visamalobha*	*rāga*		
2. *vyāpāda*	*dosa*		
3. *kodha*	*kodha*	*krodha*	*krodha*
4. *upanāha*	*upanāha*	*upanāha*	*upanāha*
5. *palāsa*	*palāsa*	*pradās'a*	*pradās'a*
6. *makkha*	*makkha*	*mrakṣa*	*mrakṣa*
7. *issā*	*issā*	*īrṣyā*	*īrṣyā*
8. *macchariya*	*macchariya*	*mātsarya*	*mātsarya*
9. *māyā*	*māyā*	*māyā*	*māyā*
10. *sāṭheyya*	*sāṭheyya*	*s'āṭhya*	*s'āṭhya*
11. *sārambha*	*sārambha*		
12. *thambha*	*thambha*		
13. *māna*	*māna*		
14. *atimāna*	*atimāna*		
15. *mada*	*mada*	*mada*	*mada*
16. *pamāda*	*pamāda*		*pramāda*

As Buddhism deals mainly with psychological phenomena on an ethical basis, analysis, classification and synthesis of those phenomena occupy a very important place in Buddhist texts, both Pali and Sanskrit. This method of treatment is predominant especially in the Abhidharma texts where we find them analysed and classified from a variety of standpoints. Those psychological phenomena which this analysis and classification yield are described and named on the basis of the particular functions they perform or particular aspects and intensities in which they appear at a given moment. This is true also of psychological phenomena which are considered evil. Passions (*kles'a* and *upakles'a*) constitute one of many appearances they make. This may be elaborated by examining various synonyms for passions; and we find no less than thirty-four synonyms for *kles'a* being used in the texts. The Pali texts have the following synonyms: fetters (1. *saṃyojana*), passions (2. *kilesa*), wrongness (3. *micchatta*), worldly traits (4. *lokadhamma*), avarice (5. *macchariya*), perversions (6. *vipallāsa*), ties (7. *gantha*), evil courses (8. *agati*), cankers (9. *āsava*), floods (10. *ogha*), bonds (11. *yoga*), hindrances (12. *nīvaraṇa*), seizing (13. *parāmāsa*); clingings (14. *upādāna*), inherent tendencies (15. *anusaya*), stains (16. *mala*), unprofitable courses of action (17. *akusala kammapatha*), unprofitable thought arisings (18. *akusala cittuppāda*), obstructions (19. *āvarana*), bonds (20. *bandhana*), passions (21. *upakkilesa*) and outbursts of the inherent tendencies (*pariyuṭṭhāna*: *Vism.* 586; *Dhs.* 189). The Sanskrit texts give the following: fetters (1. *saṃyojana*), ties (2. *grantha*), floods (3. *ogha*), bonds (4. *yoga*), clingings (5 *upādāna*), inherent tendencies (6. *anus'aya*), cankers (7. *ās'rava*), hindrances (8. *nīvaraṇa*), stains (9. *mala*), bonds (10. *bandhana*), secondary passions (11. *upakles'a*), outbursts of inherent tendencies (12. *paryavasthāna*), obstruction (13. *khila*), confusion (14. *nigha*), dart (15. *salla*), worldly possession (16. *kiñcana*), misdeed (17. *dus'carita*), doer (18. *vidhāta*), burning (19. *paridāha*), tribulation (20. *upāyāsa*), struggle (21. *raṇa*), fever (22. *jvara*) and fetters (23. *vibandha*). See *Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*, p. 219-20; *Abhy*. p. 44.

It would appear that some of the synonyms are common to both Pali and Sanskrit texts. The terms like *saṃyojana*, *kilesa/kles'a*, *āsava*, *ās'rava*, *nīvaraṇa*, *anusaya/anus'aya*, *pariyuṭṭhāna/paryavasthāna ogha* and *upādana* are very popular and are widely used in the texts.

All these refer to the same passions in their different manifestations, they indicate different intensities of, and different functions performed by them, in different environments (*Abhsy*. p. 44).

They are called *saṃyojana* because they tie beings to *saṃsāra*; they are called *anusaya* when they lie dormant and *pariyuṭṭhāna* when they burst out. They are again called *ās'rava* because their flow exists from *avīci* to *bhavāgra*, and *ogha* when they overflow and flood (*Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*, p. 219-20; *Netti*, 113-117).

The other terms may also be explained in like manner (for details, see under individual topics).

The explanation of passions in terms of different intensities and funcitons brings us to the question of the manner in which they arise in the mind. The answer to this question involves the more fundamental question of the nature of mind from the point of view of its defilement and purification.

It is said in the texts that the mind is luminous by nature (*pabhassara*; *A.* I, 10; *prakṛtiprabhās'vara*: *Lanka*. 221-22; *Sutral* ch. XIII, *v*. 19) but is defiled by adventitious passions (*āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭhaṃ*; *āgantukakles'akliṣṭa*: *ibid*). The *Manorathapūraṇī* explains the term *pabhassara* as lustrous (*paṇḍara*) and pure (*parisuddha*: *AA*. I, 60). The *Laṅkavatārasūtra* gives a similar explanation (*prakṛtiparis'uddha*: *Lank*. 221-22).

Now, the question is as to when this pure mind

exists and when it is defiled. The Theravadins explain this question by identifying this pure mind with what is called *bhavaṅga-citta* (*AA*. I, 60) The Yogācāra school identifies it with *ālayavijñana* (*Lank*. 221-22).

Bhavaṅga is the mind in its dormant state, free from all thought processes; the state in which the mind is not in the process of cognition. It is therefore called *vīthimutta* as against *vīthicitta* which is in the process of cognition. It is also the state of mind in which people die and are reborn. The *Kathāvatthu* calls it the natural mind (*pakaticitta: Kvu*. 615). It is the foundation or condition (*aṅga*) of existence (*bhava*) having the nature of a stream; thus it is called (*bhavasota* or *viññāṇasota*), the stream of consciousness. In short, it is the life principle by which might be explained the faculty of memory, survival and identity of the individual through innumerable lives in continued existence (*bhava* or *saṃsāra*). It also exists at the beginning of every thought- process, and every thought process ends in it.

The concept of *ālayavijñāna*, when considered from the point of view of its defilement, is similar in some extent to the concept of *bhavaṅga-citta*. Both become defiled owing to adventitious passions. Both are possessed of good and evil tendencies lying dormant in them (*sarvabījaka: Abhsy*. 11-12; *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, 18, 22).

All beings, at their birth, inherit those tendencies which are the result of every moral or immoral action (*karma, kamma*) performed in their previous lives.

This may be explained in terms of the formula of causality (*paṭicca-samuppāda*). The third link in this formula, namely, *viññāṇa* or *vijñāna*, represents the rebirth of an individual. This *vijñāna*, which is called *bhavaṅgacitta* or *ālayavijñāna*, is conditioned by formative forces (*saṅkhāra* or *saṃskāra*), the second link. The *saṃskāras*, although conditioned by delusion (*avidyā* or *avijjā*) consist of both good and evil forces created by past ethical acts. By *saṃskāras*, it is said, the mind is impregnated with acts (*karma vāsanā: Madhyantavibhaṅgatīka*, 35-44). In other words the formative forces leave their impressions on the stream of consciousness; and the good impressions are called the roots or seed of good (*kusalamula* or *kuśaladharmabīja*) and the evil ones, the roots of evil (*akusalamūla*) or evil tendencies (*anuśaya*). These tendencies continue to exist in the stream of consciousness until an individual attains emancipation, arahantship or the eighth stage (*bhūmi*) of a Mahāyāna bodhisattva. In other words, the mind of an individual continues to be defiled untili he attains emancipation, when purity of mind is realised. Purity of mind and emancipation are synonymous. It would appear from the foregoing discussion that what is meant by lustrous and pure mind (*pabhassara, prakṛtipariśuddha*) is not a state of mind which is absolutely pure, nor the pure mind which is synonymous with emancipation. It may be explained as pure only in the sense, and to the extent, that it is not disturbed or influenced by external stimuli. In this undisturbed mind, which is called *bhavaṅga* or *ālaya*, there exist both good and evil tendencies in their dormant state until conditions arise favourable for thier operation. These conditions obtain in the process of sense-perception; the process is named *vīthicitta* as against *vīthimutta* or *bhavaṅgacitta* and *pravṛtti-vijñāna* as against *ālayavijñāna* (*Madhyantavibhāgaṭīkā*, 36). It is in terms of this process that the statement that the lustrous mind becomes defiled by adventitious passions (*A*. I, 10; *Lank*. 221-22) may be explained.

The moment a person starts carrying on normal activities of life he starts perceving the external world with his senses; and, the first reaction on his part would be reflecting on objects he is perceiving. Reflection leads him to grasp the major and minor attributes (*nimitta, anuvyañjana*: *D*. I, 70 etc.) of the objects. This is called indulging in sense- objects (*manopavicāra: M*. II, 216f; *A*. I, 176), initial application of thought (*vitakka*: *AA*. II, 278, *vikalpa*: *Mdhvr*. 350; *vitarka, saṅkalpa*: ibid. 451) or constructive ideation (*parikalpa: Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* 40; *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭikā*, 44). This initial activity, on the one hand, is due to what is called *papañca* or *prapañca*, a kind of mental obsession (*D*. II, 277; *M*. I, 111-13; *A*. II, 161-62; *Netti*. 38; *Lank*. 38; *Mdhvr*. 350)

An ordinary man being unable to understand the real nature of things, is liable to take a perversed view of them (*vipallāsa: Netti*. 115; *Mdhvr*. 452). He does not see that the objects he is cognizing are liable to change and are impermanent (*anicca*). Being influenced by those tendencies he considers them to be either agreeable (*subha*) or as disagreeable (*asubha: Netti*, 115), depending on the outward appearance of objects, on their major and minor attributes. If he finds one to be agreeable he develops a liking towards it, and this results in the arising of lust (*rāga*). If an object be disagreeable and repulsive he begins to hate it, and this results in the arising of hatred (*dosa, dvesa*:

Mdhvṛ. (452-53). The *Madhyantavibhāgaṭikā* pp. 38-39) is right in tracing the arising of passions in the seventh proposition of the formula of causation that craving (*taṇhā, 'ṛṣṇā*) arises conditioned by feelings (*vedanā*) derived from experiencing (*upabhogāt*) an object of the senses.

It would be now clear that the arising of passions is primarily due to unwise contemplation (*ayoniso manasikāra: Abhsy*. 43) of the external world. Unwise contemplation leads one to take a perverse view of it (*vipallāsa Netti*. 115; *viparyāsa*: *Mdhvr*. 452). Unwise contemplation and the resultant perversions are manifestations of delusion (*avidyā, moha*). Thus, at the bottom of all this is *avidyā* which may be described as the most radical of all passions.

The *Abhidharmakoṣa* in its description of the arising of ten passions takes delusion (*moha, avidyā*) as the starting point. It explains that because of delusion (*moha*) doubts (*vicikitsā*) arise as to what is *dukkha-satya* and what is *adukkha-satya*. Doubts give rise to the worng views (*mithyā-dṛṣṭi*) that existence is not *dukkha*. Because of this wrong view arises the belief in a personality (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*). Personality belief produces the extremist view (*antagraha-dṛṣṭi*) that the so-called personality is eternal. This gives rise to the belief in the efficacy of rites and rituals (*sīlavrta-parāmarṣ'a*) in purifying that personality. This leads to speculative views and dogmas (*dṛṣṭi-paramarṣa*). When a person is dognatic he naturally has attachment (*rāga*) to his own views, has pride (*māna*) in them and hatred (*dveṣa*) of others' views: *Abhk*. 141f).

The *Nettippakaraṇa* gives a process of the arising of passions which is different only in its approach. It traces their origin in perversions (*vipallāsa*) on account of which man clings (*upādāna*) to sensuality (*kāma*), to continued existence (*bhava*), to views (*diṭṭhi*) and to belief in a soul (*attavāda*). Clinging to them makes him bound (*yoga*) by them. Being bound to them he becomes perfumed (*gandha*) with greed (*abhijjhā*), ill-will (*vyāpāda*) *etc*. Perfuming results in the flow (*āsava*) of passions such as sensuality (*kāma*), continued existence (*bhava*), views (*diṭṭhi*) and delusion (*avijjā*). The excessive flow of these passions is called the flood (*ogha*: *Netti*: 115-6). The terms *upādāna, yoga, ganda, āsava* and *ogha* used in this description refer to the same passions in their varied manifestations; they are sometiones used as synonyms.

Thus the mind of a person becomes defiled in his dealings with the external world, i.e., in the process of sense-perception. But, this defiling does not mean the defilement of a pure mind. The mind of a person is already defiled when he is reborn, as it is possessed not only of good, but of evil tendencies (*anusaya*) as well.

These latent tendencies, which persist in the stream of consciousness till it reaches emancipation, become active (*pariyuṭṭhāna, paryavasthāna*) when there arise conditions suitable for their operation. This implies that when the passions are not operating they always remain in a dormant state. If they always persist in the mind then the latter is always defiled, for the good (*kusala*) can neither co-exist nor co-operate with an evil (*akusala*). Consequently, there will be no *kusala* as long as the latent passions are not removed, and they will not be removed without a *kusala-citta*.

Different solutions are put forward by different schools to this problem. The Theravādins and the Vaibhāṣikas denied the existence of *anus'ayas* apart from *pariyuṭṭhāna* (*MA*. III, 144; cf.) *Sphuṭarthā Abhidharmakoṣa-vyākhyā*, p. 442). According to them there is no such thing as purely latent passions; and a mind is *akusala* only when passions are in operation. The Vātsiputrīyas maintained a difference between the *anus'aya* and *paryavasthāna*. But they said that the *anus'aya* are *citta-viprayukta-saṅskāra* and hence could co-exist with *kus'ala -dharma*. But, *paryavasthāna* are *citta samprayukta saṅskāra* phenomena and therefore cannot operate with *kus'ala-dharma*. They include the *anus'aya* in *prāpti*, a *viprayukta saṅskāra* of the *Vaibhāṣika* list of *dharmas*. The Sautrāntikas maintained that the *anus'aya* as well as the *kus'ala*-elements co-exist side by side in the form of subtle seeds (*bīja*), but only one of them operates at one time. When the *anus'aya* operate the mind is *akus'ala*. When the seeds of *kus'ala* operate the mind is *kus'ala* (*Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakoṣavyākyā*, p. 442). The Yogācāra school solved the problem by making a distinction between two aspects of the mind, ie., the mind in its passive state called the *ālaya-vijñāna* and the mind in its active state called the *pravṛttivijñāna*. They maintain that the seeds, both the good and the defiled (*kus'ala* and *akus'ala*) exist simultaneously in the *ālayavijñāna*, but not in the *pravṛttivijñāna*, *Madhyāntavibhāga ṭīkā*, p. 36).

In this connection mention may be made of the person referred to in the texts as one whose roots of good are destroyed (*samucchinna-kus'alamūla*:

Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛti on *v* 199 of the *Abhidharmadīpa*), who is possessed with entirely black evil states (*samannāgato ekantakālakehi akusalehi dhammehi*) and for whom there is no emergence from worldly existence (*A*. III, 406, *Pug*. 7.1; *PugA*. 7.1).

The relevant *sutta* from the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (*A*. III, 404-9) deals with the operation of the roots of good and evil (*kusala mūla* and *akusala mūla*) in six kinds of persons. One of them is endowed with good as well as evil states (*kusala-dhamma* and *akusala dhamma*. In course of time his *kusala dhamma* disappears and *akusaladhamma* appears. But since his *kusala-mūla* are not completely annihilated, new *kusala dhamma*. appear from that unannihilated *kusalamūla*. This person becomes in future one who does not degenerate. His *kusalamūla* is comparable to whole seeds (*bījāni akhaṇḍāni*) sown in a cultivated fertile field capable of yielding abundant fruit (*A*. III, 404).

This statement is favourable to the Sautrāntika theory of *bīja*. It supports the contention that *kusala* and *akusala* co-exist in the form of seeds which give rise in a subsequent time to their corresponding *kusala* and *akusala* thoughts, and thus determine the nature of a particular stream of consciousness (*santati*) as subject to decay or growth.

The Vaibhāṣikas also accept this *sūtra*, but maintain that it refers not to the theory of *bīja*, but to their theory of *prāpti*. When, therefore, the *sūtra* says that a person is endowed (*samannāgata*) with both *kusala* and *akusala dhamma* (*Sphuṭhartha*: pp. 188-9) it means that he has the *prāpti* of these *dharmas*, since *samannāgata* and *prāpti* are synonyms (*Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti* on *kārika* 129 of the (*Abhidharmadīpa*). A person cannot be endowed with *kuśala* and *akuśala dharmas* in one and the same moment because these two are *samprayukta dharmas*. But their *prāpti* being *viprayukta* can co-exist and thus cause the rise of *kuśala* and *akuśala dharma* in favourable circumstances.

In support of this contention they quote the following passage from the same *sūtra*. A person is endowed with *kusala* as well as *akusala dhamma*. His *kusala dhammas* disappear. But there is in him the *kusala-mūla* not destroyed. Even this *kusalamūla* is in course of time completely annihilated (*A*. III, 406), whereupon he comes to be designated as a *samucchinnakusalamūla* (*Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti* on *kārikā* 199).

Here arises a problem regarding the rise of a new *kusala-citta* in the *santati* of such a person. The Theravādins came to the conclusion that such a person who is possessed of entirely black states is incapable of producing a *kusala citta* and will never emerge from worldly existence (*Pug*. 7, 1; *PugA*. 7.1). The Vaibhāṣikas solved it by postulating the theory of *prāpti*. The Sautrāntikas attempted to solve the problem by making a distinction between two kinds of *kuśala-dharma* namely, (1) innate *kuśala dharma* which do not presuppose any effort (*ayatnabhāvi*) but are always present in any given condition (*upapattibhāvika*) and (2) the *kuśala-dharma* which are obtained only by effort (*prāyogika*). The former are never completely annihilated. When a person, on account of, say holding a grave wrong view becomes *samucchinna kusala mūla*, he destroys only his *prāyogika kuśala mūla*' his innate *kuśala mūla* remains in the form of *bīja* intact in his *santati* from which arise new *kuśala-dharma* under favourable circumstances (*Abhk*. II, v. 36; *Sphuṭārtha*. p. 147). This Sautrāntika view is similar to the Yogācāra view, according to which only the imminent liberation of a *samucchinna-kuśalamūla* is denied (*Sūtral*. Vol. 1, p. 12). This suggests that he may attain *nirvāṇa* in the distant future. This would mean that such a person, according to the Yogacarins is not completely devoid of *kuśalamūla*.

Now, to conclude, let us see briefly how these passions are eradicated. As passions are the primary cause of continued existence, they have to be got rid of, if one were to attain emancipation.

All passions are divided into two categories from the point of view of their eradication, namely, the intellectual passions and the emotional passions. The former are due to errors of judgement or want of discrimination; the latter are produced by the habits, the emotional nature of beings.

The intellectual passions are removable through realisation of the truth (*dassanā pahātabbā*): *Dhs*. 220; *Abhk* V, *v*. 51; *darśanāprahātavya: Abhsy*. p. 52). According to the Pali tradition they include personality-view (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), doubts (*vicikicchā*) and clinging to rites and rituals (*silabbataparāmāsa*): *Dhs*. 220; *Sn*. *v*. 231). of these three, which are better known as *saṃyojana*, only *vicikicchā* is found in the Pali list of passions. *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* is represented in the list by *diṭṭhi* whereas *silabbataparāmāsa* is the result of *diṭṭhi*. All other passions are those which are eradicable through meditation (*bhāvanā pahātabba*: *Dhs*, p. 220).

There are three stages in which the passions are eradicated; they are three of the four stages of the transcendental path. Thus, on the path of strem-entry (*sotāpattimagga*) views and doubts are eradicted; on the path of non returner (*anāgāmi-magga*) hatred is destroyed. All the other passions are destroyed on attainment to arahantship (*arahattamagga: DhsA*. 387). Nibbāna is called emancipation (*vimutti*) because it is free from all passions (*ibid*. 409).

Upali Karunaratne

KILESA - PARINIBBĀNA - 'utter waning away of defilements'. A disciple of the Buddha who has reached the *summum bonum* of his religious carrier, here and now (*diṭṭheva dhamme*), is described as one who has completely destroyed all defilements (*kilesa*) in him. This stage of attainment is also described as *sopadhisesa nibbāna* (emancipation with the life substratum remaining). One who has reached this stage of spiritual attainment continues to live as a human being till death comes upon him in the course of time due to exhaustion of *kamma* or due to maturity of age. When such a person dies his saṃsāric process comes to an end. This stage is described as *anupadhisesa nibbāna* or *khandha-parinibbāna* that is, emancipation with no rebirth producing substratum remaining.

The Buddha attained *kilesa parinibbāna* with the attainment of *bodhi* at the age of thirty five years, but he lived up to the ripe age of eighty years, performing a sublime social and religious service, moving among people from all walks of life. His activities were not motivated by greed (*lobha*) hatred (*dosa*) and ignorance (*moha*), for, with the attainment of emancipation he had completely destroyed greed hatred and ignorance, which are the motivating forces that generate defilements (*kilesa*).

The disciples of the Buddha who tread the noble Eightfold Path, too, reach this attainment in four stages. The four stages are: (1) stage of stream-entry (*sotāpatti*-q.v.), (2) stage of once-returner (*sakadāgāmi*-q.v.), (3) stage of non-returner (*anāgāmi*-q.v.) and (4) stage of the fully emancipated being (*arahant*-q.v.).

The relationship of a person who has attained *kilesa parinibbana* with society is likened to the position of a fully blossomed lotus in a pond. The lotus bud has its origin in mud it beneath the water in pond. Having its roots in the mud it grows thrugh the water and reaching the top of water, it grows above water and blossoms forth as a beautiful lotus that pleases all who see it. Likewise, the disciple of the Buddha lives in society receiving all nourshment from society and reaches maturity of spiritual growth while being in society, and regains to live in society. Just as the lotus that grew in mud in the pond is now untouched by water, the spiritually perfected being, too, lives in society quite detached from normal activities in society. He is now described as 'In the world, but not of the world" (*A*. II. 39).

T. Ariyadhamma

KIRIVEHERA (1). On the foothills of the lower Uva lies Kataragama, along the banks of Kapkanduru Oya (which is at present called Mänik Gaṅga), within the district of Monaragala.

The *Dhātuvaṃsa* states that the Buddha, on his third and last visit to Sri Lanka, sat with five hundred *arahats* on the spot where the *stūpa* at Kataragama was to come up. Mahāghoṣa who had come there to pay his devotions to the Buddha was asked by the Buddha to protect the place. Thereafter the Buddha proceeded to Tissamahārāma and sat on the spot of the *stūpa* to sanctify it. Tradition has it that the *stūpa at* Kataragama stands on one of the sixteen spots hallowed by the visit of the Buddha. The relevant *vandanā-gāthā* (stanza uttered at times of worship) has the following two lines at its conclusion:

Jetavanaṃ Sela-caityaṃ tathā Kājaragāmakaṃ
Ete solasathānāni ahaṃ vandāmi sabbadā

Tradition also has it that the sword which was made use of to cut off the hair of the Bodhisattva at the time of the Great Renunciation was deposited (some time afterwards) in the Kirivehera at Kataragama.*

* The tradition is that the sword with which the Bodhisattva cut off his hair at the time of the Great Renunciation at the river bank Anoma, was enshrined within Kirivehera at Kataragama by an unknown deity (probably Mahaghoṣa). The following stanza embodies this tradition.

Maha Bosatun kesa sindi kaga labā gena
Deviput kenek välitalayen gena gosina
Siri Laka Kataragam nuvarehi bala daraṇa
tänpat kele Kirivehere sädāyena

According to the *Dhātuvaṃsa*, the ten-brother-

kings (*dasa-bā-rajun*) ruled the region in and around Kataragama (about the 3rd Cent. B.C.). The *Mahāvaṃsa* calls them *khattiyā Kājaraggame* (Ch. 19., v. 53). King Devanampiyatissa's brother Mahānāga (who had taken up his abode at Rohana) had a grandson called Goṭhābhaya. The ten-brother-kings of Kataragama were put to death by Goṭhābhaya and in order to expiate this foul deed, Goṭhabhaya built a number of *stūpas*, including the one at Cittalapabbata, to the east of Kataragama. A sapling from the Bo Tree at Anuradhapura had already been planted there and it is likely that one of the *stūpas* builty by Goṭhabhaya was at Kataragama.

The Kirivehera at Kataragama is named in the chronicles of Sri Lanka as Maṅgala-mahā-cetiya. In an epigraphical record from the site it is called Magul-mahā-sāya, the central edifice of the Raja-mahā-vihāra, the Royal monastery of Kataragama. It is not possible to say exactly why it is called Kirivehera at the present day. The term Kirivehera may be translated as 'milky white *stūpa*". It is very likely that it appeared as a glistening white mass of bricks or a *stūpa* of milky white colour, at the time of its last restoration.

Renovations to the cetiya under the supervision of the Archaeological Department, commenced about the year 1960 and continued for nearly five years. The Restoration Society, with the assistance of *bhikkhūs* (who were incumbents of the shrine), were keen to restore it, in the form in which it was first built. The last restoration had been effected about the year 1912. The result of this renovation was the building of three *pesāvas*, according to the usual pattern of *stūpas* of the present day. The restoration plan was to conserve as much of the ancient *stūpa* that was left and to reconstruct the rest according to the ancient pattern.

The *stūpa* was only 45 feet high from the platform (*maḷuwa*) to the summit of the *hatarās-koṭuva* (the square structure on the dome) The platform was 200 feet square and the greater portion of it was uneven, and out of proportion to the *stūpa*. There were flights of steps which were out of proportion to the *stūpa*, made out of material collected from other buildings. After excavations, the old patform was found to be 130 feet square. There was a parapet wall 35 feet away from the retaining wall of the 130 feet square platform. The lower platform had been filled up with sand at the last restoration, perhaps for purposes of maintaining the older platform. Within the 130 feet square platform was another retaining wall, marking the edge of an older platform which had been 121 feet square. There were flights of steps leading to both platforms. The ground beyond the 200 feet square platform was unevenly filled with earth. There was still another terrace of about 240 feet square which enclosed the last named one (See PL. XII in Fascicle 1 of Vol. VI).

Excavations revealed that restorations had been effected in six stages. No excavation of the *stūpa* itself was done, other than the removal of the new three fold *pesāvas* and a portion of dome built after 1912. The old *hatarās koṭuva* (square structure over the dome) and the *kota* (pinnacle) were completely gone. A new semblance of a square over the dome had been made, enclosing in it objects of recent date and a flagstaff took the place of the pinnacle. When this new structure was dismantled, deposits including modern Buddha images of Burmese origin were discovered.

At the time of excavation, it was found that this *stūpa*, at its final stage of construction had only one *pesāva* although the modern renovators considered it necessary to have three, in accordance with the present day practice. It is not possible to say at the present day whether the *stūpa* at Tissamahārāma had only one *pesāva* when it was first built, as in this instance. The removal of modern accretions revealed also the old shape of the *stūpa*, which was *bubbulākāra* (bubble shape).

A slab inscription at the site, datable to about the 1st century A.C., states that a monk named Nanda enlarged the *stūpa* and built the flights of steps at the four entrances. Another fragmentary epigraph of about the 6th century A.C. states that a king named Mahādälimahanā repaired the *stūpa* which was then known as Maṅgala-maha-cetiya, of the Rajamaha-vihāra at Kataragama. He set apart certain gifts for repairs to be effected to the *stūpa* and also for other expenses in connection with the royal monastery. The *Cūlavaṃsa* states that King Dappula I (661-664 A.C.) built a monastery (*pariveṇa-vihāra*) at Kataragama (Ch. 45, *v.* 45). From this time onwards up to the 18th century, there is hardly any mention of Kataragama as a place of religious worship.

By about the 18th century it is to be noted that Sinhala Sandesa poets had turned their attention to Kataragama. Gods like Upulvan, Vibhisana and Saman were implored by the earlier poets, but the Message poems of the 18th century and later times were being addressed to the six faced god of Kataragama. Most of

these poets mention Kirivehera. The *Kahakurulu-sandes'aya* written during the period 1707-1734 A.C. calls the stupa at Kataragama by a new name as Mahavehera, and thus confirms the name given in a much earlier epigraph. A poet who lived about the year 1860 A.C., instructs his emissary to go to Kataragama, to worship the *stūpa* first, secondly pay homage to the Bo-tree, thirdly enter the temple of the Buddha and lastly to go to the abode of the deity.

The Buddhist devotee, when he visits any temple at the present day, follows this practice of worship in the order stated i.e. the *stūpa* (*sārīrika-dhātu*), bo-tree (*pāribhogika-dhātu*), the image house (*uddesika-dhātu*) and finally the *devāle* (chapel) of the deity.

The Archaeological Department restored the *stūpa*, in the shape and size as it was reconstructed for the last time (before 1912 A.C.). According to evidence available elsewhere, details were added. Missing members such as the pinnacle were put up in a manner as much as it was possible to conjecture. Same type of material and methods of construction as in the ancient work were employed. There were bricks of 56 different shapes used in the ancient works and some of these had to be newly turned out to replace the missing ones. Wherever the ancient structure was in a good state of preservation, it was strengthened and allowed to stand.

The results of the excavation and subsequent restoration may now be summarised. The *stūpa* at Kataragama, in its final form of enlargement had stood on an ornamental platform 130 feet square and 10 feet high. The height of the *stūpa* above the platform was about 45 feet up to the *hataräskoṭuwa*. There were retaining walls for the platform which were ornamentally finished with various kinds of mouldings and plastered white. There was an outer or lower terrace (*väli-maluva*) abut 200 feet square. In recent times this *väli-maḷuva* has been filled up to the level of the inner platform with debris collected from the neighbourhood.

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KIRIVEHERA (2). Enumerating the building activities of Parakramabahu (I) (1153-1186 A.C.), the *Cūlavaṃsa* states: "He caused to be built within Āḷāhana Parivena premises, many *pāsādas*, the Subhadda-cetiya and the Rupavatī-cetiya and besides that a charming image house of storeys....." (chapter 78, *v*. 51) The larger of the two cetiyas mentioned above is popularly called Kirivehera. During the Polonnaruwa period, the architectural forms which had been obsolete for some time were revived. Therefore the architecture of this period was a continuation of earlier works that had prevailed in this Island (before the 8th century).

The type of *stūpa* which prevailed in the 8th and 10th centuries was one with an elongated dome. There were mouldings at the base (instead of *pesāvas*-basal terraces). The *stūpa* rose from a square platform. A good example of this type of *stūpa* is the Indikaṭusāaya at Mihintale. Instead of this type of building, the architects of Parakramabahu I followed the design of the colossal *stūpas* of the ancient period with the superstructure as it had evolved before the 8th century.

Among the Polonnaruwa examples, the best preserved is the Kirivehera. It is the largest monument of this type in the Āḷāhana Pariveṇa group of buildings. It is possible that it is Subhadda-cetiya which finds mention in the *Culavaṃsa*. It is not possible to say why it is called Kirivehera at the present day. Like its namesake at Kataragama, it might have appeared as a milky white mass of brick masonry when viewed from a distance and the general appellation Kirivehera came into vogue, once its old name got forgotten with the lapse of time. (PL. XXVI)

The Kirivehera has a diameter of 88 feet at the ground level and 70 feet at the base of the drum. It measures 80 feet in height from the ground to the point at which the upper part of the spire had fallen off. Like the *stūpas* of the early Anuradhapura period, the monument has a bubble shaped dome rising from a base of three receding terraces. The dome is surmounted by the cubical *hataräs-koṭuwa*, the faces of which have the railings ornamentation. The cylindrical drum above the *hataräs-koṭuva* was adorned with figures of deities and the *kot-kärälla* is moulded in order to appear like a *chatrāvalī*.

Around the base of the *stūpa* are four *vāhalkaḍas* (frontispieces). On either side of each *vāhalkaḍa* is a shrine of comparatively small character. Althogether

there are eight such shrines around the stupa. They appear to have contained images of the Buddha. Each shrine consists of a single *cell* entered through a stone doorway and is built with its rear end abutting the lowest terrace of the *stūpa*. Excepting the doorway, the shrine is completely of brick construction with roofs of corbelled vaults. The exterior of the walls is decorated with mouldings and pilasters in the style which was prevailing in the Polonnaruwa period. Similar shrines are available around the base of Rankot-vehera (which is also a *stupa* lying close by). These are probably contemporaneous with the original foundation of the monuments.

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KISĀGOTAMĪ, a female disciple of the Buddha. Gotamī was her name, but subsequently she was called Kisā-Gotamī, because of her leanness. The episode of this *theri* is popular among the Buddhists, because of her going in search of a remedy to revive her dead son, during her lay life.

There was a financier (*seṭṭhi*) in Sāvatthi who possessed a fortune of forty crores. All of a sudden his entire fortune turned into charcoal. The financier, overwhelmed with grief refused to take his meals and withdrew to his bed chamber. One of his friends who came to see him saw what had taken place and suggested to the financier a devise by which he could regain his lost fortune. He said; "Dear friend, do not grieve, for I know of a method by which you can regain your lost wealth, only if you are ready to follow my advice". The financier became hopeful and pleaded with his friend to tell him the method. The friend continued: "Spread matting in your shop and pile the charcoal on it and sit on it as if you are selling the charcoal. People will come along and tell you: 'Most merchants sell such things as clothing, butter oil, honey and molasses; but you are sitting here selling charcoal'. When said thus, you must say to them: 'If I cannot sell what belongs to me, what am I to do'. Meanwhile some one may tell you: 'Most merchants sell things such as clothing oil and honey, but you are sitting here selling yellow gold'. When said thus, you must say: 'where is any yellow gold?' Your customer will say: 'There it is'. Then say: 'Let me have it'. Your customer will bring you a handful of charcoal. Take it, and it will turn into yellow gold.

"Now, if that exceptional customer happen to be a maiden, marry her to your son and endow your wealth to her. If that customer happen to be a young man, get him married to a young daughter of yours and endow your property to him. There after you should live on what is given to you by the son-in-law or the daughter-in-law".

The financier acted as directed by his friend and Kisāgotami, the exceptional young lady who confronted him at the shop, became his daughter-in-law. When she touched the charcoal of the financier at his residence, it again turned to be gold.

Kisāgotami was from a poor family and therefore she was disdainfully treated by the members of the financier's family, except by her husband. But soon after she gave birth to a baby son, she came to be loved by the entire household (*Ap.* II, *v.* 712). This boy died when he was just old enough to run about. The poor mother who had no experience of a death earlier, carried the corpse on her hip thinking that the child was ill, and searching for a remedy. People laughed at her until an intelligent person, realising the frency of the inexperienced young mother, directed her to the Buddha. When the woman came to the Buddha with the corpse and pleaded with him to give her a remedy for the son, he realised the psychological state of the woman and thought that the blunt truth that death is certain to all who are born, should be driven into her in an expedient manner. So he said: "Sister, reviving the young boy is simple if you can bring to me a handful of mustard seeds from a house where no death had occured earlier. The impatient mother ran from house to house to collect the mustard seeds, but, on inquiry she was told by the house-holders that many deaths had taken place in their houses in the recent and distant past. Kasāgotami ultimately realised that her beloved young son was dead, and placing the corpse in the charnel ground, she went back to the Buddha and begged of him to give her ordination as a *bhikkhuṇī*. As a new recruit to the Bhikkhuni Order Kisāgotamī lived the *dhamma* zealously and within a short time attained arahantship (*DhpA.* II, 270-275).

Kisāgotamī theri discarded comfortable clothes and

adhered to the habit of using very coarse and simple robes. In the *Etadaggavagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A*. I. 25) the Buddha declared her the fore-most *bhikkhunī* with regard to wearing of coarse robes (*etadaggaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvikānaṃ bhikkhu-nīnaṃ lūkhacīvara dharānaṃ yadidaṃ Kisāgotamī*). *Apadana* (*Ap*. II, *vv*. 693-730) in this connection relates the episode of a former birth of Kisagotami theri in the time of former Buddha Padumuttara. Kisagotami was born in a clansman's family in the city of Hansavati in the time of the former Buddha Padumuttara. One day she heard Buddha Padumuttara assigning a nun to the fore-most rank with respect to wearing of coarse robes, and made a firm resolusion to win that rank herself in the dispensation of a future Buddha. This resolution materialised after a very long time, in the dispensation of the present Buddha Gotama.

Apadāna (II, *vv*. 707-709) records another story of a former existence of Kisāgotami in the time of former Buddha Kasspa. Her name at that time was Dhammā. Dhammā was the fifth out of seven daughters of king Kiki, all of whom lived celibate lives as their royal father did not give his consent for them to renounce worldly life to become *bhikkhunīs* in the dispensation of Buddha Kassapa. The names of the seven sisters were Samaṇī, Samaṇayuttā, Bhikkhuṇī, Bhikkhu-dāsikā, Dhammā, Sudhammā and Saṅghadāsikā. *Apadana* identifies these seven sisters with Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā, Paṭācārā, Bhaddhā Kuṇḍalakesi, Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinna and Visākhā who were preeminent disciples and supporters of Buddha Gotama.

Saṃyutta Nikāya (I, 129) records a dialogue that took place between Kisāgotami and Māra the Evil One, in Andhavana where the former was resting in the shade of a tree after her mid-day meal. Māra approaches Kisāgotami to frighten her and disturb her mental peace, but Kisāgotami was able to withstand Māra's temptation resolutely.

Pali literature makes reference to three other women by the name of Kisāgotami. One of them was a cousin (*pitucchadhītā*) of prince Siddhartha, who uttered the *nibbutapada* (cooling or appeasing words) to prince Siddhartha when he was once returning in his chariot to his palace. Prince Siddhartha was pleased on hearing the word *nibbuta*, which to him meant deliverance and sent his necklace of pearls to Kisāgotami as a mark of appreciation (*DhpA* I, p. 70; *J*. I, pp. 60-61). The same episode occurs in the *Mahāvastu* (Vol II, p. 152 in J.J. John's translation, *PTS* 1976) where the name of the lady is given as Mrigī. Kisāgotamī was also the name of the wife of former Buddha Phussa during his lay life (*Buv*. p. 75, *v*. 16). Former Buddha Tissa had a prominent female supporter by the name of Kisagotami (*Buv*. p. 72, *v*. 23)

Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

KIṬĀGIRI SUTTA, "The discourse delivered at Kiṭāgiri", is the seventieth (70) discourse of the collection of middle-length discourses' (*Majjhima Nikāya*) of the Buddhist canon (*M*. I, pp. 473-481).

The Buddha, during a tour in Kāsi with a large following of *bhikkhūs*, addressed the *bhikkhūs* and told them about the benefits of not eating a meal in the night. He told them: "I, monks do not eat a meal in the night. Not eating a meal at night, I, monks, am aware of good health (*appābādhataṃ*) and of being without illness (*appātaṅkataṃ*) and of buoyancy (*lahuṭṭhānaṃ*) and strength (*balaṃ*) and living in comfort (*phāsuvihāraṃ*)". The Buddha, having told the *bhikkhūs* about his personal experience of happiness and comfort derived from avoiding a meal in the night, admonished the *bhikkhūs*, too, to avoid taking meals in the night and at all odd hours of the day, for their own happiness and confort.

Assaji and Punabbasuka, two *bhikkhūs* belonging to a group of six notorious *bhikkhūs* (*chabbhaggiyā*) who were at that time living at Kiṭāgiri, laughed at the Buddha's admonition, sying: "We eat at all odd times of the day, in the morning, in the fore-noon, at noon, in the afternoon and in the night and we, too, are aware of good health and of being without illness and we, too, are not lacking in happiness and comfort. So, why should we give up something we enjoy here and now in expectation of imaginary future happiness".

When this irresponsible talk of Assaji and Punabbasuka was reported to the Buddha, he summoned them to his presence and having rebuked them for their irresponsible talk, told them that whatever advice he (the Buddha) gave to the *bhikkhūs* was well thought out and was based on personal knowledge and experience.

Addressing the congregation of monks, the Buddha further said: "I, monks, do not say of all monks that there is something to be done through diligence; yet, I, monks, do not say of all monks that there is not

something to be done through diligence. Monks, those monks who are perfected ones, canker-waned, who have lived the life, done what there was to be done, laid down the burden, who have attained their own goal, the fetters of becoming utterly destroyed, who are freed by right profound knowledge, of monks such as these I do not say, monks, that there is something to be done through diligence, What is the reason for this? It has already been done by these through diligence, these could not become negligent (*abhabbāte pamajjituṃ*). But, monks, those monks who are learners, not attained to perfection, but who live strving for the incomparable security from the bonds, of such as these I say, monks, that there is something to be done through diligence".

The Buddha, next, enumerated seven (types of) persons existing in the world, namely, (1) The one who is freed both ways (*ubhatobhāgavimutta*); (2) The one who is freed by means of intuitive knowledge (*paññāvimutta*); (3) The one who is a mental realiser (*kāyasakkhi*); (4) The one won to view (*diṭṭhippatta*); (5) The one freed by faith (*saddhāvimutta*); (6) The striver after *dhamma* (*dhammānusāri*); (7) The striver after faith (*saddhānusāri*). "Of these seven types of individuals", the Buddha declared, "two types, namely, the one who is freed both ways and the one freed by means of intutive wisdom have already completed their training, and hence they do not need any further guiding. But the other five types are partially freed and hence they have to strive further with diligence to achieve their goal."

The Buddha concluded the sermon by saying that the attainment of profund knowledge (*aññārādhanaṃ*) does not happen at the very commencement of the training (*ādikeneva*), and that it comes, through gradual training (*anupubbasikkhā*) and a gradual course of action (*anupubbakiriyā*).

D. Saddhasena.

KLES'ĀVARAṆA, from *kles'a+avarana* is a technical term used in Buddhist Sanskrit to mean "the obscuration caused by defilements", The term is usually used along with *jñeyāvaraṇa* meaning "the obscuration caused by the knowable". see JÑEYĀVARAṆA.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

KNOWLEDGE see ÑĀṆA

KOBO DAISHI (774 A.C.-835 A.C.) the posthumous title of Kukai, the founder of the Shingon school of Japanese Buddhism.

Kobo Daishi, a junior contemporary of Dengyo Daishi is, perhaps, the most celebrated of the religous teachers of Japan. His countrymen, who hold him in reverential affection, consider him to be the hero of numerous legends, the reputed author of a large number of books, a miracle-worker, painter, sculptor, a pious saint and above all a compassionate teacher. His followers even go to the extent of considering him as an incarnation of Vairocana, amd perhaps, this resulted in attributing to him such a large amount of works and accomplishments which no ordinary single person could possibly have executed in one life-time.

Kobo Daishi, son of a provincial noble, was born in 774 A.C. at Zentsuji not far from the town of Kotohiro in Shikoku, where a temple erected in his honour still stands. For sometime he learnt Chinese from an uncle of his, and subsequently the parents, who groomed him for an official career sent him to the higher educational institution in Nara. There he became interested in Confucianism which he studied diligently. Later on he shifted his interest to Taoism and studied it by himself. Not being satisfied with these subjects he went from temple to temple and studied Buddhism. At the begining he accepted the Sanron teachings and mastered it. At the age of twenty one years he was ordained at Todaiji in Nara. Subsequently his attitude towards Sanron seems to have undergone some change and this is very apparent from his first work called *Sankyo-shiki* which he is said to have written at the age of twenty four years.

This work written in the form of a dialogue among three people representing the three religions namely, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, attempts at a comparative evaluation of these teachings. The sole aim of the book is to reconcile these teachings and present them as a syncretic doctrine. This tendency to syncretise reflects a distinct feature of his personality, and probably, it is this same tendency that later led him to advocate the novel doctrine known as Ryobu-Shinto - a syncretic religion consisting of Buddhist and Shinto teachings.

In 804 A.C. he, along with Dengyo Daishi (q.v.), went to China and landed at Fou-chou. From there he went to Ch'ang-An and studied the Chenyen (Jap. Shingon) doctrine from Hui-Kuo, the celebrated high-

priest of the Ch'ing-Lung temple. In the meantime he studied also Sanskrit under the guidance of Prajñā.

When he returned to Japan after about three years he was well received by the Emperor. He is said to have brought along with him a large number of religious texts and a wealth of information regarding esoteric practices. Fortunately for Kobo Daishi the Emperor himself was inclined to favour esoteric teachings and as such the Shingon teachings advocated by Kobo Daishi had a greater appeal to him. Thus, Kobo Daishi was able to overshadow Dengyo Daishi, and in fact, the latter was forced to learn certain esoteric practices from the former.

Kobo Daishi introduced the *kwanjo (abhiseka)* ceremony which he administered on Dengyo Daishi and the Emperor. Being of sober temperament and conciliatory disposition he avoided conflicts and always strove to win the goodwill of the followers of all Buddhist sects as well as of the followers of Shintoism. For sometime he collaborated with Dengyo Daishi and helped him in his activities. But gradually their relationship became strained. However, he avoided competition and instead busied himself with his religious activites. He engaged himself with the construction of the monastery complex at Koyasan in the province of Kii, of which the first temple called Kongobuji was built under his personal supervision.

It is after Dengyo Daishi's death that Kobo Daishi really came to the forefront. In 823 A.C. one year after Dengyo Daishi's death he was appointed the high-priest of the Toji monastery, the state temple, which became the headquarters of the Shingon school. Subsequently he was appointed the chief priest of the Nai-dojo, a shrine within the Imperial palace, and this undoubtedly enhanced his position, and also brought the emperor into closer association with the Shingon school. The Shingon school spread vey rapidly for Kobo Daishi catered to the needs of the average follower by providing rites and rituals which were supposed to be effective in fulfilling one's mundane wishes. Thus, if one wanted power, fame, wealth or any such worldly gain Shingon Buddhism provided appropriate rites and rituals to obtain it. These features as well as Kobo Daishi's personality immensely helped the rapid spread of Shingon Buddhism.

When Kobo Daishi died in 835 A.C. in Koyasan his teachings were well established, even relegating Tendai Buddhism to a secondary position. Owing to the popular features in Shingon teachings Kobo Daishi came closer to the hearts of the masses. Many of his exploits are celebrated in popular religious ballads called Namudaishi. In 921 A.C. Emperor Daigo honoured this celebrated monk by posthumously conferring the honorific title Kobo Daishi, meaning ' the Propagator of the Law.'

S.K. Nanayakkara

KODO KYODAN, a Buddhist sect in Japan.

The founders and establishment: Kodo San (mt. Kodo) formerly was a secluded hill covered with tall, green pine trees. The founder of the Kodo Kyodan sect Rev. Shodo Okano, selected this hill as a site for their spiritual mission. On the morning of february 28 1949, while construction work was in progress, a stone statue of a holy priest and a box containing the ashes of a saint were excavated atop the hill. On the back of the stone figure was found written: "On this spot, Nittei Shonin completed reciting the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, September 28 1668." Presumably, Nittei Shonin lived in a hermitage on this hill some 327 years ago. Being associated with this holy place, Rev.Shodo Okano became convinced that time was ripe to reveal the teachings of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the Lotus Sūtra- the religion of Truth, and established Kodo Kyodan on this holy place wherefrom rolls on the Eternal Wheel of *Dharma*. From here, and attempt is being made to vitalize Buddhism for our age, and fiffusing it to the rest of the world. Having realized the urgent necessity for the propagation of this doctrine for laymen and householders, the late founder, President Shodo Okano, along with his wife, the Venerable Kimiko Okano, dedicated their lives in fervent missionary zeal to the dissemination of Buddhism for the sake of humanity in genaral and Kodo Kyodan in particular. As a result of their untiring devotion and selfless sacrifice for the cause of Buddhism they were honoured with the title a Archbishop of the Tendai sect of Buddhism in Japan. He is the furst President of Kodo Kyodan as well as the director of all Japan Buddhist Federation, and the Japan Religious Federation. The late Venerable Kimiko Okano was the first lady known to be conferred the title of Archbishop in Japan. She was an Advisor and founder of the All Japan Buddhist Women's Federation, who showed keen interest in the spiritual and secular welfare activites of the Kodo women members. In 1956, she was invted to attend the Buddha Jayanthi Celebrations held in Sri Lanka as a representative of Japan. In January 1967, both late

leaders were invited by the Buddhist Association, to visit Sri Lanka and India as their honoured guests. In this tour they paid homage at many sacred Buddhist shrines in Nepal, Sri Lanka and India.

On the 8th of August 1955, their only son Rev. Shokan Okano received his monkhood at Mount Hiei, Enryakuji temple in Kyoto. In 1975, Rev. Shokan Okano was formally pronounced President and empowered as the spiritual leader of Kodo San, in succession to the late founder Venerable Shodo Okano. Presently, together with vice-presidnet Mrs. Rinko Okano, both are leading the Kodo Kyodan Organization. Dr. Shojun Okano, the eldest of the three sons, is also the vice-president of the Order.

Structure of the Headquarters: The headquarters of Kodo Kyodan, an orthodox religious order ideally suited for humanity and society of modern times, is devoted to the practice and realization of the Buddha and Bodhisattva activities for the spiritual integration and upliftment of all sentient beings through the teachings of "The Ripe Lotus Sutra". It stands on a hill over looking the international port of Yokohama on one side, and the sacred Mount Fuji on the other. The beautiful modern temple is composed of a vast complex of buildings adorning the 40,000 square metre compound, surrounded by flowers and greenery all the year round. This sacred mountain is constantly thronged by Japanese and foreign vistors and worshippers. This place is also a sanctuary for people who are seeking peace of mind.

The precious relics of S'ākyamuni Buddha, which came from India into China, were brought by the Tendai saint Master Dengyo-Daishi along with the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*. An "Eternal Light" kindled by Dengyo-Daishi has been kept burning uninterruptedly for nearly 1,200 years in the Enryaku-ji temple in Kyoto. The saint lit this inextinguishable light with the prayer, "May this light of the *Dharma* continue to shine forever, brightening every sphere of society, even unto the time of the next Buddha!".A distinctive feature of Kodo San is that it is the only religious organisation which has enshrined both Buddha Relics and the Eternal Light sanctifying the precincts with its pure vibrations. This "Eternal Light" has been transmitted to Kodo San by the Tendai headquarter as a mark of their invaluable contribution to society, both at home and abroad, to the cause of Buddhism and to international peace.

An octagonal temple, Daikoku-ten, enshrines "Mahākāla" the God of Fortune and Prosperity, who has deigned to come down from Mt. Hiei of his own wish and be placed here at Kodo San, opening its doors to the happiness and prosperity of all in the vicinity. Special purification rites are performed three times a year for sanctifying the Daikoku-ten.

As a symbol to the memory of both late Archbishops their ashes are enshrined in a Kojun-do temple baside the Buddha Relics Tower, where daily worship is ferformed and food prepared with devotion is offered each day throughout the year. A Kodo temple Kindergarten run for children, was established by the late founders.

At one end of the temple compound stands a tower containing the Bell of Peace, giving solace to all. Each day starts with a routine morning worship of prayer and chanting as the members congregate in the Main Sanctuary hall. Here the followers openly confess their spiritual and secular experiences for the benefit of all. On Sundays, other functions include spiritual discourses and counselling given by the residents.

Activities: A monthly publication of the Kodo newspaper, an english edition of the Kodo News, sale of religious literature, and radio-broadcasting service on Buddhism, are some of the publicity activities undertaken by Kodo San. Various inter-cultural meetings and religious seminars are regular features of the temple, including international and friendly inter-religious exchanges.

In addition to the regular propaganda activities, important annual events are held with an aim to foster human friendship and harmony. On January 1st, Buddhist prayer services are conducted for the Peace of the World, and New Year Resolutions are announced. A mid-winter retreat in the headquarters, lasting for a month is observed in February each year for the Kodo members and followers.

To celebrate the birthday of S'ākyamuni Buddha, a grand flower festival is held on a large scale in April. A prayer ceremony in conducted to commemorate the day of "*Nirvāna*" - the Buddha's highest attainment of immortality. A thanksgiving memorial service dedicated to the late Presidents and their spiritual heritage, signifying the snactity of parental love or "filial piety", is solemnly obsercbed in June each year. In honour of the Buddha relics, a prayer ceremony with chant-

ing is held in August when the sacred relics in the pagoda are open for public worship once a year. "Ohigan" is a Japanese Buddhist spring and autumnal equinox festival where services are conducted, while the "Urabon Service" is observed in July, for the repose of the soul of ancestors, and a summer Bon-festival is held on the temple ground.

Organization: Kodo San has four other branch temples, with a retreat and training centre located in different parts of Japan. Among the members are several initiated branch leaders, who discharge their individual duties. They are organized respectively into Kodo Men's, Women's, and Youth Associations along with Boy & Girl Scouts, where they play an active role as sub-organizations of Kodo San. The Kodo Men's Association, organized by married men and adults play a vital role in promoting the headquarters' major functions, in addition to reinforcing the Kodo Women's Association, the Youth Association, and the Kodo Boy & Girl Scouts. A team of Kodo men from each branch volunteer in rotation to patrol and keep night duty for the protection of temple property. They also conduct regular meetings several times a year. Speech Contests based on their experience of a Buddhist life, Summer Buddhist Training, etc are also being held.

The Kodo Women's Association plays an equally important part in discharging its respective duties. Apart from exerting a good influence as Buddhist mothers in raising the youth and backing the Children's organization, its members play an active role in propagating the teachings of the temple, social welfare work and extending the Maitri heart for the relief of victims of natural disaster. The Kodo Women's Association hold cultural and educational seminars, charity bazaars, etc., and a general meeting in October presided over by its Vice- President Rinko Okano.

The Kodo Youth Association play an important role in the organisation of Kodo annual events. Its members participate in Youth Speech Contests based on the Buddhist way of life, summer Buddhist training, etc.

The Kodo Boys & Girls Scouts are divided into eight sub-groups, their motto being "Together with Lord Buddha". They are trained to cultivate rich religious sentiments of Buddhism imbued with the spirit of parental love and reverence to mould them as sound and wholesome citizens. This Children's organization is well known for its playing of drums, flute & brass, which they study and practice every Sunday.

A "Maitri Centre" at the Kodo San headquarters was formed in the year 1986, just 50 years after its foundation, by the present Presidents, Reverend and Mrs. Shokan Okano, both of whom are the presiding chairpersons, as an earnest appeal to the younger generation to cultivate universal love and tolerance of the Buddha, and a true spirit of "Maitri" for peace, prosperity and stability of society and the world. Continuous Maitri activities are carried out at various levels in the affiliated branch temples too. '*Maitri*' is a Sanskrit word which means 'genuine feelings of sympathy, understanding and good-will to all.' The five '*Maitri*' precepts encourage everyone to practise these five golden rules.

Realize that your existence is part of Nature
Accept the responsibility for your family
Share grief and joy with others
Sympathize with all living creatures
Use your talents for the benefit of others

Main Teachings of Kodo Kyodan: Peace, prosperity and integration of society and mankind, beginning with filial piety in a vertical line and extended as compassion to all humanity is the ideal of Kodo San. Therefore, Kodo San can be called Japan's Gṛidhrakūṭa mountin, as summed up in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*. While the Tendai school of Buddhism places prime emphasis on the intellectual aspect of Buddhism, the Nichiren school emphasizes the faith and devotional aspect through invocation-chanting of the holy name. Since the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* embraces both theory and devotional practice, Kodo San can be regarded as an orthodox *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* organization. Buddhism is considered one of the most rational religions. In today's world of science and rationalism, a full comprehension of the theory & doctrines of Budhism, together with devoted practice for highest realization, are the fundametal teachings of Kodo San. The profound doctrine and theories of Truth, brought down into easy access for our practical implementation in daily life, is the essence of the "Harmony in Theory and Practice" principle, of Kodo San.

Māpalagama Vipulasāra
Toshiichi Endo

KOLAṄKOLA - The general meaning of this Pali term is 'going from one good family to another' (*kulato*

kulaṃ gacchatīti kolaṅkolo-PugA. p. 196). In a special sense the term is used in Buddhist terminology to mean a person who attains the fruit of the first stage of sainthood (*sotāpattiphala*) by destroying the first three of the ten fetters (*saṃyojana*), namely, belief in a soul (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*), doubt regarding the Buddha the *Dhamma* and the *saṅgha* (*vicikiccā*) and belief in the efficacy of ceremony and rituals (*silabbata parāmāsa*). A person who destroys the above named three fetters and if he dies before attaining the other higher stages of spiritual attainment, will not be reborn in the lower states of existence in *saṃsāra*, but will be reborn only in the human and the heavenly states and in those two realms, too, he will be reborn not more than seven times, (*sattakkattuparamo. Pug.* p. 16; *na te bhavaṃ aṭṭhamaṃ ādiyanti. Sn. v.* 230). A person who attains the fruit of stream entry (*sotāpattiphala*) in this existence, but fails to proceed further in the ladder, may attain sainthood (*arahatta*) in his next existence and such a person is called a 'One Seader' (*ekabīji - Pug.* p. 16). A person who attains the first stage of sainthood (*sotāpattiphala*) and fails to proceed further in that existence itself, but attains the state of sainthood after being reborn twice or thrice in good states in *saṃsāra* is designated as a *kolaṃkola* (*dve va tīni va kulāni sandhāvitvā saṃsaritvā dukkhassantaṃ karoti-Pug.* p. 15). *Visuddhimagga* describes a *kolaṅkola* as a person who attains the fruit of stream entry with medium insight (*majjhimāya vipassanāya-Vism.* p. 109).

D. Saddhasena

KOṆĀGAMANA (Skt. Kaṇakamuni, Koṅākamuni or Kaṇakaparvata)-the twenty-third of the twenty four Buddhas who preceded Gautama Buddha, and the second of the five Buddhas of the present world period called Bhaddhakappa (the fortunate world period - *Buv.* p. 101). He was born in the Subhagavatī park in Sobhāvati, the capital of king Sobha. His parents were brahmin Yaññadatta and Uttarā. On the day of his birth a shower of gold fell all-over the sub-continent of India and hence his name Kaṇakāgamana, meaning 'coming of gold (*BuvA.* p. 258). Subsequently the name was changed to Koṇāgamana. He lived in the household for three thousand years, in three luxurious palaces, Tusita, Santusita, and Santuṭṭha. His wife was Rucigattā from whom be begot a son Satthavāha (*D.* II, p. 7; *Buv.* p. 89).

Koṇāgamana left the world on an elephant and practised austerities for six months, at the end of which period he was given milk-porridge by the daughter of the brahmin Aggisoma and grass for his seat by Tinduka, a corn-field guardian (Yavapāla). He attained Enlightenment under an *Udumbara* tree.

When Koṇāgamana Buddha preached his first sermon in the Dear Park (Migadāya) near Sudassana-city, at the foot of a *Mahāsāla* tree, thirty hundred thousand beings became convinced of the *dhamma*. When he performed miracles and defeated false doctrines of heretics another twenty hundred thousand beings became convinced. When he proclaimed the seven (*abhidhamma*) texts while spending his first rainy-retreat, ten hundred thousand beings became convinced of the dhamma. He had a single congregation of thirty thousand monks, all of whom were arahants.

Koṇāgamana Buddha's two chief male disciples were Bhiyya and Uttara. His constant attendant was Sotthija. His two chief female disciples were Samudda and Uttarā. Ugga and Somadeva were his two chief male supporters and Sīvala and Sāmā were his two chief female supporters.

Koṇāgamana Buddha was thirty cubits (*hattha*) tall and his life-span was thirty thousand years. He passed away at the Pabbatārāma monastery and his bodily relics were distributed among many peoples.

During the time of Koṇāgamana Buddha, Gautama Buddha was a wealthy land-lord by name Pabbata. Pabbata went to see Koṇāgamana Buddha and having listened to his unique *Dhamma*, treated the Buddha and the congregation of monks lavishly. Koṇāgamana Buddha predicted that Pabbata will bocome a Buddha in this Bhaddakappa itself (*Buv.* p. 89-90; *BuvA.* 260).

Sri Lankan chronicles record that Koṇāgamana Buddha visited Sri Lanka to relieve the Sri Lankan people who were undergoing much hardship and suffering, at that time, due to a long lasting severe drought. Sri Lanka was known as Varadīpa at that time. Koṇāgamana, along with thirty thousand bhikkhus, sprang up into the air and alighted on the Sumanakūṭa mountain (in Varadīpa) and instantaneously rains fell and the drought disappeared. Next, Koṇāgamana Buddha, through his Buddha-power caused himself to be seen by all the people of Varadīpa and they rushed and gathered at the foot of mount Sumanakūṭa to pay the Buddha obeisance. From Sumanakūṭa the Buddha went to Mahānomavana (presently Mahāmeghavana in Anuradhapura where stands the Sri Mahā Bodhi) and preached to a multitude of people, and thirty thousand

of them gained the path and fruition of the Dhamma (*magga-phala*). In the Mahānomavana the Buddha went to the site of the present Sri Maha Bodhi and sat in meditation there and entered into an ecstacy. Having arisen from the ecstacy the Buddha thought: "Let *Bhikkhuṇī* Kantakānandā come over to Varadīpa, to Mahānomavana, accompanied by other *bhikkhuṇīs* and bringing with her the southern branch of my Udumbarabodhi tree." Knowing the Buddha's wish bhikkhuṇī Kantakānandā accompanied by five hundred *bhikkhuṇīs*, brought the southern branch of Koṇāgamana Buddha's Udumbarabodhi tree. Koṇāgamana Buddha handed over the bodhi branch to king Samiddhi of Varadīpa to be planted in the Mahānomavana.

Having thus won over many thousands of people in Varadīpa to his Dhamma, Koṇāgamana Buddha, along with many *bhikkhūs*, went back to Jambudīpa, leaving behind in Varadīpa the *bhikkhuṇīs* headed by Kantakānandā and thousand *bhikkhūs* headed by Mahāsumba, to look after the spiritual welfare of the new converts. The Buddha also left behind with people his body-belt (*Kāyabandhanaṃ*) as a relic to be honoured (*Mhv*. ch. 15, *vv*. 91-124).

In the Nigāli Sagar Pillar inscription of Asoka it is recorded that Emperor Asoka enlarged to double its original size a *stūpa* built in honour of the former Buddha Koṇāgamana (Guruge, A.W.P. *Asoka, a definitive biography*, Sri Lanka Government Press, Colombo 1993, p. 310). In the accounts of the Chinese Travellers Fa-hien and Hiouen-thsang, too, reference is made is made to a monument put up at the place of birth of Koṇagamana Buddha (S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, India 1958, pp 29, 273).

Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

KONDĀNE, a monastic establishment belonging to the earliest phase of Buddhist rock-cut architecture, in the Mahārāshtra State in India.

By a comparative study of the rock-cut Buddhist sanctuaries in India scholars have dated Kondāne group of caves to two centuries before the Christian era and assigned them to the earliest phase of Buddhist rock-cut architecture, which they termed the 'Hīnayāna period', to distinguish it from the later Mahāyāna phase commencing with the Christian era.

This group of caves, hidden in a ravine in the western ghats and buried in jungle terrain, about 10 miles north-west of the more famous group of Kārle caves at the base of the old hill fort of Rajmache, was first brought to notice, more than a century ago, by an Indian scholar named Vishnu Sastri and soon after visited by the then collector of Thana, Mr Law.[1]

It has been noticed that much damage had been caused by rain water that trickles down over the face of the rock above the caves during the greater part of the year, before proper conservation of the caves was started by the authorites of the Indian Archaeological Department. The decay that had effaced the original appearance of the caves due to seepage of water for several centuries was so great that it was found difficult for trained men like Burgess and Fergussion in the previous century to determine whether they or the caves of Bhaja were the earliest.[2] However on a comparative study of the architectural features of those remains of the Kondāne caves scholars were able to determine their great antiquity.

The Kondāne group consists of an apsidal caitya-cave and a *vihāra* with cells and a few more smaller rock-hewn residential chambers.

The Caitya-cave: The plan and dimensions of the Kondāne-caitya-cave[3] differ but little from those of the Bhaja caitya-cave, being 66 feet 6 inches from the line of the front pillars to the extremity of the apse, 26ft. 8 inches wide and 28ft. 5 inches high to the crown of the arch; the nave in front of the *stūpa* is 49 ft. in length by 14ft. 8 inches in width surrounded by thirty

1. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The cave temples of India*, London, pp. 220 ff:, Furgusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture* revised and edited by J. Burgess and R.P. Spiers, London 1910, p. 137; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Bombay 1959, p.6.
2. J Fergusson and J. Burgess, *op. cit*, p. 220.
3. Burgess used the word '*caitya*' to denote a rock-cut cave having a *stūpa* at the apse. This common error in terminology by the early antiquaries on Oriental art has been followed by present day writers too. The term appropriate is *caitya-ghara*. Paranavitana has pointed out this error and made a detailed analysis of the correct usage (see. S.Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon* Colombo 1946, pp. 89 ff;).

pillars,[4] and the rock-cut *stūpa* is 9ft. 6 inches in diameter, with a capital like that at Bhāja, of about double the usual height, and representing two coffers one above the other, carved on the sides with the Buddhist rail pattern.

The thirty columns that sorrounded the cave, as well as one of the two irregular columns that once ornamented the front have rotted away and positions only of most of them can now be ascertained. Between these two latter pillars a wooden screen or front originally filled the opening to a height of about 10 or 12 ft. in which were the door ways leading to the interior, and it was fixed to them as seems to have been the case with all the earlier caves excepting those at such places as Karle and Bedsa where these screens are carved in the rock instead of being erected of more perishable material. The pillars behind the *stūpa* and six others near the front on the right side have disappeared entirely. On the upper portion of one column on the left is a symbol or device somewhat resembling a stupa with a rude canopy over it.[5]

The barrel-vaulted roof has had wooden rafters as at Karle and elwewhere, but no traces of them are found toaday, and the only remains of the woodwork is a portion of a lattice screen in the front arch. The facade bears a strong family likeness to that at Bhaja.[6] On the left side of the facade is a fragment of sculpture in high relief, part of the head of a single figure about twice life size. The features are destroyed, but the details of the headdress show the most careful attention paid to finish of detail. Over the left shoulder of the figure is an inscription in one line in early Brahmi script which reads, '*Kanhasa antevāsinā Bālakena katam*', which Dr. Kern translates as "made by Bālaka the pupil of Kanha'.[7]

Over the figure at the level of the ogee of the great arch in the facade is a broad projecting belt of sculpture: the lower portion of it is carved with the rail pattern; the central portion is divided into seven niches, filled alternately, three with a lattice pattern and five human figures-one male in the first, a male and female in each of the third and fifth, and a male with a bow and two females in the seventh.[8] Over these is a band with the representations of the ends of the beams or bars projecting through it, and then four fillets each projecting over the one below, and the upper half of the last serrated. The corresponding belt of carving on the right side of the facade is much damaged by the falling away of the rock at the end next to the arch. Above this is a horse-shoe window pattern merely of decorative value and over which projects out a balcony, which too serves no other purpose than decorative as it is of solid stone. This balcony too is two-tiered, the lower tier with smaller horse-shoe window patterns, two on each face of the three faces of the balcony, and the second tier with a larger horse-shoe window.

The same pattern of a false balcony is followed in the corresponding carvings on the right side which is much dacayed and is presently beyond recognition in the lower portion.[9] The absence of elaborate sculptural decoration points to its archaicness and the great antiquity of the Kondane caitya-cave.

4. The slightly inward slanting position of the collanade that divides the nave and the side aisles, as well as the entrance jambs indicate that the sculptor was strictly following the carpenter's art in constructing structures similar to those in wood. This inward slope, of the monolithic columns, a device to give more strength in supporting overhead rafters in wooden construction, which was not required in the stone architecture, however was preserved in the earliest specimens as at the frontal pillars of the facade of Lomasrsi cave at Barabar hills and at Bhaja, Bedsa in the western group, thus indicating that the time lag was not much between the transference of the wooden type to stone. This was one of the features that helped antiqaries to determine the age of the earliest rock-cut architecture of Buddhists in India.
5. J.Fergusson and J. Burgess, *op. cit*, pl. VII, fig 2.
6. P. Brown, *op. cit*, pl. XXII, fig. 2; Ency.Bsm. Vol. II, p. 706
7. The translation should read; 'made by Balaka the co-resident of Kanha". the figure above which the inscription is found, could be that of a *dvārapāla* or that of the original donor of the cave taking the position of *dvārapāla*. It could also be the representation of a deity of the early Buddhist pantheon, guarding the right side of the entrance while his counterpart on the left side had disappeared along with the entire wall. Whatever be the identification, the concept was later copied by the Mahayanists to carve Bodhisattva figures representing guardians at the entrance to rock-cut caitya-halls as at Ajanta and Ellora.
08. These small fascimiles of the horse-shoe window are mere decorative projections which were conventionalised at a still later stage as the 'Kudu' motif.
09. A conjectural representation of the entire monument of Kondane as given by percy Brown, show these structures in their real perspective (P. Brown *op. cit*. pl. III).

The Vihara: A little to the north-east is a *vihāra* (monks' residence) the front of the verandah of which is totally destoryed except the left end. This varandah is 55ft. 8 inches wide and 18ft. long with the unique number of five octagonal pillars and two antae (see, plan and section in J. Fergusson & J. Burgess, *op.cit* pl. VIII, figs 1 & 2). At the end of this varandah is a raised recess and under a horse-shoe arch is a bas-relief representation of a small *stupa*. The hall is 23ft. wide 29ft. deep, and 8ft. 3 inches high in its inside measurements with 15 pillars arranged about 3ft. apart and 3 1/2 ft. from the side and back walls but more across the front. The upper portion of these pillars is square, but about 1 1/2 ft. from the top they are octagonal. The bases of all are gone, but they also were probably square. The roof is panelled in imitation of a structural hall with beams, 19 inches by 8 inches thick 3 1/2 ft. apart, running across through the heads of the pillars, and the spaces in between divided by smaller false rafters 5 inches broad by 2 inches thick. There are three wide doors into the hall, though the greater part of the front wall is broken down and on each side are six cells totalling eighteen with the monk's bed hewn out of the rock in it, and the first on each side with two beds.

Over the doors of fourteen of these cells are carved horse-shoe arches connected by a string course projecting 6 or 7 inches and carved with a rail pattern.

There is another small *vihāra* with nine cells, much ruined, especially in front and a row of nine cells, at the back of what now looks like a natural hollow under the cliff. Beyond them is a small abandoned tank, and a little way further two more cells under a deep ledge of over-hanging rock, and lastly, a small cistern.

A marked feature for the archaicness and the great antiquity of the Kondane caves is the absence of elaborate sculptural decoration which was the rule in later examples.

Out of the entire series of 'Hinayāna' Caitya-halls, Kondane being one of the oldest specimens yields much information as it records in a striking manner the methods and expedients of the sculptor and the carpenter as well. Although not of more architectural importance as the later caves of the Mahāyāna period, still the Kondane caves are significant in many aspects. The architectural significance lies in the fact that they are fascimiles in the rock of structural buildings devised to meet a similar demand and which undoubtedly existed in considerable numbers as at Sanchi, Saranath, Sirkap, Kalawan, Nagarjunikonda (H. Saskar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Delhi 1966, pp. 35f). Their planning and treatment generally throw considerable light on the system which prevailed in the early monastic establishments of the Buddhists and reveal the manner in which the practical requirements of the *Saṅgha* were provided for.

The dating of the Kondane caves within the first two centuries before the Christian era invariably connects these caves with the art and architectural trend in India that followed the great efflorescence in the Maurya period. This was the period [10] of the Sunga and early Andhra-Satavahanas who inspired the great art traditions of their Imperial predecessor, [11] and were responsible for the remarkable stone-architecture of the first-two centuries before and after the Christian era. With the fall of the Andhra-Sātavāhana royal house in the Deccan, the cultural activities begun by them too went to gradual decay, as the internecine warfare between the pettyrulers to establish themselves in this part of India was in no way favourable towards art and cultural activites. This was the period of total neglect of these early rock-cut cave sites. A renewal of cultural activites was however begun with the installation of powerful dynasties in the south. However, after the beginning of the present era, in the first few centuries, the religious activities of the Buddhists, were directed towards a new trend, that was Mahayanism. The Mahāyāna period resulted in a great cultural and artistic revival all over India. The southern dynasties, of whom the most powerful Chālukyas, Rāstrakutas, Pallawas gave further impetus to stone architecture both in structural and rock-cut forms. This trend was enhanced in no small measure by the powerful Guptas.

The construction of new caves like those at Ajanta and Ellora mark the developed forms of the new

10. The Sāñci toraṇa carvings, the Bharhut, Bodhgaya bas-reliefs and alto-relievos and the marble slabs from Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta have generally been assigned to this period.
11. A mixture of west Asiatic art techniques and styles was seen in Maurya art. The facade of the earliest rock-cut sanctuaries has often been compared with the facade of the tomb of Darius at Nakshi-i- Rustam near Persepolis (P. Brown *op. cit.* p. 19; M. Wheeler, *Splendours of the East* London 1965, p. 44, photo I).

Mahāyana period. Although the architectural pattern and technique of the early Hinayana caves, were still not abandoned, the emphasis was on elaborate ornamention both in sculpture and painting. The simple plain celled rock-out *vihara* gave way to the elegant multi-storeyed monastic palaces. The Kondane caves mark the boundary of the Hinayana period of Buddhist rock-cut architecture.

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A.D.T.E. Perera

KOṆḌAÑÑA, the second of the twenty-four Buddhas who preceded Gotama Buddha. Koṇḍañña was born in Rammavatī, his father being king Sunanda and mother Sujātā. Koṇḍañña belonged to the Koṇḍaññagotta (*gotta*-clan). As a Buddha aspirant (bodhisatta) he practised perfections (*paramīs*) for sixteen thusand *asaṅkheyyas* and one hundred thousand aeons (*kappas*) in samsara before his last birth as Kondañña. He was eighty-eight cubits in height and he enjoyed a life-span of one hundred thousand years.

Koṇḍañña spent a house-hold life of ten thousand years living in the lap of luxury in three magnificent palaces by name Ruci, Suruci and Subha. His chief queen was Rucidevī by whom he begot a son named Vijitasena.

Koṇḍañña renounced the royal household in a chariot and practised austeries for ten months. At the end of the ten-month period he was served a meal of milk-rice by Yosodharā, daughter of a merchant in the village named Sunanda, and grass for his seat was provided by the Ājīvaka Sunanda. He attained Enlightenment (*bodhi*) under a Sālakaḷyāni tree, and his first sermon was preached to one hundred thousand crores of people, in the Devavana near Amarāvatī. When he preached his second sermon ninety thousand crores of people became his followers. When he preached the *dhamma* refuting the teachings of heretics another eighty thousand crores of people became converted. He held three *pātimokkha* assemblies of his disciples, the first attended by hundred thousand crores and led by Subhadda, one of his two chief disciples; the second attended by thousand crores and led by Vijitasena, his son who was an arahant *bhikkhu* by that time, and the third attended by ninety crores and led by Udena, a prince who had joined the order of monks of Koṇḍañña Buddha.

Bhadda and Subhadda were his two chief male disciples and Anuruddha was his chief attendant. Tissā and Upatissā were his two chief female disciples. Sona and Upasona were his two chief male supporters and Nandā and Sirimā were his two chief female suppoters.

Gautama Buddha in his past saṃsāric sojourn was a king by name Vijitāvi, during the time of Koṇḍañña Buddha. On the invitation of Vijitāvi, Koṇḍañña Buddha and his disciples spent three months as honoured guests of Vijitāvī, in the vicinity of the royal palace. Vijitāvi was greatly pleased in the *dhamma* and renounced his kingship to become a monk. Being very zealous, Vijitāvī mastered the *Tipiṭaka* (the canon) in no time and developed the eight spiritual attainments (*samāpatti*) and after death he was born in the Brahma world. Koṇḍañña Buddha predicted that Vijitāvī will become a Buddha by name Gotama, in the very distant future.

Koṇḍañña Buddha passed away at Candavati and the *stūpa* erected over his relics was seven leagues in height (*Buv*. pp.26-28; *BuvA*. pp. 132-141; *J*1, pp 30-34).

Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

KOREA*. Buddhism was introduced to the Korean peninsula from China. The transmission took place in the era of the Korean Three Kingdoms, around fourth century A.C. and the Goguryo Kingdom became the first of them to accept Buddhism.

Buddhism was introduced to Goguryo in the second year of King Sosurin in 372 A.C. King Bugyun of neighbouring Junjin situated in the northern part of

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China, sent a delegation of monks and diplomats carrying with them statues of the Buddha and Buddhist scriptures as well. King Sosurin gladly accepted the foreign gifts as well as a Chinese monk called Sundo.

While Buddhism was transmitted to Goguryo by land, it was by sea that the Baekje kingdom received Buddhism from an Indian monk named Marananta of Dongin from the same Chinese kingdom which transmitted Buddhism to Goguryo. It is recorded that King Chimryn (384 A.C.) heartily welcomed Marananta and accomodated him in his palace, paying him high respect. The king's positive attitude towards a foreign monk implies that Baekje was already under the Chinese cultural influence which was spreading at that time. Even though the record does not show that he brought with him Buddhist scriptures and statues it can well be assumed that he did, as ten Baekje monks were ordained and a monastery was built the year following his arrival.

The Shilla kingdom was the last to accept Buddhism mainly due to its geographical location. Shilla was not only insensitive to the cultural influx from Goguryo and Baekje but also was hostile towards its influence, actually by killing Buddhist monks entering from neighbouring kingdoms. It was as the result of sacrifices of Goguryo monks such as Jungbang, Myulguja, Mukhoja and Ahdo that Buddhism was officially accepted in Shilla in the fourteenth year of the reign of king Bubhung (527 A.C.).

A Martyr called Ichadon, king Bubhung's cousin, was chiefly instrumental in influencing the king to accept Buddhism.

Besides the three kingdoms mentioned above, a tiny kingdom called Garak located at the southern end of the Korean peninsula has a record concerning the introduction of Buddhism by sea and directly from India.

As Buddhism was totally unheard of at that time, it remained unrecognised until the second year of King Jilgi (452 A.C.) who built Hogye and Wanghu temples in memory of the Indian Queen.

Unlike the major Three Kingoms which accepted Buddhism indirectly from China, this small kingdom of Garak is outstanding, since Buddhism was introduced to it from India by way of the sea.

Therefore, the introduction of Buddhist culture into Korea can be categorized in terms of Chinese and Indian even though no official historical documents have been found to corroborate the legend concerning the Garak Kingdom.

In general, prior to the introduction of Buddhist Culture, no definite Korean culture had been established except some shamanist practices and nature worship. This foreign religion, Buddhism, became well mixed with the ancient Korean culture and created a new pattern of Korean culture.

Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms:

1 **Goguryo** : Historical documents concerning Buddhism in Goguryo are very rare and accordingly very difficult to delve into. The following will explain firstly its Buddhist internal influences and secondly its Buddhist overseas activities.

1. **Internal Influences**: The Chinese monk Ahdo came to Goguryo in the second year of King Sosurim (372 A.C), two years after the arrival of monk Sundo from Junjin. Two Buddhist monasteries, Sungmunsa and Ibulansa, were built for monks Sundo and Ahdo. These were the first temples built in Korea.

An Edict was promulgated in the last year of king Gogukyang saying 'seek good fortune by worshipping Buddhist dharmas", and nine monasteries were built in the following year, being the second year of king Gwanggaeto (392 A.C.).

In the earlier stages of the propagation of Buddhism, people in Goguryo regarded Buddhism as a religion in which certain secular merits or good fortunes could be gained, as is shown in king Gogukyang's edict.

The Goguryo kingdom also went far to bring Buddhism to maturity as a national culture during the period of one of Goguryo's great kings, namely, Gwanggaeto. He had built nine monasteries in Pyeongyang (the second capital of Goguryo) and from this it can be well presumed that numerous monasteries could have been built all over his country.

The Goguryo kingdom endeavoured to raise Buddhism to a nationwide culture and to promote its growth by sending monks to China for training and education.

However, the rising trend of Buddhist propagation went downhill as Taoism which was introduced by the king Youngru (618-642 A.C.) began to spread. Taoism was not popular in its early days until in the second year of Goguryo's last king Bojang (643 A.C.) when he began to sponsor Taoism in preference to Buddhism.

Yeongaesomun, the powerful lord of Goguryo at that time, had influenced king Bojang in such extereme measure as to expel Buddhist monks from monasteries and to install Taoist monks in their place.

King Bojang did not pay attention to the plea of a Buddhist monk named Boduk that Goguryo would be endangered if he kept on persecuting Buddhism which by then had become a cornerstone of Goguryo's culture and ideology. The monk Boduk, at last, left Goguryo for a province in the south called Wansan (in Baekje kingdom), and the Goguryo kingdom fell into the hands of Shilla in the 27th year of king Bojang (688 A.C.).

The fate of Goguryo was somewhat proportional to the influence of Buddhism that it was most powerful in the days of king Gwanggaeto and was ruined in the reign of king Bojang. However, the national character of the marvellous Buddhist culture in Goguryo can be well conjectured through the numerous remains such as mural paintings, tombs and statues of Buddha.

2. **Overseas Activities**: The overseas activities of Goguroyo monks can be broadly categorised as: activities in China and activities in Japan.

2.1. **Activities in China**: Numerous Goguryo monks headed for China seeking after Buddhist teachings; many of them underwent training and returned to Goguryo.

However, one Goguryo monk stands out particularly in that he taught Chinese monks and established a Buddhist sect called Samron (Sanlun, in Chinese pronunciation) . He was Master Seungang, born in Yodong, Goguryo, who entered China in the latter part of king Jansoo's reign (413-419 A.C.). He studied Samron philosophy in the northern part of China and taught and instructed the Chinese monk Juhyo to write "The Theories of Samron Philosophy in the Chodangsa temple of Jongsan in the era of the Song Dynasty (420-479 A.C.).

The Samron sect gained much popularity in the eras of Je (479-502 A.C.) and Yang (502-557 A.C.) during the time Master Seungnang stayed in the Seoha monastery in Subsan. On account of this he was often referred to among Chinese monks as either Master Subsan or Master Nang. His sect became so popular that even emperor Muje of Yang ordered ten noble Chinese monks to be trained under Seungnang. One of the ten Chinese monks thus trained, monk Seungjeon, succeeded Seungnang to the posittion he held in the Samron sect.

Samron philosophy in China had been treated together with Seongshilron without doctrinal differentiation or sholarly researches until Master Seungnang separated Seongshilron from Samron philosophy laying down the theoretical foundation for the Samron sect. The Chinese monk Giljang (549-623 A.C.) in the Su dynasty finally brought the establishment of the Samron sect, to completion, which is based on Seungang's founding works.

Master Seungnang was the first Korean to teach Chinese monks and his influence in Chinese academic circles was substantial. No records concerning the death of Seungnang are currently extant.

2.2 **Activities in Japan**: Hyegwan, who went to Japan in the eighth year of King Yongrue, became the founder of the Japanese Samron sect and also served as a National Master in the Japanese royal court. Besides the Goguryo monks mentioned above, the activities of numerous other Goguryo monks, no doubt, contributed to the development of Japanese culture and Japan sent its monks to study in Goguryo. The Japanese monk Hangseon was one of them.

II. Baekje

1. **Internal Affairs**: The Indian monk Marananta, who entered Baekje in the first year of king Chinryu (384 A.C.), built a monastery in Hansan (then the capital) and trained ten Baekje monks in the following year (385 A.C.). In the first year of King Ashin (392 A.C.), the king promulgated the movement: "Seek good fortune by having faith in Buddhist teachings", as happened in Goguryo.

In the 4th year of King Seong (526 A.C.) the monk Gyeomik translated Buddhist *sūtras* which he had brought from India. In the 19th year of King Seong a duplomat was sent to India soliciting deeper meanings of the *Nirvāna sūtra* and also requesting for Buddhist painters and technicians.

During the reign of King Mu (600-641 A.C.), Mireuksa Temple was built by the wishes of King Mu's queen, the daughter of the Shilla King Jinpyeong.

Korea's biggest and the oldest stone *stūpa* is still standing in current Iksan of Cheonbuk province, reminding us of a legend that the king and the queen, on their way to a mountain, witnessed a statue of Maitreya (Mireuk) arising from a pond. The Mireuksa Temple was built on that spot. A legend is stilll current about the romance of King Mu and Princess Seonhwa in "The Records of the Three Kingdoms".

The present Sooduksa temple in Duksan in Choongnam province is where the Monk Hyehyun used to study the *Lotus Sutra* and Samron philosophy.

Buddhist culture in Baekje must have been in full-bloom as is recorded in a Chinese documet, "The Book of the Chu Dynasty".

The fore-going historical data truely indicate the enthusiastic attitude of Baekje shown towards the reception of a foreign Buddhist culture. Baekje's enthusiasm is evident also from its efforts to receive Buddhism direct from India rather than through the indirect route via China.

Besides, Baekje's effort to make Buddhist culture a national sentiment is shown from King Bub's edict prohibiting the hunting implements. However, the ardent efforts of the kings of the Baekje lineage to establish Buddhist culture were suddenly interrupted during the reign of Baekje's last king, king Euija. It is peculiar that no Buddhist cultural activites were recorded during his reign, quite unlike in the reign of his predecessors.

After all, the sudden decline of Buddhist activites in his reign may also account for the fall of the kingdom itself as in the case of Goguryo. Historical records concerning Baekje's Buddhist culture are, nonetheless, nore abundant than those of Goguryo.

2. Overseas Activities:

2.1 Activities in China: In the era of the Three Kingdoms, the foreign country that could provide training for Korean monks was, no doubt, China. However, no outstanding Baekje monks were historically recorded for their activities in China except Master Gyeomic who studied in India. He went to India by sea and mastered Sanskrit in five years and *Vinaya* as well, studying in the Sangana temple located in central India. He accompanied the Indian monk Baedaldasmjang and brought back original Sanskrit *Abhidharma* texts along with five *Vinaya* texts, in the 4th year of king Seong (526 A.C.). He stayed in the Heungryunsa Temple and translated the Sanṣkrit *sūtras* into seventy two books of *Vinaya sūtras* in Chinesse, in which twenty eight outstanding Baekje monks participated. Among the seventy-two books he translated *Vinaya sūtras*, thirty-six books consisting of commentaries were also composed by monks Damuk and Hyein.

The above mentioned commentaries and *Vinaya sūtras* were dedicated with the king's hand-written preface to a monastery and Master Gyeomik became the founder of the Vinaya School in Baekje.

The fervour of Buddhist culture among Baekje people is well represented in the activities of Master Gyeomik who went to India, a country far away to travel, when Buddhism was still unknown even in Shilla (Shilla accepted Buddhism in 527 A.C.).

2.2 Activities in Japan: Japan is indebted to Baekje in many respects and most particularly to the transmission of Buddhism. Two years after king Seong first transmitted Buddhism to Japan, which was the 32nd year of king Seong (554 A.C.), numerous, monks including Damhye and Doshim went to Japan to join a missionary tour.

In the 24th year of king Wideok (557 A.C.), Masters of each respective *Tripiṭaka*, Seon (zen) Masters, *bhikṣunīs*, Tāntrists, Buddhist craftsmen and temple architects were delegated to Japan.

In the 30th year of king Wideok, Master Illa was dispatched on the request of a Japanese king and he was honoured and worshiped as a saint by the famous Japanese prince, Shyotoku. In the 35th year (588 A.C.) relics of the Buddha, roof-tile technicians and painters were dispatched. In the 3rd year of king Mu (602 A.C.), the monk Gwanreuk, an outstanding scholar in Samron philosophy and medicine, transmitted astronomy, geography, calendars and various occult sciences to Japan. He later became the head of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* in Japan, thus contributing much to the development of Japanese culture. The monk Dojang composed sisteen books of Seongshilron in Japan and Bhikṣunī Bubmyong was famous for her healing power while reading *Vimalakīrti-Sūtra*.

As described above, Japan's cultural improvements were largely influenced by the activities of Baekje people, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist.

III. **Shilla**: In this article Shilla will be treated under two eras; (I) the pre-unified period and (II) the unified period. Let us look into Shilla of the pre-unified period-the period of Three kingdoms.

1. **Dawn of Buddhist Culture**: Buddhism was officially recognised in Shilla in the 14th year of king Bubheung (527 A.C.) and no outstanding Buddhism related cultural activities were recorded save the king's edict 'not to kill' animals, building of Heungryunsa Temple in his 22nd year (535 A.C.) and a legend that the king, along with his queen, joined the *Saṅgha.*

It was not until king Jinheung that the real phase of Buddhist activities began to unfold during his reign of 37 years (540 A.C. to 576 A.C.). In his 5th year (544 A.C.), the building of the Heungryunsa temple was completed and he permitted his subjects to join the Buddhist *Saṅgha.* In his 10th year (549 A.C.), the Shilla monk Gakduk brought a relic of the Buddha along with a diplomat form Yang in China. In his 11th year (550 A.C.), the monk Anjang was appointed as head of the national library. In his 12th year (551 A.C.) the Goguryo monk Hyeryang was appointed as a National Master and awarded the control of the Buddhist Order, the *Saṅgha.* Hyeryang also initiated Buddhist ceremonies such as Baekgojwa Mass Lecture and Palgwanhwe Meeting to pray for the defence of the country.

In his 25th year (565 A.C.), the Chinese diplomat Yusa from Jin and monk Myonggwan brought 1700 book of *sūtras.* In his 26th year (566 A.C.), Howangryongsa temple which was under construction for 14 years, Giwonsa temple and Shiljesa temple were completed. In his 33rd year (572 A.C.), a seven-day long Buddhist ceremony was conducted in memory of soldiers who died in action.

In his 35th year (574 A.C.), a sixty foot Buddha statue made of steel was erected in the Hwangryongsa temple, one of Shilla's three national treasures. A legend says that the steel was delivered from India during the reign of the Indian emperor Asoka.

In his 37th year (576 A.C.), the monk Anhong accompanied the Indian monk Vimala on his way from China and gifted a relic of Buddha and *sūtras* to the king. In his last year (576 A.C.), the king renounced the throne and joined the Buddhist Order along with his queen who took the Buddhist name Babun.

Among his many activities, the establishment of Hwarangdo is the most celebrated. Hwarangdo was an organisation composed of chosen Shilla youth with the intent of building a prosperous and strong Shilla under the ideology of the coming Maitreya and the ruler of the Cakravarti concept as depicted in Buddhism.

Shilla kings of successive generations contributed to the illustrious development of Buddhist culture by following the example of king Jinheung.

2. **Activities of Shilla monks**: Along with the enthusiasm of the kings, numerous outstanding monks played important roles in Bringing Buddhist culture to maturity. Master Wongwang (579-632 A.C.) went to China in the 11th year of king Jinpyeong (589 A.C.) to delve more deeply into Buddhism. He became renowned in China and returned to Shilla in 600 A.C. His accomplishments can be viewed in the following three aspects:

(I) He gave lectures on Mahāyāna *sūtras* and gained much respect from people and the king as well.

(II) He showed by example that Buddhism can be applied to needs of a country by writing a letter requesting troops from China, in the 30th year of king Jinpyeong (608 A.C.) upon the king's order. His rationale in writing such a letter was not so much the intention of destroying the other country, but rather that it was an obligation of a subject of Shilla to simply follow the orders of the king. That Buddhism should be fexible in accored with the times and circumstances and that Buddhists are also obliged to the call of their country, were his view of nation and religion as well. Master Wongwang, in this respect, is regarded hitherto as a forerunner in asserting the 'Buddhist Concept of national defence' peculiar to Korea which has been active right through the timultuous Korean history.

(III) He declared five mundane disciplinary rules for secular folk to observe: (a) Be loyal to your Lord; (b) Cultivate filial affection; (c) Be trustful to your friend; (d) Be fearless in the battlefield and (e) Be selective in killing. The five disciplinary rules indicate that the genuine meaning of Buddhism lies in purifying and leading the society and not necessarily following the *sūtras* and *vinaya* to the letter.

He maintained, therefore, that the methodology of instruction can be varied depending upon the nation, society and each individual.

2.2 Master Jajang: Master Jajang was active during the reign of queen Seonduk (632-647 A.C.). He came from the Jingol class and he devoted all his efforts only to the practice of Buddhism, rejecting even the queen's order to serve in the royal court.

He went to China during the Tang Dynasty (636 A.C.) and became renowned in Tang, China even being received by the Chinese Emperor Taijong. He taught Chinese Buddhists rather than learning from them, during his stay in China.

He brought with him Buddhist bowls, robes and 400 boxes of *sūtras* when he returned from China in the 12th year of queen Seonduk (643 A.C.).

Two major types of Buddhist activites were conducted by Master Jajang, one for religious promotion and the other for the defence of the country. Firstly, the promotional activities were mainly concerned with building monasteries like Tongdosa in Yangsan, Sudasa in Mt. Odai and Seoknamsa in Mt. Taebak. Secondly, the Buddhist role in the defence ot the country is well depicted in the construction of the nine-storeyed *stūpa* in Hwangryongsa Temple, a magnificent *stūpa* built on Master Jajang's suggestion spanning two years of construction (645 A.C.). The *stūpa* was 225 feet tall and the illustrious architect was invited from Baekje along with 200 Shilla architects.

The nine-storyed *stūpa* was not different from any other in that it contained relics of the Buddha and was worshipped. However, it was different, in that, it was also serving the defence of the country, resulting in Shilla's triumph in unifying the Three Kingdoms. This *stūpa* and the Buddha statue, along with the Royal Belt of king Jinpyeong, were regarded as Shillas's three national treasures.

2.3 Activities for common good: Buddhist culture was crowned with royal patronage along with the activities of illustrious monks such as Masters Wongwang and Jajang. However, the prosperity was enjoyed only within the high circles of Shilla and Buddhism was still something foreign among the majority of common people in general. Some Shilla monks, who were conscious of the original Buddhist spirit, devoted themselves to serve the poor, the uneducated and the ignorant. Among them were monks Hyesook, Hyegong and Daean.

Monk Hyesook (in the reign of king Jinpyeong), a former member of the Hwarang youth organisation, retired early and spent most of his time spreading Buddhist doctrines in remote rural areas.

Monk Hyegong, mostly active in the era of queen Seonduk, was from a humble class and had a reputation as a prodigy. On joining the Buddhist Order he left the comparatively easy life of the Buddhist monk and went into the market streets in humble clothes spreading Buddhist doctrines among the drunkards, the destitutes and the ruffians. His knowledge of Buddhist philosophy was so deep that even Wonhyo used to consult him major works. Many legends still survive concerning his miraculous activities.

Monk Daean is classified as a man belonging to the pre-uniftied Shilla period, even though he was active at the same period as the great Master Wonhyo. His name Daean was given to him by the common people in the market place because he used to shout "Daean! Daean" (literally meaning great comfort while beating his wooden drum propagating religion among the low class people.

These pioneering activities by the above mentioned monks also contributed to the spread of Buddhism all over Shilla, thereby unifying people under one ideology.

Unified Shilla: Shilla, the most disadvantaged kingdom in many respects, particularly its geographic situation, turned out to be the most powerful kingdom since king Bubheung's admission of buddhism and king Junheung's succesive patronage.

Shilla defeated neighbouring Baekje in the reign of king Muyeoul and finally Goguryo in the reign of king Munmu, thereby unifying the three Kingdoms under one Korean sovereignty. The unification also involved the process of merging the best of Buddhist culture from Baekje and Goguryo, thus forming a single national culture. Therefore, the Buddhist culture in the unified Shilla period is that genuinely inherent in the Three kingdoms with harmonious integration of all existing elements of different Buddhist cultures.

Decline of the Buddhist Order: The prosperity of Unified Shilla was at its zenith starting from King

Munmu to king Gyeongdyk, not only in terms of national power, but also in terms of Buddhist culture. However Buddhist culture began to ebb from its yet glorious peak during the reign of king Hyegong. The Shilla Buddhist activities were hardly noticed as the Buddhist Order itself began to fall apart due to the chaotic political environment starting from the reign of king Hyegong. Most of the rightful Buddhist Masters sought refuge in the deep forests or went abroad, resulting in the decline of the whole Buddhist Order.

Transmission of Chinese Seon: Seon Buddhism from China breathed a fresh spirit into the decaying Shilla Buddhist Order with rather shocking mottos. Numerous Shilla monks returned home with the urge to transmit the scriptures. However, even their efforts to plant fresh Seon spirit fell on barren ground along with the efforts to restructure the declining Buddhist society.

Seon had to find its place in the next Dynasty - in Goryo. Unofficial records describe the first introduction of Chinese Seon by Master Bubnang who received the transmission from the fourth Patriarch of Chinese Seon, Master Doshin (580-651 A.C.).

The presence of Seon in unified Shilla, nonetheless, was hardly recognisable despite the efforts of the above Masters and not until Masters Doeni and Hongchub began to propagate Seon of the southern Chinese school, which was founded by the famed sixth Chinese Patriarch Hyeneung, Seon gained a strengthend position.

Buddhism in the Goryo dynasty: In the later chaotic period of unified Shilla, two kingdoms sprang up on the Korean peninsula, forming yet three other kingdoms called Husamgook (Post-Three Kingdoms), Hubaekje (Post-Baekje, 892-936 A.C.) and Taebong (801-918 A.C.) including Shilla.

Wanggun (877-943 A.C.), the first king Goryo, who unified Husamgook, was a subordinate of Gungye the king of Taebong. King Gungye himself had been a monk before he established the Taebong Kingdom. He administered such popular Buddhist ceremonies as Palgwanhwe, named his two sons after Bodhisattvas Chung Gwang and Shin Gwang, called himself a living Maitreya Buddha and lectured on 20 *sūtras* of his own composition.

King Gyeonhwon of Hubaekje was also a devoted Buddhist. So also was Wanggun who unified the three contending kingdoms. Wanggun was born of a succession of families with very devoted Buddhist background. The famed Master Dosun (809-898 A.C.) had a great influence over him dating from his youth. Wanggun believed that the Goryo Dynasty owed its birth to the power of Buddha dharma and that the national characteristics of Goryo were already based on the spirit of Buddhism.

The Nation and Buddhism: Wanggun rose to the throne in the fifth year of Taebong (the second year of Unified Shilla king Gyeongmyeong, 918 A.C.). He named his kingdom Goryo and his era was known as Chunsoo.

A devoted Buddhist, Wanggun provided more support for the development of Buddhism by building several monasteries and renovating many dilapidated *stūpas*. He also ordered Palgwanhwe meetings to be held as a yearly national ceremony in his second year on the throne, moved to the new capital Songak upon Master Dosun's advice and built ten magnificent monasteries-Bubwangsa, Jawoonsa, Wangryunsa, Naejeseokwon, Sanasa, Chunsunsa, Shinhenngsa, Moonsoosa, Wontongsa and Jijangsa.

In his 4th year (921 A.C.), the Daehungsa temple was bult on Mt. Ogwan and Master Yiun was invited there. In his 5th year his native house was renovated as a temple called Gwangmyeongsa. Likewise, in subsequent years many other monasteries were built by him in addition to promoting diverse Buddhist religious activities. It is believed that Wanggun had built approximatly 500 temples and was involved in a further 3500 projects of Seon temples, *stūpas* and Buddha statues.

Descendants of Wanggun too, were devoted to the cause of Buddhism and did much to further strengthen the Buddhist position in the kingdom.

Examination system for monks (Seunggwa) and various sects:

1. Examination system for monks: The close ties between the regime and Buddhism had naturally brought forth a state examination system to select qualified monks, which was called Seunggwa, for the first time since the introduction of Buddhism into the era of Three Kingdoms. Until then, an unofficial examination system called Haehwe was prevalent in Goryo.

having been established in the fourth year of the founder king of Goryo, Wanggu (921 A.C.) The monk qualifying examination as an official state system was first implemented in the latter period of the fourth king Gwangjong, together with a state examination system for selecting court officials.

In the Seunggwa system applicants for the Buddhist *Saṅgha* had to pass a preliminary selection process called Jongseon in each individual sect and this entitled them to sit the state examination called Daeseon. Daeseon as the main and last hurdle to pass, the aspirant had to choose either the Seon sect examination or the Gyo sect examination, the former was held at the Gwangyeongsa temple, and the latter at Wangryoonsa temple.

An entry level title called Daedeok was awarded to successful candidates, leading to higher positions such as Daesa, Joongdaesa and Samjoongdaesa identified for both sects. After one reached the position of Samjoongdaesha, the names of titles begins to differ, depending on either the Seon sect or the Gyo sect, as follows:

A. Ranks in Seon Sect: Daedeok-Daesa- Joongdaesa - Samjoongdaesa - Seonsa - Daeseonsa
B. Ranks in Gyo Sect: Daedeok -Daesa-Joongdaesa - Samjoongdaesa- Soojwa-Seungtong.

As can be seen from the above, Seonsa and Daeseonsa in the Seon sect and Soojwa and Seungtong in Gyo sect were the highest positions a monk could hold, from whom Royal Masters as well as National Masters were appointed for tutoring royal princes, or to serve as high consultants for the king's important offices. This Seunggwa system lasted until the middle period of the Yi Dynasty, with substantial changes thereafter.

Various Buddhist sects in the Goryo Dynasty: Various Buddhist sects were actually etablished, starting from the Goryo Dynasty rather than from the period of Unified Shilla. About eleven sects were present in Goryo, Viz. Hwaum, Jaeun, Namsan, Jogye, Chuntae, Bubsung, Yeolban, Shiheung, Shinin, Chongji and Joongdo. Some scholars note that the Bubsung sect had been transformed into the Joongdo sect and the Yeoulban sect into the Shiheung sect, since the name of Bubsung and Youlban disappeared in the latter period of Goryo as well as in the early period of the Yi Dynasty. Besides that, Chuntae had branched into two sects, called Bubsa and Soja, resulting in the total number of sects in Goryo becoming eleven, which were carried over to the Yi Dynasty.

Currently no detailed records are extant about these sects except for Jogyem Hwaum and Chuntae sects.

Most of the Korean Buddhist sects are continuations of traditional Chinese sects which were actually transmitted into Korea and even the names of sects are identical to those of Chinese, except for a few native Korean sects in the latter period like the Domun and the Shiheung sect.

The characteristics of Buddhist sects in Goryo, other than Domum and Shiheung, can be well indentified, as the names themselves imply, exactly those of Chinese counterparts. Let us look at some of the active sects: Jogye, Hwaum, Jaeun and Chuntae.

(1) Jogye, the noted Seon sect, saw its establishment in the early Goryo period as one of the nine Mountain Seon branches stemming from the first introduction of Seon into Korea in the late Unified Shilla period Seon masters such as Yium (870-936 A.C.) who founded the Mt. Sumi branch among the above nine branches, Yunda (864-945 A.C.), Choongdom (869-940 A.C.), Gyeongbo (869-948 A.C.), Chanyn (869-958 A.C.) and Hyunhun (879-941 A.C.) were contributing to the raising of the Seon spirit in the early Goryo period. However, the Seon sect's popularity began to decling after the establishment of the Chuntae sect until the famed Seon Master Junul (1158-1210 A.C.) opened the golden age of the Jogye Seon sect.

National Master Jinul brought a new phase to Seon by introducing the practice of Junghyegyeolsa along with numerous writings such as *Junghyegyeolsamun, Gyechoshimhakinmun, Soochimgyul, Jinshimjikeol, Wondonseongbulron* and *Ganhwagyoleuron*. His main conception of Junghye (practisiong both mind and theoretical training) was upheld by many people resulting in the most popular sect in Goryo.

(2) Hwaum sect bases its founding spirits on the *Hwaum Sutra* (Garland *sutra*) in which its theoretical research had been deeply systematised, dating back to the era of Shilla, leading to the formation of its own shool in Goryo. Masters Gwanhye and Heerang substantially influenceed Hwaum studies which were separated into two branches during the period of Husamgook (Post Three Kingdoms).

Goryo Dynasty Master Danmun (900-975 A.C.), Gyoonyeo (923-973 A.C.) and Gyeoleung (964-1053 A.C.) were also instrumental in establishing the Hwaum sect, especially Master Gyoonyeo who tried to unify the two separated Hwaum schools.

(3) The Jaeun Sect which is based on Vijñaptimātra theories also produced many outstanding National Masters in its early period, including Junghyun (972-1054 A.C.), Haerin (984-1067 A.C.) and Royal Master Sohyun (1038-1096 A.C.). In the latter period, National Masters Hyeyoung (1228-1254 A.C.), Misu (1240-1327 A.C.) and Haewon (1262-1340 A.C.) were active in the Jaeun sect.

(4) The Chuntae sect owes its establishment in Goryo to National Master Daegak (1055-1101 A.C.) who introduced lectures on Chuntae philosophy in the Gukcheongsa temple in the second year of king Sookjong (1097 A.C.). The Suengseon (the preliminary Monk Qualifying Examination) was carried out to select monk aspirants for the Chuntae sect in the fourth year of king Sookjong and the following final state examination (Daeseon) in his sixth year, thereby forming a Korean version of Chuntae sect. Therefore, the actual founder of Chuntae sect is siad to be National Master Daegak, who was originally from the Hwaum sect.

The projects of Tripiṭaka wooden blocks and catalogues:

The first Tripiṭaka wooden blocks (Daejanggyeongpan)

The world renowned 'Goryo *Tripiṭakas*' were carved twice, firstly during the reign of the eighth king Hyunjong (1010-1031 A.C.) and secondly during the reign of the 23rd king Gojong (1214-1259 A.C.)

The motive behind this great project of carving the huge number of works of the *Tripiṭaka* was to defend Goryo from the ceaseless invasions of nothern barbarians. A nothern barbarian thribe called Gyeran invaded Goryo in the first year of king Hyunjong (1010 A.C.) and the capital Gaeseony fell into the hands of the barbarians, while the king sought refuge in Naju-the southern province on the Korean peninsula. The king was determined to cope with the natinal disaster by resorting to his pious faith-carving the wooden blocks of the *Tripiṭaka*.

The *Tripiṭaka* carving project was continued even after the retreat of the nothern barbarians, which spanned three reigns of kings, taking a total of forty years to complete.

The whole *Tripiṭaka* which comprises 5048 books in 1106 folios was all Carved in wooden blocks and this version of the Tripiṭaka was later named as the '*Goryogujanggyeong*' or '*Chojodaejanggyeong*'. This wooden Tripiṭaka was dedicated in the Buinsa temple of Mt. Palgong and served the purpose of defending the nation and was a focal object in the hearts of the religious Goryo people.

However, these wooden *Tripiṭaka* blocks were burnt to ashes by one of the powerful invaders from the north-the Mongolians-in the 19th year of king Gojong (1232 A.C.) along with the afore-mentioned Nine Storey *Stūpa* of the Hwangrayongsa temple in Gyeongju. The Mongolian invaders targeted the wooden *Tripiṭaka* and the Nine storey *stūpa* as the foremost ones to be destroyed, simply because they were symolic of national defence.

Buddhist Arts in the Goryo Dynasty: The frequently held Buddhist ceremonial activities resulted in the prosperity of Buddhist arts such as architecture, crafts, sculpture and paintings. One single example is Goryo's founder Wanggun to whom more than 3500 projects such as monasteries, statues and *stūpas* are attributed and this well indicates the popularity Buddhist arts enjoyed. Here are some examples. In the 21st year of king Moorjong (1076 A.C.), the Heungwangsa temple consisting of about 2800 rooms was completed in twelve years of construction. In the 32nd year (1078 A.C.) at the same temple, a golden stupa was erected. In the 6th year of king Seonjong 1089 A.C.), a thirteen storey golden *stūpa* was erected and dedicated to Hwoegyeongjun.

Among extant architectural monuments, Muryangsoojeon and Josadang in the Booseoksa temple are the oldest wooden buildings in Korea, built in the latter period of Goryo characterizing their refined touch and free style structure.

As for *stūpas*, the seven storey *stūpa* in the Hyunhwnasa temple, the twelve storey *stūpa* made of marble in the Gyeongchunsa temple by an architect from the Won Dynasty, China and the Jigong *stūpa* in the Hwajangsa temple reflecting Indian influence, are some of the representative works.

As for Buddha statues, 'The Grect stone Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva statue in the Gwanchoksa temple of Eunjin comes first. It took 37 years to complete from 969 A.C. to 1006 A.C.

The Amita Buddha statue made of wood in the booseoksa temple is famous for its mural painting in Josadang.

Buddhism in the Yi (Chosun) dynasty: Buddhism during the entire Yi dynasty fell from the days of roses and winds of the Goryo dynasty into a dark age of fierce oppression at the hands of powerful Confucians who wielded political power in the Yi dynasty court.

The emergence of systematic persecution against Buddhism in the Yi daynasty resulted from the antipathy of Confucians who witnessed various corruptions that the excessive prosperity of Buddhism theGoryo dynasty had brought about as side effects. The Confucians in the latter days of Goryo even appealed to the royal court for the oppression of Buddhism. Therefore, Buddhism lost its ground and could not prosper in this new era of hostile environment. However, Buddhist culture that had already been rooted in every corner of Korean life style could not easily die out, but just managed to maintain at least some of its vitality and legacies.

Persecution of Buddhism and Buddhist Order: The military general of Goryo was the founder of the Yi dynasty. Yi Seong Gye was a loyal Buddhist himself, ironically, and not a persecutor of Buddhism. His deep personal faith in Buddhism could not change the anti-Buddhist trends of his time. However, it was strangely peculiar that most of the Yi dynasty kings and royal families were faithful Buddhists, while following anti-Buddhist policies.

Forced reduction and merger of Buddhist sects: The Systematic persecution of Buddhism had been put into action during the reign of the third king Taejong on the instruction of Confucians as follows:

i. To merge various Buddhist sects, to reduce the number of temples, to force monks to leave the brotherhood.
ii. To confiscate lands and slaves owened by monasteries for the use of military funding.
iii. To limit the issuing of passports (into the capital) for monks, to abolish the national and Royal Master system, to ban construction of temples in the royal tombs.

Hundreds of Buddhist monks gathered in Hanyang (the present Seoul) to plead against such extreme measures, but it was of no avail and in February 1406 A.C., monastery-owend lands were confiscated along with the slaves, leaving a handful of monasteries that belonged to each sect. Further, the eleven sects that existed were randomly merged into seven sects, ie, eleven sects of Jogye, Chongji Chuntaesoja, Chuntaebubsa, Hwaum, Domoon, Jaeun, Joongdo, Shinin, Namsan and Shiheung were reduced to seven sects of Jogye, Chuntae, Hwaum, Jaeun, Joongshin, Chongnam, and Shiheung. In the forced process of random merger, no religious opinions of individual sects were taken into consideration.

The fourth king Sejong also inherited the tradition of Buddhist persecution with even harsher severity that Korean monks appealed to the then Myeong (Ming) Dynasty Chinese Emperor Seongjo who was a devout Buddhist, in the first and the third year of king Sejong (1419 A.C. and 1421 A.C. respectively).

Despite the pressure of the Chinese Emperor, king Sejong forced the merger of the - remaining seven Buddhist sects into only two sects in his sixth year (1421 A.C.); Jogye, Chuntae and Chongnam were merged into the Seon sect; Hwaum, Jaeun, Joongshin and Shiheung into the Gyo sect.

During the chaotic reign of tyrant Yeonsangoon, the Heungchunsa temple (the headquarters of the Seon sect) and the Heungduksa temple (the headquarters of the Gyo sect) were devastated leading to the complete collapse of the last two remaining sects, in the reign of king Joongjong.

The principal motive behind these forced mergers and reductions of Buddhist sects was to gain economic advantage. There was a dire need for a new regime to be born both in terms of manpower (slaves and converted monks) and their vast monastery owned property. The further demolishing of innumerable Buddhist cultural treasures, that had been coming down from the era of Three Kingdoms, needs no mention.

The ceaseless plea of eminent masters such as Master Hamheodang (1376-1433 A.C.), to the royal court hardly yielded any redress. He pleaded against unjust persecution of Buddhism through his renowned writings known as *'Hyunjungron' and 'Yoosukjilduiron'*.

The Translation of Buddhist sūtras into Korean

(Hangul): The Hangul translation project of Buddhist *sūtras* which were written in Chinese characters was the most important feat the Yi Dynasty Buddhist culture produced during the reign of the seventh king, Sejo. King Sejo was the only one in the Yi Dynasty who positively engaged himself in promoting Buddhism as a state policy.

King Sejo, upon his enthronement, removed many restrictions imposed on monks so that they could freely enter the capital; there were no more limitations in joining the brotherhood; any monk suspected of a criminal offence must be interrogated with the king's approval only; state officials were prohibited to enter monasteries without due reason. The king also legalised the 'Monk Qualifying Examination' and entered it in the State constitution of the Yi Dynasty. With the king's initiative the Wongaksa temple was built in the present Pagoda Park (Jongro Seoul) along with a big Buddha statue, a bell and a multistorey *stūpa*. Many other temples were either renovated or built anew during his reign. However his most important patronage of Buddhism was the publishing of the printed *Tripiṭaka* and the Hangul translation of Buddhist *sūtras*.

Activities of Master Bowoo: Buddhism began to be eclipsed again after King Sejo until the reign of the thirteenth boy king Myeongjong, during which the king's mother Moonjungtaehu directed the affairs of state behind the scenes.

The king's mother was determined to restore the vitality of Buddhism and entrusted the mission to Master Bowoo, in the 6th year of king Myeongjong (1551 A.C.). Master Bowoo restored the Seon sect in the Bongeunsa temple, the Gyo sect in the Bongsunsa temple and resurrected the Buddhist ordination law as well as monk qualification examination system.

The illustrious Masters of the Yi Dynasty, Seosan and Symyeong, were the products of the restored Buddhist Order of that time. Meanwhile, the Confucian followers, with the connivance of court officials, stood fiercely against the king's mother's Buddhist activities and they charged Master Bowoo with various accusations and Confucian students even demonstrated around the palace. The king's mother, however, did not yield to such pressure groups and kept on promoting Buddhist activities until her death in 1565 A.C. (the 20th year of king Myeongjong). Master Bowoo was exiled to Jejn islands and was murdered there. An even harsher Buddhist persecution started again and the newly restored Buddhist Order (the Seon and Gyo sects), the monk qualifying examination and the monk ordinance law were all repealed.

The fifteen years of Buddhist promotional activities by Bowoo and the king's mother left a substantial effect on the religious attitudes of the succeeding royal families and the illustrious Masters who were produced at that time were very active in fighting against the Japanese armies in the period that followed. Master Bowoo's writings have been transmitted up to the present in his 'Collections of Heoeungdang'.

The activities of the Buddhist Militia: The devastated Buddhist community of monks had to scatter into deep forests to hide from severe persecutions by the Confucians. Nonetheless, the Buddhist monks came out of the deep forests to fight against the Japanese armies who invaded Korea in 1592 A.C.

The Korean peninsula almost fell to the Japanese invaders in only a couple of months and the king had to flee to the northern boderline, a result of internal affairs in turmoil with extreme political dissensions and power struggles. At this endangered moment, Master Younggyu from the Gapsa Temple in present Gongju city recruited about six hundred monk soldiers and defeated the Japanese army in the battle of Chungju castle. He died in action in the battle of Geumsan against the outnumbered Japanese army.

Master Younggyu was a student of Master Seosan. Finally Master Seosan was appointed as the Commander-in-chief of the whole Korean military forces at the old age of seventy three. He sent out letters to all the Buddhist monks in the monasteries, asking them to join the military.

Master Seosan recruited about 1500 monks, Master Samyeong (student of Seosan) recruited about 800 monks and master Chuyung about 1000 totalling about five thousand Buddhist monks in all. Master Seosan appointed Samyeong as the commander of the monk army and they defeated the Japanese army in the battle of Pyeongyang in which the Chinese army also participated (1593 A.C.)

Master Chuyung also defeated the Japanese in the battle of Haengju Castle-One of three big battles in that war. This war, called 'Imjinwaeran' lasted about seven years and the activities of Master Samyeong were most notable during wartime as well as the post war period.

The activites of the Korean militia were also conspicuous during the invasion of the Manchurians (Ching Dynasty) in the fourteenth year of King Injo. (1636 A.C.). This war called "Byeongjahoram' ended with the surrender of the Korean king.

Buddhist Culture in the mountains:

The state of the Buddhist Order: Numerous masters produced under Master Seosan and Seonsoo gave an impetus to the crumbling Buddhist spirit. Nevertheless, they could not sustain the new wave of movements due to the lack of any legitimate Buddhist order or sects. Therefore, the Buddhist culture had to be confined to and formulated in the deep mountains.

Two streams of Buddhist groups were most notable in this period; one stream from Master Seosan and the other from Master Seonsoo.

The lineage of Seosan was succeeded by monks such as Eungsang (1572-1645 A.C.), Euishim (1592-1665 A.C.), Doan (1638-1715 A.C.), Jian (1664-1729 A.C.), Sangun (1710-1791 A.C.), Yuil (1720-1799 A.C.) and Euiso (1740-1796 A.C.).

Most of the above Masters were adepts of Hwaum (Avatamsaka) philosophy, except the few who were Seom Masters.

The lineage of Seonsoo (Boohyu) was succeeded, after division into seven branches, by monks Cheonueng '1680 A.C.), Soocho (1590-1668 A.C.) Seongchong (1631-1700 A.C.) and Sooyeon (1651-1719 A.C.).

Among them, Master Cheoneung is regarded as the only Buddhist monk who officially composed 'The Letter of Plea' to the royal court in protest against persecution of Buddhists.

Contemporary Korean Buddhism:

Free entry to the capital city: Korean Buddhism in the late nineteenth century began to show signs of liberation from its long centuries of repression and one of them was the lifting of the proscription that prohibited free entry of monks to Seoul. The proscription was finally lifted in April 1895 A.C.

In the following year (1896 A.C.), some Buddhist meetings were held in Seoul between Korean and Japanese monks. However, all the Korean monks had to be expelled from Seoul once again in 1808 A.C. by a royal order which was cancelled shortly after. Free activities of Buddhist monks in Seoul brought the changes of government policy that had been blindly holding fast against Buddhism.

New movements inside the Buddhist community to unify all monasteries also took place and the newly built Wouheungsa temple at East Gate of Seoul became the headquarters of all Korean monasteries in 1899 A.C.

Thirteen monasteries in each of the thirteen Korean provinces were also designated as local headquarters, for effective administration. Government administrative offices were also established to help administer things relating to monasteries and monks. The Korean government's positive attitude towards Buddhism, however, did not so much render conspicuous results, but only helped raise the social status of monks.

The government administrative offices set up to aid administration of monasteries and the policies for handling Buddhist Affairs did not last long (1904 A.C.) due to the chaotic political situation, and the entire administration of Buddhist Affairs was transferred to each respective local office of the Interior Departement.

In 1906 A.C., a Buddhist research society was founded by Lee-Bo-Dam and Hong-Wol-Cho in the Wonheungsa temple under the influence of the Japanese Jo-Do sect. This Buddhist society also established the Myeongjin Buddhist school in 1906 A.C. at the Wonheungsa temple, the first modern school for Buddhist studies, which later became the present Dongguk University.

In March 1908 A.C., fifty two representative monks held a conference in the Wouheungsa temple to set up a central council and the new Buddhist organisation thus formed was named Wou (circle) sect.

In 1910 A.C., the Gakhwangsa temple was built in Jongro, Seoul, to serve the central committee of Korean Buddhism in place of the Wouheungsa temple. Shortly after the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910 A.C., Lee Hal Gwaag, the leader of the Korean Buddhist organisation (Won Sect) went to Japan to form an affiliation with the Japanese Soto Sect. A group of Korean monks, with strong nationalistic sentiments, protested against this move and set up their own organisation called the Imje sect with headquarters in

the Bumeosa temple of Pusan. The Japanese authorities closed down the Pusan headquarters in 1911 A.C., under the new temple Legisation ordinance, and the growing trend of modern Korean Buddhism had to face yet another dark period.

Buddhist Saṅgha under Japanese control: Under the Temple Legislation Ordinance of the Japanese Resident-general, the entire Korean Buddhist *Saṅgha* was divided into thirty major monasteries and the contending sects were unified inder one system that accepted both the Gyo and the Seon sect. A central office to coordinate the work of the thirty major monasteries was later set up in the Gakhwangsa temple by the abbots of the above monasteries. However, this central office was not strong enough to cater to the needs of the *Saṅgha* and a new office was set up in January 1922 A.C. with enhanced authority.

In 1929 A.C., a national Buddhist convention was held to legislate rules and regulations concerning the *Saṅgha* and seven high ranking monks were elected to form a consultative committee.

In spite of all these efforts at centralisation, another development took place in 1941 A.C. A new sect, called the Jogye sect, representing the entire Saṅgha community was set up with Taegosa temple as its headquarters. The Jogye sect was representative of the traditional Seon sect which was introduced to Korea in the Shilla period, inheriting the tradition of the sixth Chinese patriarch Huineng. The Jogye sect was one of the nine mountain Seon schools during the Goryo Dynasty.

The newly formed Jogye sect was officially recognised by the Japanese Resident-General on 23rd April 1941 and Master Hanam was elected as the first patriarch.

With the end of the second world war another development took place in the Korean Buddhist *Saṅgha*. All the Japanese-made legislation was discarded and Park Han Yeong was to lead the Saṅgha under new legislation. See PLS. XXVII-XXXI.

Woln Yi Beom
Seak, ka-San
Ma Sung

KOSAMBI, the capital of the Vatsas or Vaṃsas (*J*. IV, 28; VI, 236). In the time of the Buddha its king was Parantapa, and after him reigned his son Udena (*MA*. II, 740 f.; *DhpA* I, 164 f.) Kosambi was evidently a city of great importance at the time of the Buddha for we find Ananda mentioning it as one of the places suitable for the Buddha's *parinibbāna* (*D*. II., 146, 169). It was also the most important halt for traffic coming to Kosala and Magadha from the south and the west (*Vin*. I, 272). The city was thirty leagues by river from Benares (*AA*. I, 170) and the usual route from Rajagaha to Kosambi was up the river (*Vin*. II, 290), though there seems to have been a land route passing through Anupiya and Kosambi, the halting-places mentioned being Ujjeni, Gonaddha, Vedisa, Vanasavhya, Kosambi, Sāketa, Savatthi, Setavya, Kapilavatthu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Bhoganagara and Vesāli.

Near Kosambi, by the river, was Udena'spark, the Udakavana, where Ananda and Piṇḍola-Bharadvaja preached to the women of Udena's court on two different occasions (*Vin*. II, 290 f.; *SnA* II, 514; *J*. IV 375). The Buddha is mentioned as having once stayed in the Simsapavana in Kosambi (*S*.V., 437). Mahā Kaccāna lived in the wooodland near Kosambi after the holding of the First Council (*PvA*. 141).

Already in the Buddha's time there were four monastic establishments in Kosambi-the Kukkuṭārāma, the Ghositārāma, the Pāvārikambavana (all three donated by three of the most eminent citizens of Kosambi, named Kukkuṭa, Ghosita and Pāvārika respectively), and the Badarikārāma. The Buddha visited Kosambi on several occasions, stopping at one or the other of these residences, and several discourses delivered during these visits are recorded in the texts.

The Buddha spent his ninth rainy season at Kosambi, and it was on his way there that he made a detour to Kammassadamma where Magandiyā, daughter of the brāhmin Māgandiya was offered to him in marriage. The circumstances are narrated in connection with the *Māgandiya Sutta*. Māgandiyā took the Buddha's refusal as an insult to herself, and, after her marriage to king Udena, she tried in various ways to take revenge on the Buddha, and also on Udena's wife Sāmāvatī, who had been a follower of the Buddha (*DhpA*. I, 199 ff.; III; 193ff.; IV, 1ff., *Ud* vii. 10).

A great schism once arose among the monks in Kosambi. Some monks charged one of their colleagues with having committed an offence, but he refused to acknowledge the charge and, being himself learned in the *Vinaya*, argued his case and pleaded that the charge

-e dismissed. The rules were complicated; on the one hand, the monk had broken a rule and was treated as an offender, but on the other, he should not have been so treated if he could not see that he had done wrong. The monk was eventually excommunicated, and this brought about a great dissension. When the matter was reported to the Buddha, he admonished the partisans of both sides and urged them to give up their differences, but they paid no heed. The people of Kosambi were annoyed at the monks' behaviour as the quarrel developed. The Buddha once more counselled concord, narrating to the monks the story of king Dighiti of Kosala, but his efforts at reconciliation were of no avail, one of the monks actually asking him to leave them to settle their differences without his interference. Being disappointed with them the Buddha left Kosambi, and journeying through Bālakaloṇakāragāma and the Pācīnavamsadāya, retired alone to keep retreat in the Pārileyyaka forest. In the meantime, the monks of both parties repented, partly owing to the preasure exerted by their lay followers in Kosambi, and, coming to the Buddha at Savatthi, they asked his forgiveness and settled their dispute (*Vin*. I, 337-571; *J*. III, 486 ff.; *DhpA*. I, 44 ff; *SA*. II, 222f.).

The commentaries give two reasons for the name Kosambi. The more favoured (eg. *UdA*. 248; *SnA*. 300; *MA*. I, 535) is that the city was so called because it was founded in or near the site of the hermitage once occupied by the sage Kusumba (var. Kusumbha). Another explanation is (eg. *MA*. I, 539; *PsA*. 413) that large and stately *Margosa* trees (*Kosambarukkha*) grew in great number in and around the city.

During the time of the Vajjiputtaka heresy, when the Vajjiyan monks of Vesali wished to excommunicate Yasa Kākaṇḍakaputta, he went to Kosambi, and from there sent messengers to the orthodox monks in the different centers (*Vin*, II, 298; Mhv iv, 17).

It was at Kosambi that the Buddha promulgated a rule forbidding the use of intoxicants by monks (*Vin*. II, 307).

Kosambi is mentioned in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S*. IV, 179) as being situated on the banks of river uaṅgā (*Gaṅgāya nadiyā tīre*). This is either an error, or here the name *Gaṅgā* refers not to Ganges but to Yamunā. Kosambi is identified with the two villages of Kosam on the Jumna, about ninety miles west of Allahabad (Cunningham, *Ancient geography of India*.).

The great object of veneration in Kosambi was the celebrated statue of the Buddha in red sandalwood which is said to have been venerated by king Udena while the Buddha was in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven preaching the Abhidhamma to his mother. The statue was placed under a stone dome within the precincts of the palace of Udena which, as described by Hsuan tsang, was situated in the very middle of Kosambi. This site has been identified with the mass of ruins, where now stands a small Jain temple. The foundations of a large building are found both to the east and the west of the Jain temple but no remains of sculptural or architectural interest have been discovered there.

At a distance of about a quarter mile from there were discoverd two scupltured pillars of a Buddhist railing, and the pedestal of a statue inscribed with the well known Buddhist formula begining with *Ye-dharmā hetuprabhavā*, in characters of the 8th or 9th century. These may have perhaps originally belonged to the *vihāra* in the palace, which contained the famous sandalwood statue of the Buddha.

In the village of Chote Garhawa, about half a mile to the south-east was discovered a small square pillar, sculptured on three faces with representations of *stupas*. Cunningham presumes that this pillar belongs to the *stūpa* which contained the hair and nail relics of the Buddha, as it was situated inside the southeast corner of the city where the pillar itself was found.

Inside the fort of Kosambi (ie., Kosam) is a large monolithic pillar of Asoka.

To the south-west of Kosambi, about one and a half miles away, Hsuan Tsang describes the existence of a lofty *stūpa* built by Asoka, 200 feet in height, and a stone cavern of a venomous dragon, in which it was believed the Buddha had left his shadow though Hsuan Tsang candidly says that this shadow was not to be seen during his time (*ASIRA*. I, 301 ff.).

H.R. Perera

KRIYA-TANTRA, the first of the four classes into which the Buddhist *tantras* are divided. The *tantras* belonging to this class deal with ritualistic ceremonies to be performed at the building of temples, erection of images of gods etc. Winternitz (*A History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 389-90) mentions three extant texts belonging to the *Kriyā-tantra* class which are *Ādikarma -pradīpa*, *Kriyā-saṃgraha-pañjikā* and *Aṣṭamīvrata-*

vidhāna. However, as these texts deal also with rituals such as initiation ceremonies, sprinklings, morning and evening devotions etc., which could also fall within the *caryā,* the second class of *tantras*, a strict line of division among the four classes cannot be established.

A fact that is very important in respect of this division of Tantric texts is that the two former classes, *kriyā* and *caryā,* are meant for the neophytes or beginners who are technically called *ādikarmika bodhisattvas* in Buddhist Sanskrit (cp. Pali: *ādikammika*). Consequently these two classes of texts, especially the *kriyā* class, enjoin strict disciplinary observances in such matters as sex, food, drink etc. It is only after passing through these lower stages that the practiser is initiated into the higher and advanced mysteries as represented by such texts as the *Guhyasamājatantra,* which is classified as belonging to the fourth or the highest, class known as *Anuttarayoga.*

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

KṚTĀVI-BHŪMI, the seventh and the last of the stages of a disciple's progress (*srāvaka-bhūmi*) occuring in a list recorded in the *S'atasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā (Ssp.* pp. 1562-3). Being the last *bhūmi* as enumerated here, the person who has reached it is said to have obtained arhantship: (*kṛtair*: skilled, accomplished: cp. the term *kṛta-kṛtya* or *kṛta-karanīya* as used to describe arhants). The list occurs in an account wherein the Mahāyāna is compared to ether (*ākāsa*) the point to be emphasised being that the Mahāyāna is as infinite as the ether. Just as these *bhūmis*, are not found in the infinite *akāsa* so are they not found in the Mahāyāna, which too is hence infinite.

Elsewhere in the text (*Ssp.* p. 1473) *kṛtāvi* is given as the seventh of ten *bodhisattva bhūmi* which are made up by adding *pratyeka-buddha, bodhisattva* and *Buddha bhūmi* to the seven *s'rāvaka-bhūmi*. The seven *srāvakabhūmi* are also enumerated at *Mahāvyutpatti*, section 50.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

KṢAṆA see KHAṆA

KṢEMENDRA - a Kashmiri poet who was a prolific writer in the fields of Buddhist and Hindu cultures. As pointed out by P.L. Vaidya, the editor of Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā* or better known as *Bodhisattvāva dānakapalatā*, there is no complete record of the life of Kṣemendra as is usual of many writers of Kṣemendra's period. Glimpes of information regarding his life can be gathered from what he says about himself at the end of his own works, from his son's (Somendra's) preface to his *Avadānakalpalata* and from Kalhāna's *Rājataraṅgini*. P.L. Vaidya opines that the earliest date in Kṣemendra's works comes out to be 1037 A.C. and the latest 1066 A.C. Kṣemendra was a pupil of Abhinava Gupta at about 1014 A.C. and Kṣemendra may have been born about 990-1000 A.C. P.L. Vaidya opines, too, that Kṣemendra may have died soon after 1066 A.C.

From information supplied by Kṣemendra in his last work *Das'āvatāracarita*, the frame of his family tree can be conjectured thus.

Narendra
(Minister of king Jayapīḍa)
Bhogendra
Sindhu
Prakas'endra
Kṣemendra Cakrāpala
Somendra

P.L. Vaidya categorises Kṣemendra's works as follows:

(a) Poetical Epitomes : *Rāmāyanamañjarī, Bhāratamañjarī, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Dasāvatārcarita and Avadānakalpalatā.*

(b) Didactic Poems: *Kalāvilāsa, Samayamātṛkā, Cālucaryās'ataka, Sevyasevakopades'a,*

Darpadālana, Deśopadeśā, Narmamālā and *Caturvargasaṁgraha.*

(c) Poetics and Metrics: *Karikanṭhābharaṇa, Aucityavicāracaryā* and *Suvṛttatilaka.*

(d) Miscellaneous: *Lokaprakāśakoṣa, Nītikalpataru* and *Vyāsāṣṭaka*

Avadānakalpalatā of Ksemendra enjoys high reputation in Tibet where it is stated to have been translated in the twelvth century. A.C. Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II) opines that it was translated into Tibetan in 1272 A.C. under the auspices of the Mogul emperer Kublai Khān.

W.G. Weeraratne

KṢŪDRAKA - VASTU is the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya work corresponding to the *Khuddakavatthu- kkhandhaka* of the *Cullavagga* of the Pali *Vinaya Piṭaka.* Although Winternitz (*A History of Indian Literature II*, p. 239 n.3) implies that the work corresponds to the Pali *Cullavagga* in its entirety, it seems to be through some oversight as it corresponds only to that section of the *Cullavagga* designated by the same name (chapter V of the Pali *Cullavagga*). This fact is clearly explained by Nalinaksha Dutt in his edition of *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Vol. III, part iii, Introduction-page 2) where he says that in the *Sarvāstivāda Vinayavastu* he was editing, the leaves dealing with the "Miscellaneous details regarding the daily life of the *bhikkhu*" referring to the 5th chapter of the Pali *Cullavagga*, which is the Pali *Khuddakavatthukkhandaka*, are lost.

Therefore its contents cannot be compared with the Pali text.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

KUAN-YIN, abbreviated form of Kuan-Shih-Yin, the name by which Avalokiteśvara is known in China. Less often he is also known as Kuan-tzu-tsai. Kuan-yin is said to reside in the island of Pu-to,[1] and it is possible that it was only after about the 9th century A.C. that this island came to be considered as the residence of Kuan-Yin. See PL. XXXII

The name Kuan-Yin is given different interpretations by scholars. A few such interpretations are as follows: 'Illuminating the sounds of the world,' One who contemplates on the sounds of the world' 'Hearer of the prayer of the world,' 'He who bears the cries of men.'[2]

Some scholars are of opinion that the name Kuan-Shih-Yin is a mistranslation of the name Avalokitesvara[3]. They point out that Chinese translaters have confused the term Is'vara (meaning lord) which is the second component of the Sanskrit name Avalokites'vara (= Avalokita + is'vara) with -svara (meaning sound) and used the latter in place of the former.[4] A possible cause for this confusion may be found in the name of another bodhisattva called Gadgades'vara who is somewhat similar in character to Avalokites'vara and whose description appears in the 23rd chapter of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, the chapter which precedes the one devoted to Avalokitesvara. His name is translated into Chinese with the two characters *miao* (wonderful) and *yin* (sound). The term-*svara* occurring in the name Gadgades'vara may have led the Chinese translaters to assume that the second. component of the name Avalokites'vara is - svara and not-is'vara. However, Kuan-tzu-tsai, the lesser known of the two names, and which perhaps, is of later origin is closer in meaning to the Sanskrit original.

There is no concensus among scholars regarding the date of the introduction of Kuan-Yin worship into China. Edkins (p. 382), though he does not give any specific date, says that Kuan-Yin was worshipped in China probably as early as the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - A.C. 220). On the other hand, Johnsten[5] points out the difficulty of fixing the exact period of introduction of the Kuan-Yin cult. As the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* is the basic text dealing with the Avalokitesvara

1. This is located in one of the groups of hily islands konwn to Europeans as the Shu-san archipelago which lies off the north-eastern coast of Che-kiang. The name Pu-t'o could be a corrupt abbreviation of the Sanskrit form Potalaka which is sited in Sanskrit Buddhist sources as the abode of Avalkotesvara.
2. For different interpretations of this name see Alexander C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, (Ascona, Switzerland, 1959) p. 156
3. See E.J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 189 fn.1. cf also J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, (London, 1893)p. 415.
4. S. Beal does not regard it as a confusion (*JRAS*. (NS) II, p. 420 ff.) Minayeff on the other hand support the Chinese usage and puts forward the view that-*svara* and not *īs'vara* is the original word (*JRAS*. 1927, p. 241, ff.).
5. R.F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, (London, 1913) p. 271 f.

cult, the date of translation of this text could be considered as providing an important clue to the date of introduction of Kuan-Yin worship into China. The oldest extant Chiness translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra*, known in Chinese as *Cheng-Fa-hua-ching*, is said to date from 286 A.C. [6] On the other hand, tradition seems to hold that there existed two earlier translations.

This does not, however, mean that the Kuan-Yin cult in China is either ceoeval with the translation into Chinese of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sutra* or subsequent to it. On the contrary, it can be reasonably argued that Kuan-Yin worship was known in China prior to this event, and that it is the popularity of this worship that enhanced the necessity of a translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra*. Hence, there is good reason to accept the view put forward by scholars like Alice Getty [7] that Kuan-Yin worship was introduced into China during the Han dynasty towards the end of the 1st century A.C., possibly through the wide prevalence of the cult in Central Asia already by this time.

However, there is no denying of the fact that Kuan-Yin worship became still more popular as a result of the appearence of the translation. It is seen that soon after the completion of the translation it is the chapter dealing with Avalokites'vara that became most popular, and it was often treated as an independant text. By about the 5th century the Kuan-Yin cult had spread far and wide and it reached the zenith of its popularity by about the 6th and 7th centuries by which time Kuan-Yin came to be assigned a place of sanctity in almost every Chinese Buddhist temple.

Avalokites'vara, as presented in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sutra*, for example, is the embodiment *par-excellence* of compassion, and it is this characteristic that appealed most to the Chinese Buddhists from the very beginning. Hence, from the time of introduction Kuan-Yin was woshipped as the most benevolent, compassionate, and merciful *bodhisattva*. In the eyes of the Chinese Buddhists this quality of compassion seems to have appeared rather like an effeminate characteristic, a mother-like love, and hence arose the tendency, from a fairly early period, to represent Kuan-Yin in a feminised form. This tendency was accelerated by Kuan-Yin's special power of bestowing children on those who invoke his favour for that purpose.[8] As the 'giver of children' Kuan-Yin was conceived by the Chinese almost in the form of a goddess. At a subsequent period this feminised form got further established and became widespread owing to a confusion of the characters of Harīti[9] and Miao-Shan[10] with Kuan-Yin.

Available evidence is insufficient to decide the exact period in which this feminisation of Kuan-Yin took place. De la Vallee Peussin, basing his argument on a Nepalese inscription dated to the 8th century, concludes that "the Chinese transformation of Avalokita into a woman had probably been already effected in India '(*ERE*. II p. 260). Sten Konow too, is of the same opinion (*JBORS*. XI, p. 1 ff). S. Paranavitana cites evidence that seems to support this contention (*CJSc*. II, p. 52 ff; cf. also *JRAS*. 1906, p. 464; 1915, p. 403). In marked contrast to this idea stands the portrayal of Kuan-Yin in strongly masculine character in the paintings of the divinity in Central Asia. Edkins (op. cit. pp. 382, 384) is of opinion that Kuan-Yin was not recognised in female form until the 12th century A.C. and he adds that Kuan-Yin is to be regarded as masculine even at present and that the feminine form is merely a special metamorphosis. It is, in fact, more correct to say that the latter is only a near-feminine form. On the contrary Fenollosa[11] points out that there are some Chinese paintings of Kuan-Yin belonging to the 7th and 8th centuries which are markedly feminine. However, he does not hold the view that Kuan-Yin was represented exclusively in this feminised form, for, he admits the presence of other paintings belonging to

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Miyeko Murase, '*Kuan-Yin as Saviour of Men*:Illustration of the Twenty-fifth, chapter of the Lotus Sutra in Chinese Paintings, in *ArtA*., vol. xxxiii, 1/2, p. 40.

Alice. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Charles E. Tuttle & Company, 1962 p. 78.

The *Sdmp*. (chp. xxiv) describes elaborately this special power of Avalokites'vara.

Harīti was originally a child devouring demoness who was later transformed into a giver and protector of children. See J.D. Dhirasekera, Harīti and Pañcikā: *An early Buddhist legend of Many lands*, in *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume*, (Colombo, 1976) p. 61 ff.

Miao-shan is a legendary Chinese princess who by practising meditation and performing meritorious deeds attained Buddhahod. See Wally, *Avalokitesvara and the legend of Miae-shan* in *ArtA* tome xxv, ii

Fenellesa. *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, I, pp. 105, 122; II p. 49f.)

[illegible] period representing Kuan-Yin as a male [illegible] Johnsten, (*op.cit*.p. 275) does not agree [illegible] Edkins. He says that though it may be true that Kuan-Yin was not generally regarded as a feminised *bodhisattva* until about the 12th century, there is ample evidence to establish the prevalence of the feminised form of Kuan-Yin at a much earlier date. Regarding Edkins' other observation, Johnston (*op.cit*.p. 267) says that, in popular Chinese religious lore Kuan-Yin is almost always represented in the feminised form whose full Chinese title is T'a-tzu ta-pei Chin -k'uan-shih-yin tzu-tsang-wang P'u-sa, the all compassionate, self - existent saviour the royal *bodhisattva* who hears the cries of the world.

A majority of Sinologists accept that in the T'ang dynasty (618-907) there was a form of Avalokites'vara called Sung-tzu Kuan-Yin who was looked upon as the 'Dispenser of fecundity' (Getty, *op.cit*.p. 80). Peri[12] thinks that originally Sung-tzu Kuan-Yin represented a male form of Avalokites'vara with a child in his arms, thus symbolising his child bestowing quality. The transition from this male form to the feminised form with flowing robes and prominent effeminate features is regarded as a natural sequence (Getty. *loc. cit.*)

Alice Getty (*op.cit*.p. 79) remarks that the earliest representation of Kuan-Yin shows strong Indian influence. The same authority categorized the male form of Kuan-Yin into two main groups. One group consists of the thirty-two metamorphosis called the 'Kuan-Yin, san shih-erh-hsing' on the thirty two images of Kuan-Yin, modelled on the image of Padmapaṇi with minor variations among each other. The other group called the 'Pa-uan Kuan-Yin' consists of eight guises assumed by him to save the beings from eight kinds of perils. Besides this, there is another form called Chien-shou (thousand armed) or 'ch'ien-yen (thousand-eyed, mainly modelled on the thousand armed Avalokites'vara form prevalent in Tibet.

According to Getty, the earliest feminine form of Kuan-Yin is the feminised form of Padmapāṇi. There is another modelled on Hariti, represented as carrying a child in her arms or on the lap. In this form she is usually represented as wearing flowing drapery cascading from her high-head-dress. The transformation of Hariti into the feminised form of Kuan-Yin was completed by making her adopt the two symbols, the vase and the dove, which are common symbols of Nothern Buddha form (Getty, *op. cit.* p. 81)

There is still another feminised form which appears to have originated from an amalgamation of Kuan-Yin and Miao-shan. In this form Kuan-Yin is represented either as having two arms or many arms. In her many-armed form feminised Kuan-Yin is always represented as seated,[13] with the two normal hands in the posture of worship, while the other hands are represented as holding various Buddhist symbols.

Another significant change in the insignia is the substitution of the willow-branch in place of the lotus, which Kuan-Yin carries in a narrow-necked phial (*ching-p'ing*), and confers blessings on the worshippers, thus promising them endless bliss in the Sukhāvatī heaven.

In passing it could be mentioned that Kuan-Yin is regarded also as a fish goddess called Ao-Yu Kuan-Yin and in this connection it should be noted that in Nepal, too, Avalokites'vara is referred to as Matsyendranātha (Lord or the king of fishes). Johnsten (*op.cit*.p. 289) thinks that this could be a refined and a moralised form of the Syrian fish-goddess called Atargatis.

S.K.Nanayakkara

KUBLAI KHAN (1216-1294) was the youngest of the four sons of Jenghiz Khan, the founder of the Mongal (Yüan) dynasty in China.

Kublai who succeeded his brother Mongu in 1259 at the latter's death, continued the war of expansion finally conquering the Sung dynasty and thus completing the conquest of China in 1276.

Kublai Khan appears to have adopted a very tolerant attitude towards the numerous religious faiths prevalent at the time, and there is ample historical evidence to show his special leanings, whatever be the reason for this preferential attitude, towards Buddhism, particularly towards Lamaism. The history of Tibetan Buddhism records the meeting between Kublai Khan and the famous grand lāmā Phags-pa (1235-80) of the Sa-skya sect who visited China on the invitation of Khan himself. This meeting is singularly important,

12. See N. Peri, "Hariti, la Mee're-de-De'mons *BEFEO*. xvii, 1917. p. 68)
13. In the Thousand - "armed" masculine form Kuan-Yin is always standing.

for it produced far reaching results that greatly contributed to shape the course of the history of Tibet as well as its history of Buddhism.

Tibetan tradition records how Phags-pa, with his erudition and encyclopaedic knowledge about the history and general affairs, succeeded in winning over Kublai Khan's confidence. Phags-pa was successful in obtaining Kublai Khan's approval and patronage to his proposal to establish his own self (ie'Phags-pa) as the secular ruler of Tibet. Besides, he successfully persuaded Kublai Khan to agree to exempt all Buddhist Monasteries in Tibet from all kinds of taxation and also to put an end to the practice of using monasteries as garrisons. As the favour shown to Lamaism by Kublai Khan passed all bounds, the lāmās became wealthy and powerful, finally paving the way for a theocratic rulership in Tibet.

Though it is said that Kublai Khan embraced Lamaism and received initiation into Hevajra doctrine at the hands of Phags-pa and even appointed the latter as the Imperial Tutor (H. Hoffman, *The Religion of Tibet*, London 1961,p.138), it is not known for certain whether he continued to follow and practise Lāmaistic teachings. However, it is clear from contemporary records that Kublai Khan was a great ruler who was intelligent, always desirous of knowledge and who willingly patronised Chinese culture and literature.

S.K. Nanayakkara.

KUḌĀ - (var. Kuvā), a site of an early Buddhist rock-sanctuary in western India. Kuḍā is a small village on the shore of the Rajpurī creek and is about 45 miles to the south of Bombay in the Maharastra State. Whithin a 40 mile radius to the north of Kuḍā lie the more famous Buddhist caves such as Kondāne (q.v.), *Kārlī* (q.v.), Bhājā, (q.v.) Bedsā (q.v.) etc.

Despite the fact that Kuḍā caves are a less ambitious project their close resemblance to the architectural and artistic features of such famous sites as Kārlī leads one to conjecture that the cave site at Kuḍā too was begun during the same period as that of Kārli, during the first century before the present era.

On the eastern shore of the nothern arm of the Rajpurī creek, a low hill sloping down to the north, the caves of Kuḍā are seen to contain altogether 22 in the whole group. These caves were hidden in the jungle for centuries until they were brought to light in 1848 (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III, pt. II, p. 44). All the caves at Kuḍa, excepting one sole example, are extremely plain adding a feeling of austerity that marks the nature of early Buddhist eramites. The cave No. VI, is the exception to this general feature of cave architecture at *Kuḍā* which is necessarily a *Caityagṛha* enshrining within it a miniature *stūpa*. The other caves may have been meant as monastic cells serving as residential quarters. The pioneer investigators at the site, James Fergusson and James Burgess take the *Caityagṛha* at Kuḍā as the principal cave at the site. The pro-naos has a roof which projects out for about 8 feet and is supported at each end by the fore-part of an elephant. This arrangement of representing fore-parts of elephants is most elaborately used at the more famous cave temple at Kārlī a site which shares many other features of affinity with Kuḍā. Incidentally it should be of importance to investigate the elephantine walls that are found in early Buddhist architecture of Sri Lanka (eg. Yaṭāla vehera in the south, and Mahāthūpa in Anuradhapura), because such an investigation would help to determine the close cultural links the Buddhists of the two regions had developed during ancient times.

Most of the cells at Kuḍā have stone benches and beds meant for resident eremites.

The cave No. VI, which is the only one at Kuḍā with sculptures has two principal sculptured panels at the corners on the back of the hall. These panels measure each about 5 ft. by 7 ft. approximately. The panel in the right corner contains sculptured figures of a Mithuna, probably a donor couple, depicted in life-size and with heavy fleshy limbs.

The man wears a turban and large earrings and holds his left hand up. Except for long tubular bracelets his torso is almost bare. His lower garment is held together by a waistband and a cloth drapes round. The headdress of the female figure is elaborate. Her breasts are heavy and bare; she wears as her lower garment a bejewelled *mekhalā* (girdle). On her legs are heavy anklets. A manikin kneels at her left and holds her anklets as if adjusting them. The female rests one hand on the dwarf's head.

Bearing every resemblance to the one discussed above is a corresponding panel in the left corner. Both these sculptured panels have a striking resemblance to similar depictions of donor couples at Kārlī and Kaṅkeri. The resemblance is so striking even in their

... details, that it would lead one to infer that the craftsmen responsible for these sanctuaries belonged to the same age and the same tradition.

On the right wall of the cave and on the left side of the front of the verandah are carved in low relief Buddha figures on lotus seats. These Buddha images are depicted in different postures. Some in the cross legged *Vajrāsanamudra*, others in the so-called European fashion or *Pralambhapāda*. In one panel the Buddha in the famous *Dharmacakra* or preaching attitude is depicted in the manner very much similar to a panel at Kārlī, the wheel or *Dharmacakra* below the lotus, three deer on each side, and under them two anthropomorphic *nāga*-kings holding a pillar on which rests the wheel. The nāga kings are attended by their female consorts and other attendants.

In another sculpture the wheel or deer are wanting, and the worshipping figures are rudely sculpted below the *nāgas* and over a lotus plant. The sculptures on which the Buddha figure appears are thought to be of later date than the other sculptures at Kuḍā, and could be of the later developed Mahayana phase of Buddhist art. (see J. Burgess and J. Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, reprinted 1969, Delhi, pp. 207 f).

There are partly defaced inscriptions in Brahmi script, on the right wall and on one of the pillars. In some of these inscriptions are found names like S'ivadatta, S'ivapālita, Skandapalita, S'ivabhūta which may be names of donor princes and princesses.

The Buddhist cave temple at Kuḍa represents one of the early attempts in the rock-cut architecture of Theravāda Buddhists of western India. However at a later date these caves have been occupied by the Mahāyanists who introduced advanced forms of Buddhist worship as reflected in the representations on the sculptured panels found.

A significant feature of the caves at Kuḍā is the provision of rock-cut platforms for the monks to sit and sleep. This feature is present in many early caves occupied by early monks in India and Sri Lanka both; a feature illustrative of the austere living conditions preferred by these early eremites of the Theravada school.

A.D.T.E. Perera

KUKAI See KOBODAISHI

KUKKUṬĀRĀMA A pleasance in Pāṭalīputra (modern Patna), in India. It was evidently the residence of monks from very early times, probably, for some time of the Buddha himself. The *Mahāvagga* (*Vin*. I. 300) mentions the names of several *theras* who lived there Nilavāsī, Sānavāsī, Gopaka, Bhagu, Phalikasandana. The *Saṃyukta Nikaya* (*S*.V. 15f; 171f) records discussions which took place there between Ānanda and Bhadda. It may have been a favourite resort of Ānanda, for we find the householder Dasama of Atthakanagara going there to inquire as to his whereabouts (*A*.V. 342; *M*. 1.349). It was also, probably at a later date, the residence of Nārada who converted king Muṇḍa (*A*. iii. 57f), and afterwards of Sonaka, the *upajjhāya* of Siggava and Candavajji, the teacher of Moggaliputtatissa (*Mhv*. v 122). Buddhaghosa (*MA*. 11.571; *AA*. 11.866), mentions that the Kukkuṭārāma was made by the *seṭṭhi* Kukkuta, but gives no further particulars. Here there is probably some confusion with the *ārāma* of the same name at Kosambī.

The Chinese monk Hsüan-tsang had visited Kukkuṭārāma and is said to have displayed his wisdom there (S.Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, Kegan Paul, Vol. I. bk. I, p. 6). Hsüan-tsang, says that Kukkuṭārāma was to the south-east of the old city of Pāṭalīputra and was built by Asoka when he first became a convert to the Buddha's religion. "It was a sort of first fruit and a pattern of majestic construction." Only the foundation of the building was left at the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit (S. Beal, op. cit, Vol. II, bk. VIII, p. 95). It is probable that this account refers to the Asokārāma which Asoka built as the first of his Buddhist structures, and that Asokārāma was constructed on the site of the old Kukkuṭārāma. It is significant that *Pāli* sources recording Asoka's doings make no mention of a Kukkuṭārāma existing in his time, though Sanskrit Buddhist *Divyāvadāna* for instance (*Divy*. ed. Cowel and Neil, Cambridge, pp. 381 f, 430 ff; Smith's *Asoka*, p. 183, 193f), makes frequent references to it. If the conjecture made above, namely, that Asokārāma replaced Kukkuṭārāma, be correct, it may have been that the place was known by both names in Asoka's time.

A.D.T.E. Perera

KUMĀRAJĪVA, a great Buddhist scholar who lived in Kashmir in the beginning of the second half of the fourth century A.C. It is said that he hailed from a respectable family of hereditary ministers in a north Indian State (possibly Kashmir) and had renounced his claims to the ancestral office early in life, to become a

Buddhist monk. Later he went to Kucha where he rose to the position of the royal preceptor and married the king's sister (or near relation) Jiva who had fallen in love with him.

Kumārajīva who was brought to Kashmir by his mother when he was only nine years old, studied Buddhist texts for three years under the well-known scholar Bandhudatta. On their way back from the valley, mother and son spent some time in visiting the well-known Buddhist institutions in Tukharistan and Kashgar. In the latter country, where he stayed for about a year, he was requested by the ruler to remain permanently, but on the pressing invitation of his relative, the king of Kucha, the teen-ager monk and his mother returned to their native place.

Kumārajīva was born around 344 A.C. and was ordained at the age of twenty. On his return from Kashmir an *arhat* had told his mother that a great future lay in store for her son. This prophesy was proved to be true. At Kucha where he spent the early part of his life, Kumàrajiva was the recipient of high honours. He was accorded a personal welcome by the king on his return from Kashmir and other places. A new monastery was specially erected for him. Here he further studied the Sarvàstivāda *Vinaya* with another distinguished Kashmiri scholar by name Vimalaksha, who had come to Kucha, probably at the invitation of the pious ruler.

About 382 A.C. Kucha was overrun by a Chinese general named Lu Koang and Kucha's ruler was defeated. In those days it was common practice to carry away eninent men of letters in the subjugated territory along with other prisoners of war, and thus Kumārajīva, too, was taken to Liang-chon in Kansu province. Though at first Kumārajīva was treated disdainfully, his great literary skills once again won for him recognition and thereafter for nearly fifteen years he lived honourably.

During his long stay in Kansu, Kumārajīva's fame spread all over China and he received repeated invitations from Emperor Yao Hin to visit his capital, Changan. Kumārajīva went to Changan in 401 A.C. where he stayed until his death in 413 A.C. while in Changan, he devoted himself to propagating Buddhism, specially the Mahāyāna, among the Chinese people. To spread the faith widely he decided to translate the sacred Buddhist texts into the language of the people, and before his death he had accomplished the stupendous task of translating not less than a hundred Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Chinese.

The Japanese scholar Bunyin Nanjio has listed about four dozen works by Kumārajīva in his catalogue (*Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka,* Oxford 1883), some of the very important of them being: *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-Sūtra, Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-Sūtra, Sukhāvatī-vyūha-Sūtra, Sarvapuṇya-samucchaya-samādhiSūtra, Sahas´ra-Buddha-nidāna-Sūtra, Sūtrālaṅkāra-Sūtra, Avalokites´vara-Bodhisattva-samanta-mukha-parivarta, Sarvāstivāda-prātimokṣa* and treatises on the lives of As´vaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. He also translated *Tattvasiddhi-s´āstra* or *Satyasiddhi* of Harivarman, a Buddhist scholar of Kashmir.

Kumārajīva is regarded as one of the great translators of Sanskrit texts into Chinese. Some people rank his style of writing as superior to that of Hiuen Tsang. He is even credited with the introduction of a new alphabet into China. Kumārajiva's scholarly labours in the cause of his faith won him the love and admiration of the Chinese people. They regarded him as one of the 'four suns' of Buddhism, and always referred to him as *Tungshee* or 'one though young in years is mature in the wisdom and virtues of old age.' He had many Chinese disciples, Fa-Hien being one of them. Fa-Hien wrote *Fo-ku-ki* (Account of the Buddha's country) on the invitation of his *guru* Kumarajiva.

Kumārajīva's literary output was not accomplished single-handed. From time to time he had the assistance of other distinguished Indian scholars, most of them being Kasmīris. Vimalaksa, Kumārajīva's teacher and Punyatara were two such scholars who assisted Kumārajīva in his stupendous task.

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W.G. Weeraratne

KUMĀRAKASSAPA, an *arahant thera* who was an early disciple of the Buddha. In the *Etadaggavagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* the Buddha declared him foremost among his male disciples with regard to versatility in preaching (*etadagggaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvakānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ cittakathikānaṃ yadidaṃ Kumārakassapo - A.* 1, p. 24).

Kumārakassapa's mother was the daughter of a banker (*seṭṭhi*) of Rājagaha. Having failed to obtain the father's permission to enter the order of *bhikkhuṇīs*, she agreed to marry a young man, chosen for her by the father, with the hope of obtaining his (the husband's) permission subsequently to enter the order of *bhikkhuṇīs*. Several months after the marriage the husband reluctantly gave her permission to become a *bhikkhuṇī* and she entered the order of *bhikkhuṇīs*, not knowing that she was with child at the time. As time passed by signs of pregnancy appeared on her and the other *bhikkhuṇīs* suspected that she had been misbehaving with a paramour even after becoming a *bhikkhuṇī*. The matter was first reported to Devadatta who indiscreetly pronounced that the *bhikkhuṇī* was at fault. The Buddha referred the matter to a board of inquiry headed by Visākhā and after an impartial inquiry the *bhikhuṇi's* name was cleared of guilt.

When the child was born, he was kept in the nunnery and after sometime the king of Kosala took him into his charge. At the very young age of seven years he was ordained a monk. He was named Kumāra-Kassapa thera because of his royal upbringing and because he was ordained as a *bhikkhu* at a very young age.

Once when Kumāra-kassapa thera was meditating in Andhavana, an *anāgamī* brahmā who had been Kumara-kassapa's companion in a past birth, appeared before him and posed fifteen questions to him questions that only the Buddha could answer. The following morning Kumāra-kassapa thera saw the Buddha at the Anāthapiṇḍikārāma in the Jeta's grove and reported to the Buddha the incidence of his meeting the brahmā and this led to the Buddha's elucidation of the questions posed to Kumāra-kassapa by the brahmā (*Vammika Sutta- M.* I, 142 ff). At the conclusion of the Buddha's sermon Kumāra-kassapa thera attained arahantship.

Though Kumāra-kassapa thera's mother entered the order of *bhikkhuṇīs* long before Kumāra-kassapa was ordained as a *bhikkhu*, she could not make much progress on the path as she was very fond of Kumāra-kassapa and was yearning to have him close to her. One day she saw Kumāra-kassapa thera on the streets doing his alms round and rushed to him in great excitement. Kumāra-kassapa thera realised that his mother's strong love for him was an obstade on the path of her spiritual development and pretended to be disdainful towards her. This caused acute pain of mind in her and subsequently she became disgusted of life and strove hard and attained arahantship (*DhpA*. III, 147).

Kumāra-kassapa was a learned brahamin in the time of Padumuttara Buddha and hearing the Buddha ranking a monk fore-most in eloquence, he too wished for such distinction under a future Buddha and with this end in view, he performed many meritorious deeds (*Ap.* II, 473f).

D. Saddhasena

KUMARALĀṬA, also called Kumaralabdha or Kumaralābha,[1] is regarded as the founder of the Sautrantika school of Buddhism and to have lived around the second century A.C., as a junior contemporaty of Asn'vaghoṣa. He is perhaps identical with Kumaralata, the eighteenth Patriarch of the Chinese lists. A native of Taxila he is referred to several times by Hsuang-tsang in his *Si-yu-ki* not only as the founder of the Sautrantika school but also as a sun that shone in the northern direction with the other three suns As'vaghoṣa, Nāgarjuna and Āryadeva shining in the east, the west and the south respectively. He further says that Kumaralāta was carried off in captivity by a king who reigned somewhere in the east of the Pamirs.[2]

Although Kumaralāta is said to have written several works, only one of his works and even that in fragmentary form found in Turfan, is presently available. This is the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* or *Kalpanālaṃkṛtika* which has been editied by H. Luders in German and published as voulme II of *Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte* (1926, Leipzig).[3] The book is regarded as a work of merit.

1. Although M. Winternitz (*A History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 268, nt 3) says that Kumaralabdha is only a wrong re-translation of the Chinese name given to Kumaralata, the reverse seems to be more correct: i.e., that Kumaralāta is a variant reading of the correct Sanskrit form Kumāralabdha or Kumaralābha meaning "he who received his youth". Compare also the fact that his pupil Srilabha is also called Srilāta.
2. *On Yuang Chwang's Travels in India*, Thomas Watters, II, p. 286; See also S. Beal's translation of the *Si-yu-ki*, II, pp. 302f.
3. The full title of the publication is *"Bruchstucke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta.*
4. See Winternitz, op. cit. pp. 623-4

Although it was once believed that this *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* was identical with the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* attributed to As'vaghoṣa, this view has subsequently found to be incorrect.[4] However the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* is regarded as an imitation of the *Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā* and attributed to As'vaghoṣa perhaps because of his fame.

As the *Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā* is regarded as the basic work of the *Sautrāntikas*, Kumaralāta is given the epithet *mūlacārya*, the first teacher. Srīlāṭa or Srīlabha and Harivarman, two other *Sarvāstivāda* teachers, are recorded as the pupils of Kumāralāta, whose Sauntrāntika sect is sometimes more specifically designated as Darṣṭantika or based on dṛṣṭānta or allegories. This agrees with the information provided by K'ovei-ki, a pupil of Hsuan-Tsang, that Kumāralāta was called "master of parables'.[5]

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

KUMBHAṆḌA. The term *kumbhaṇḍa* has been used in Buddhist literature to denote a type of spirit which could be equivalent to a demi-god or a goblin. It has also been used as a personal name. The *Mahāvaṃsa* makes mention of a Jain ascetic (*nigaṇṭha*) named Kumbhaṇḍa in its chapter pertaining to the reign of King Paṇḍukābhaya (437-367 B.C.). In the vicinity of Gāmaṇī Tank (probably Karambäva tank of the present day) this king built a hermitage for two ascetics named Jotiya and Giri. There were also ascetics of various heretical sects for whom he built hermitages. The king also built a chapel for the *nigaṇṭha* Kumbhaṇḍa and it was named after him. Says the *Mahāvaṃsa*:

Tattheva ca devakulaṃ akaresi mahīpati
Kumbhaṇḍassa nigaṇṭhassa tannāmakamahosi taṃ (X-99)

Kumbhaṇḍa is also a generalised term used in respect of a class of fairies, genii, and spirits who are grouped with *yakkhas, asuras, nāgas* and *devas*. They live in the Southern quarter and Virūḷha is their king.

Dakkhinaṃ ca disaṃ rājā Virūḷho taṃ pasāsati
Kumbhaṇḍānam adhipati Mahārājā yasassi so
(*Digha Nikaya* II, 257)

In the *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka* Kumbhīra is mentioned as one of their chiefs. (.....*tamaggahīti taṃ maṇiratanaṃ Kumbhīro nāma yakkho Kumbhaṇḍa-satasahassa parivāro so pana tena kujjhitvā....*). *Kumbhaṇḍas* had huge stomachs and their genital organs were as big as pots, hence their name (*kumbhaṇḍanām'ti te kira devā mahodarā honti rahassaṅgaṃ pi ca tesaṃ kumbho viya mahantaṃ hoti. Tasmā kumbhaṇḍā ti vuccati. Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, III, p. 964, *PTS*.).

A *peta* (Skt. *preta*-goblin) called Kumbhaṇḍa is mentioned in the *Sutta Nipāta*, under the title Aṇḍabhārī-gāmakūṭo. In this text a story is narrated giving details connected with this goblin and the sinful acts committed by him which brought about his miserable state. When the Elder Mahā Moggallāna was descending from the Vulture's Peak (Gijjhakūṭa) one morning, along with the Elder Lakkhaṇa, he saw a goblin flying through the air (*vehāsaṃ gacchantaṃ*). His genitals were as large as pots. Even during his travels, he had to place his genitals on his shoulders and while sitting, he had to sit on them. Vultures, crows and hawks (of fierce appearance) would descend on him, peel, peck and tear away his genitals and then he would yell out pitifully. On seing this goblin, the Elder Mahā Moggallāna, smiled. The elder Lakkhana, having seen his colleague smile, asked the reason for it. The reply was that the matter could be discussed in the presence of the Buddha.

The *Sāratthappakāsini* (commentary to the *Sutta Nipāta*) gives more details of this extraordinary being, including his previous sinful acts. The Buddha himself had seen this goblin at the Bodhi-maṇḍala (on the day of Enlghtenment) but he did not speak about it because no one could pay heed to such a story, dismissing it as incredible. As the Elder Mahā Moggallāna had himself seen the being, it was possible to speak about it without hesitation because of the availability of another witness. This goblin had been an unscrupulous judical officer (*kūṭa-vinicchayamacco*) in a previous birth (in the city of Rajagaha itself). He was in the habit of taking bribes and disowning the lawful owners (*lañcaṃ gahetvā kūṭavinicchayaṃ pakataṃ dosaṃ karonto sāmike assāmike akāsi*). He suffered in hell for a very long time and in his present state was going through the balance period of punishment.

In a Sinhala text named *Amāvatura* (12th C.) it is said that the four Cātummahārājika deities named Dhataraṭṭha, Virūḷha, Virūpakkha and Kuvera had *gandhabbas, kumbhaṇḍas, nāgas* and *yakkhas* respectively as their retinues. In another Sinhala text named

5. Winternitz, *loc.cit*. See also *IHQ*. Vol.XVI, 1940, pp. 246ff. and also Filliozat *L'Inde Classique*, II, p. 381

Saddharmaratnākara (15th C), there is a reference to a region named Kumbhaṇḍalinda, situated on a side of Mount Meru, which was being guarded by *Kumbhaṇḍas*.

In ancient Sinhala sculpture, too, *Kumbhaṇḍas* were represented on the stylobates of architectural monuments betweeen the base mouldings. In relevant descriptions they are also referred to as *gaṇas*. They are shown as holding the burden of the buildings on their heads, while being seated pot-bellied. At times they are representd as standing on either side of a *nāgarāja*, as in a guardstone from Tiriyay. In Hindu sculpture, too, they are shown as pot-bellied creatures, posing as attendants of S'iva or Vis'nu.

Nandasena Mudiyanse.

KUSALA. The term *kusala* (Skt.*kus'ala*) in Buddhism has a number of shades of meaning varying according to the context in which it is used. Thus, *kusala* is used to convey the meanings of clever, expert, good, right, skilful, meritorious, profitable, wholesome and so on. However, its special significance as a religious technical term is seen when it is used in Buddhist literature, both Pali and Sanskrit, to imply a moral sense connoting morally good, profitable, efficient or wholesome actions of body, word and thought (i.e. *karma*) which are conducive to the attainment of the desired goal of *nibbāna* or release from *saṃsāra*. Closely tied up with the concept of *kusala* is its opposite *akusala*. These twin concepts (*kusala-akusala*), thus occupy an important place in the Buddhist ethical teachings.

As stated at the outset, *kusala* and *akusala* are primarily associated with the idea of *karma*, the saṃsāric process and the release there from which is referred to as the attainment of *nirvana*. The Characteristic of this transcendental state is that it is free from greed (*rāga* or *lobha*) hate (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). By inference these are the factors that prolong the saṃsaric process of each individual. Thus when these three factors are given as the root causes (*mūla*) of *akusala* and their opposites *alobha*, *adosa* and *amoha* as the root causes of *kusala*, the logical conclusion to be arrived at, is, that in the operative level *akusala* is whatsoever action that stands contrary to *nirvāna* and thwarts its attainment whereas *kusala* is whatsoever action that is in conformity with *nirvāna* and conduces to its attainment. This, however, should not be construed to mean that *kusala* corresponds to *nirvāna* or that it is one of its characteristics. What is meant is that in relation to *akusala* which stands in direct opposition to *nirvāna kusala* stands on the side of *nirvāna* and functions as an effective means conducive to its attainment.

Just as *kusala* is basically the absence of greed , hatred and delusion, actions motivated by these states found on non-greed and non-delusion are also deemed in the category of *kusala*. Hence, it is the presence or the absence of these mental states that determines the ethical quality of any volitional state or in other words the wholesomeness or the unwholesomeness of *karma* (*A*. I, pp. 11, 163).

Basically it is this same criterion that is adopted in the *Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta* (*M*. I, p. 414 ff.) in categorising *kusala* and *akusala*. Therein, however, the emphasis is more as personal and social dimensions, taking into account the effect an action has on oneself and on others. This *sutta* lays down the ethical principle that any action - bodily, verbal or mental - to be categorised as *kusala* should bring about beneficial effects on oneself and others. An action however beneficial it may be to oneself is not categorised under this group if it happens to be harmful to others. It is also clear from this *sutta* that this evaluation is not a negative one, for, without stopping at stressing the importance of the performance of acts that are not harmful to oneself and others it proceeds to emphasise the ethical importance of performing acts that are positively beneficial to oneself and others.

At other times the same criterion is adopted with a shift of emphasis to the individual. In this evaluation of *K'usala-akusala* the individual (*atta*) is taken as the standard. Herein one is asked to compare others with oneself and refrain from doing against others, such acts, that one does not wish to be done to oneself. For example, considering that one does not wish to be subjected to bodily harm one should realize that others, too, detest such acts when done to them and therefore, refrain from doing such harmful acts. Though this criterion has no universal application, it serves to a great extent to differenciate *kusala* from *akusala* (*M*.I, p. 95ff., *Sn*.*v*. 705; *Dhp*. *vv*. 129, 130).

The twin concepts of *kusala-akusala* acquire validity and significance in an ethical system only if the individual is free to choose between *kusala* and *akusala*. The Buddha says that he speaks of abandoning *akusala* and accumulating *kusala* because it is possible to do so, and that when so done it results in hap-

piness and welfare of onself and others (*A.* I, p. 58). The Buddha says so because he explicitly accepts the position that the individual has of course within a context of causal conditioning - the freedom of choice between *kusala* and *akusala*. Buddhism accepts that the individual bears a certain amount of capacity for personal initiative (*ārambha - dhātu*), personal action (*purisakāra*) or individual action (*attakāra : D.* I, p. 53; *A.* III, pp. 337, 338). Hence these twin concepts become quite valid in the Buddhist ethical system.

Further, according to Buddhism the abandoning of *akusala* and accumulation of *kusala* is not only possible but also most desirable, for it conduces to the betterment of an individual's present condition, sublimation of his character and elevation of his position in society. These beneficial effects conduce to harmony, concord and progress of the society at large. Besides, *kusala* and *akusala* are directly instrumental in shaping the future life (*M.* I, p.135; *S.* I, p.227; *A.* III, pp. 40, IV. 247 *Sn. v*, 398; *Dhp. vv.* 131, 133).

All these beneficial effects produced by the practice of *kusala* is to be considered in relation to the attainment of the highest goal *nirvāna*, for in Buddhism *kusala* is not an end in itself, but only a means to the attainment of the end, for, such acts of *kusala* finally lead to the cessation of all kammic action (*A.*I, p. 263. When thus considered, it appears that the practice of *kusala* is the foundation of *sīla* which together with *samādhi* and *paññā* lead to final ethical perfection and mental deliverance. See ETHICS for more details.

S.K. Nanayakkara

KUṢĀNAS. The Maurya period in Indian history witnessed one of the major phases of the expansion of Buddhism when it made great strides acrose the Indian subcontinent and was introduced to several foreign lands as well. Whether this achievement was the result of an organized Buddhist missionary activity that drew vigour and impetus from the success of the Theravādins at the Third Council or a deliberate religious compaign organised under royal patronage of the Mauryas, the unmistakable consequence of this new religious fervour shown by the Buddhists was that it soon elevated their religion from its humble origins in a corner of northeastern India to the position of a pan-Indian religious movement. In the next few centuries, Buddhism grew as a major Indian religion winning converts in almost every part of the subcontinent while in several regions outside, it succeeded in achieving the status of the main religion.

The spread of Buddhism over a wider area also resulted in a steady growth of the *saṅgha* and a large increase in the number of lay followers. With this change the Buddhist communities gradually began to lose cohesion, and local influences too, began to make their mark on the behaviour and attitudes of the *saṅgha*, thus giving rise to local groups among the community. This tendency had its origins sometimes before the time of Asoka, but it came to the forefront in a significant way only after the time of the Mauryas. What is most important is the fact that it is this development, along with the doctrinal differences, that paved the way for the segmentation of the *saṅgha* into different schools.

During the time of the S'uṅgas, the successors of the Mauryas, Buddhism appears to have lost the royal patronage it used to enjoy earlier, for according to some Buddhist sources, Pus'yamitra the founder of the S'uṅga dynasty was a notorious persecutor of Buddhism. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain the amont of damage that was caused to Buddhism under this persecution, but what is significant is the continued popular support the religion received in the S'unga-Kānva period (3rd century B.C. to 1st century B.C.). This is evident not only from the huge and elaborate constructions at places like Sāñcī and Bharhut, but also from the large number of private donations recorded in inscriptions from many parts of India.

Even if the Buddhists lost royal patronage under the Sungas, soon they found a worthy patron, in Menander the Indo-Greek monarch who ruled over a large kingdom in northwestern India and beyond. The Pali work *Milindapañha* records that a monk named Nāgasena converted Menander to Buddhism and the king soon became a zealous champion of the faith. The impetus Buddhism thus received under Menander must certainly have opened up new routes to reach areas beyond the Hindukush-Himalaya range. Although Buddhism had been introduced to areas outside the north-western borders of the Maurya empire during the time of Asoka, the most notable expansion of the religion into these areas begins to take place only from about the time of the Indo-Greeks. This expansion also provided access for Buddhism to come into contact with Western ideas and influences. The contacts thus established with the western world and Central Asia reached their heights, particularly under the Kuṣāṇas.

The Kuṣāṇas were a section of the Yueh-chi tribe that originally hailed from eastern Central Asia. their clashes with several other tribes in the region ultimately made them leave their homeland and migrate westward across the Steppes. Sometime before the beginning of the Christian era, the Kuṣāṇas had reached the north-western borders of the Indian subcontinent, thus exposing themselves to Indian socio-cultural influence (for details see KANIṢKA). By this time the political situation in north-western India was undergoing profound and fast changes, with the weakening of the power of the Indo-Greeks who had held sway there for quite sometime. The Indo-Greek kingdoms which were breaking up under pressure from both the S'akas and the Sassanians were no longer in a position to hold on to the terrain adjoining the north-western passes. On the one hand, the Sakas were making several successful inroads into the Indo-Greek territory while on the other, fratricidal struggles among the Indo-Greeks themselves continued unabated.

The political instability that arose out of this situation created the most favourable atmosphere for other parties too, to enter the fray. Presumably, the Sassanians were the first to try their luck and were seccessful in making some initial political gains both inside and outside India against the Indo-Greeks as well as the S'akas. However, both these groups were soon dislodged by the Kuṣāṇas who quickly established themselves, first in the areas held by the Sassanians and then in areas which were known as the S'aka dominions. Thus, by effectively removing two major contenders, the Kuṣāṇas became the sole inheritors of the vast kingdom previously held by the Indo-Greeks. By the time of their second ruler Vima Kadphises, (1st century A.C.) the Kuṣāṇas had come to own a large empire extending over a vast area on either side of the Hindukush-Himalaya range. During the time of Kaṇiṣka, the third ruler of the dynasty, the Kuṣāṇa empire spread further inside India, perhaps upto Magadha and Orissa, and into many new areas in Central Asia making it one of the largest empires at the time.

The rise of the Kuṣāṇas into prominence in India and in central Asia almost coincided with a significant change that influenced the economy of these two regions. As a result of certain actions taken by rulers of Parthia, the trade-routes that were used in the trade between China and Rome, were affected and the trade had to be re-routed via India. This shift brought a sudden importance to north-western India making it one of the heavily involved regions in the East-West trade. The new political gains made by the Kuṣāṇas in India and outside gave them the virtual control of a large segment of this important trade route and the net-work of its main arteries. These very significant political and economic gains made by the Kuṣaṇas placed them in a highly comfortable position to become great patrons of religion and culture.

Long before the advent of the Kuṣāṇas the areas just north of the Hindukush had come under strong Indian influence, and the arrival of this central Asian tribe in these areas, as in the case of their predecessors, resulted in bringing them too, into contact with the rich Indian culture which they soon embraced and adopted. Of all the Kuṣāṇa kings Kaṇiṣka is singled out for praise by many Buddhist writers as the foremost in patronizing Buddhism. These works contain stories full of fantastic incidents explaining how Kaṇiṣka became a Buddhist. According to them, Kaṇiṣka in the early days of his career was a ruthless ruler who killed thousands in war, but later became an ardent believer in Buddhism. A marked change in Kaṇiṣka's religious beliefs is also hinted in his own coins. His early coin types depict several Greek deities, but later pieces bear Iranian and Indian deities. In his later coin types the Buddha appears in different forms. However, it is important to hote that even after he became a Buddhist he continued to respect other religious beliefs which must have been prevalent among some sections of his subjects.

Many contemporary inscriptions and literary sources, particularly of later. times, are useful in understanding the condition of Buddhism in the Kuṣāṇa period. These literary works refer to eighteen schools of Buddhism and to different teachers and their teachings. The epigraphic evidence is specially useful in understanding the regions in which different schools were flourishing. The existence of two important sects, namely, the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas is attested to by several inscriptions from north India and outside. For instance, the Mathura Lion Pillar inscription of the time of S'oḍaṣa records the arrival of a dialectician (*khaluka*) in Mathurā from the Sarvāstivādin stronghold of Nagara (in Jalalabad in present Afghanistan) to debate with the Mahāsāṅghikas. Several Kuṣāṇa records from places like Kalwan, Shah-jikidheri, Zeda and Kurram in the western part of the Kuṣāṇa empire refer to many religious acts involving the Sarvāstivādins. Some other records referring to this school have also been discovered in Mathurā, Sāranāth

and Śrāvasti. Mathurā appears to have had several Sarvāstivādin establishments in the Kuṣāṇa period, and perhaps it was their main centre in northern India.

The Mahāsāṅghikas had established themselves in several regions in Afghanistan and at Mathurā in India. Kuṣāṇa inscriptions referring to this school have been found at places such as Mathurā, Wardhak and Palikera. The only other school that finds mention in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions is that of the Dharmaguptikas. It is mentioned in a solitary Brāhmī record coming from Mathurā. The existence of the Mahāsāṅghikas is evident from Mahāvastu which introduces itself as the *Vinaya* of the Lokottaravādin-Mahāsāṅghikas. It is noteworthy that the two famous Lokottaravādin concepts *bhūmi* and *caryā* provided the basis for the growth of the Mahāyāna ideas.

The Yogācāra school which is generally associated with Asaṅga is considered to have taken root in the Kuṣāṇa period. The Yogācāras, like the Lokottaravādins, supported Mahāyāna concepts but at the initial stages they were known as Vijñānavādins. The Mahāsāṅghikas who were closely associated with the Mahāyāna also came to the forefront probably in the Kuṣāṇa period, yet its main proponent Nāgārjuna (q.v.) does not appear to have hailed from the Kuṣāṇa dominion.

Thus, judging by the available evidence, one has to arive at the conclusion that the Sarvāstivādins were the numerically strongest of all the schools in the Kuṣāṇa kingdom. Such a supposition would not be unwarranted when one considers the dominant position held by the Sarvāstivādins at the fourth Buddhist Council (the third Council according to Tārānātha). According to Paramārtha, a somewhat late authority, an *arhant* named Kātyāyanīputra who was also an *ācārya* of the Sarvāstivādin school travelled to Kashmir along with five hundred *arhants* and five hundred *bodhisattvas*, collected the *abhidhamma* of the Sarvāstivādin school and re-arranged it into eight collections. This treatise was known as the *Jñanaprasthāna-sūtra*, and Paramārtha adds that it was later re-edited by As'vaghoṣa. Those who participated in the Council spent twelve years in writing the *Vibhaṣā* works.

However, Hiuen-Tsang's version of the details of the convening of the Council are somewhat different from that of Paramārtha. According to him, king Kaṇiṣka, after becoming a Buddhist, fell into a state of helplessness and confusion on account of the different and conflicting interpretations given to the teachings of the Buddha by the followers of different traditions. He wanted to restore Buddhism to its past eminence and have the Tripiṭaka explained according to the tenets of various schools. He therefore summoned a religious council and only those who were well versed in the Tripiṭaka and the five branches of learning (*pañca-vidyā*) were chosen to take park in the sessions which were held in Kashmir. The monks who assembled there composed one hundred thousand stanzas of the *Upades'a-s'āstras*, one hundred thousand stanzas of the *Vinaya-vibhasās'āstras* and one hundred thousand stanzas of the *Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-s'āstras*. Kaṇiṣka made these treatises written in copper plates and deposited them in a *stūpa*. Some authorities differ on the location of the fourth Council; Tārānātha considers Jalandhar as the meeting place while the majority and also the most trustworthy of all the authorities such as Paramārtha mention Kashmir as the venue.

A significant outcome of the fourth Council was the emergence of the Sarvāstivadins as the pre-eminent and the strongest among all the Buddhist sects in the Kuṣāṇa Kingdom. Philosophers of this school took the leadership in the Council and this must certainly have placed them in a most advantageous position over other schools. Some scholars even seem to think that this was actually a council of the Sarvāstivādins rather than one that in which all the schools got togethr to discuss their different opinions and interpretations of the *dhamma*.

The fourth Council also marks an important phase in the history of the Buddhist literary tradition. Until that time, the language used by the Buddhists had mainly been Māgadhī Prakrit, but the language used at the proceedings of the fourth Council was Sanskrit. The scriptures composed at the Council were also written down in Sanskrit, and the Sarvāstivādins and the many Mahāyāna schools continued to use Sanskrit in their writings. Nevertheless, it does not mean that Prakrit was completely given up by them. It in fact, continued for sometime to come as a parallel language along with Sanskrit, in Indian Buddhist writings, as is evident from the Buddhist documents assignable to the Kuṣāṇa period or slightly later times, found in Central Asia. These documents had been written in Prakrit using the Kharoṣṭhi script.

The main body of Buddhist literature that begins to develop in Northern India from the Kuṣāṇa period onwards is generally known as the Buddhist Sanskrit

literature, mainly because the language used in it is Sanskrit and the contents being Buddhist. The main aim of the early Mahāyāna Buddhist literature appears to have been the depicting of the Budddha in a divine and a supernatural form and the 'enrichment of the Buddhist pantheon with a galaxy of *bodhisattvas* endowed with *pāramitās* destined to be future Buddhas'. Thus Buddhist literature that takes shape in the Kuṣaṇa period was aimed at popularizing the new trends that came into the forefront at the time. The *S'āriputra-prakaraṇa*, the *Buddhacarita*, and the *Saundarananda*, some famous works by As'vaghoṣa, may be considered as literay works written in this spirit. Both the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarānanda*, belong to the *mahākāvya* category. Although the Tibetan tradition attributes to As'vaghosa several other works, much reliance cannot be placed on it.

The *Mahāvastu* is another Buddhist literary work believed to have been written in the Kuṣāṇa period. This work is based on the *Vinaya* of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahasāṅghika school. The *Lalitavistara* which is regarded as one of the most sacred works of the *avadāna* literature may also have been composed in the times of the later Kuṣāṇa kings.

The Kuṣāṇa rulers were great patrons of art and architecture too; they built monasteries, *stūpas* and statues, some of which have survived to this day. From these monuments it is evident that the artistic expression of the Kuṣāṇa period essentially centered round Buddhism. The Kuṣāṇa *stūpas* mark a significant phase in the evolution of the Buddhist *stūpa* in India on account of certain special characteristics unique to them. The method employed in the building of the main *stūpas* is a combination of the traditional *stūpa* style and the *stambha* or the *yūpa* construction technique. The Kaṇiṣka *stūpa* which belonged to this style, according to Hiuen-Tsang, was a magnificent work that stood at 638 feet in height, the tallest *stūpa* in the world.

The Kuṣāṇa period is also well known for the two famous schools of Indian art, namely, the Gandhara and the Mathurā schools. The Gandhāra school which developed the iconography of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas and other prominent figures in Buddhism shows clear signs of Greco-Roman influence. The Mathurā school on the other hand, is regarded as the true representative of the traditional Indian sculpture and art that go far back into the pre-Mauryan times or even further.

The Kuṣāṇa period, especially the reign of Kaṇiṣka I, (C. 78-103 A.C.) is regarded as yet another important phase in the expansion of Buddhism into areas outside India. During this period, Buddhism was introduced to many areas of Central Asia and also to China, mostly through close political and economic ties the Kuṣāṇa rulers were able to maintain with those far off lands. Several archaeological excavations carried out in the Soviet Central Asia have brought to light a large number of Buddhist monuments and documents with clear Kuṣāṇa associations. Most of these Central Asian Buddhist centres were situated along the famous Silk-route that connected China with the Roman world, suggesting that the fortunes of Buddhism in those areas rested largely on the condition of trade that passed through the region. Throughout the Kuṣāṇa period and several centuries after that, the Buddhist monasteries in Central Asia served not only as institutions propagating Buddhism but also as centres through which Indian cultural influence was disseminated among a mainly non-Indian and pastoral tribal population. Their commitment to Buddhism is amply demonstrated by the large number of Buddhist ruins and monuments found in this semi-arid land. Fragments of several important Sanskrit and Prakrit Buddhist texts written in the time of the Kuṣāṇas and later which had long been considered lost, and were found at some Cenral Asian Buddhist centres, also provide further evidence to the keen interest shown by the people of these areas in Buddhism, who no doubt drew inspiration from their compatriots in India.

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P.V.B. Karunatilaka

KUSINĀRĀ. The capital of the Mallas (q.v.) and the scene of the Buddha's death. At the time of the Buddha's death Kusinārā was a small city. "A branch township with wattle and daub houses in the midst of the jungle", and Ananda Thera, the Buddha's constant attendant was at first dissapointed that the Buddha should have chosen it for his *Parinibbāna*. But the Buddha told Ananda that Kusinārā in ancient times was a great city called Kusāvatī, the royal city of the Universal King (*cakkavatti*) Mahā Sudassana (*D*. II, 146). Between Kusinārā and Pāvā, three *gāvutas* away from where the Buddha came to Kusinārā on his last Journey from Rājagaha, stopping at various places-lay the stream Kakuṭha on the banks of which was Jivaka's Ambavana in Rajagaha; beyond that was the river Hirññavati and near the city, in a south-westerly direction, lay the Upavattana, the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, which the Buddha made his last resting place. (*DA. II, 572 f*).

After the Buddha's passing away his body was carried into the city by the northern gate and out of the city by the eastern gate; to the east of the city was Makuṭabandhana, the shrine of the Mallas, and there the body, was cremated. For seven days those assembled at the ceremony held a festival in honour of the relics. (*D*. II, 160f).

It is said that the Buddha had three reasons for coming to Kusinārā for his *Parinibbāna*: (1) Because it was the proper venue for the preaching of the *Mahā Sudassana Sutta*; (2) because Subhaddha, his last convert, would visit him there and, after listening to his sermon, would develop meditation and become an arahant while the Buddha was still alive; and (3) because the brahman Doṇa would be there, after the Buddha's *Parinibbāna* to solve the problem of the distribution of his relics. (*DA*. II. 573 f).

As the scene of his death, Kusinārā became one of the four holy places declared by the Buddha to be fit places of pilgrimage for the pious, the other three being Kapilavastu where the Buddha was born, Buddhagayā where the Buddha attained Enlightenment, and Isipatana where the first sermon after attaining Enlightenment was preached (*D*. II, 140).

Mention is made of other visits paid to Kusinārā by the Buddha, prior to that when his death took place. Thus, once he went there from Āpāna and having spent some time at Kusinārā, proceeded to Ātuma. The Mallas of Kusinārā were always great admirers of the Buddha, even though not all of them were his followers, and on the occasion of this visit they decided that any inhabitant of Kusinārā who failed to go and meet the Buddha and escort him to the city, would be fined five hundred pieces of gold. It was on this occasion that Roja the Mallan was converted (*Vin*. 1, 247 f) During some of these visits the Buddha stayed in a wood called Baliharana, and there he preached two of the Kusinārā Suttas (*A*, 1, 274 f; V, 79 f) and the "*Kinti" Sutta* (*M* II 238 f.) A third *Kusinārā Sutta* he preached while staying at Upavattana (*A*. II, 79).

According to a late tradition, one-eighth of the Baddha's relics were deposited in a cairn in Kusinārā and honoured by the Mallas (*D*. 11, 167).

In ancient times Kusinārā was the capital of king Tālissara and twelve of his descendants (*Dpv*. III, 32). It. was also the scene of the death of Phussa Buddha at the Setārāma (*BuvA*. 1915).

In Hsüan Tsāng's day there still existed towers and Saṅghārāmas erected to mark the spots connected with the Buddha's last days and obsequies at Kusinārā. According to his account Kusinārā was nineteen *yojanas* from Vesāli.

To the northern Buddhists the place was also known as Kus'igrāma and Kus'inagari (*Dvy*. 152 f., 208).

Kusinārā is identified with the village of Kasia at the junction of the river Rapti and the smaller Gondak in the east of the Gorakpur district in India. A copper plate belonging to the *thūpa*, erected at the site of the Buddha's death, has been discovered. (s.v. *DPPN*)

KŪṬADANTA SUTTA, the fifth *sutta* (discourse) of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (q.v.-*D*.1, pp. 127-149). The Buddha preached this discourse to an accomplished brahamin teacher by name Kūṭadanta who was living in the prosperous brahamin village of Khānumata in the country of Magadha. Khānumata, incidentally, was an outright religious grant given to Kūtadanta by Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, in recognition of Kūṭadanta's immense religious learning and his great skill as a debater who was classed among the best religious debaters of the time, such as Ambaṭṭaka, Sonadaṇḍa and Saccaka.

The Buddha, while going on his preaching tour along with a multitude of *bhikkhūs*, came to Khānumata and was residing at Ambalaṭṭhikā at the

time when Kūṭadanta was making preparations to perform a great religous sacrifice according to brahamin rites by slaughtering thousands of cattle, goats etc., in order to please gods to win their favour. When the news spread of the arrival of the Buddha in Khānumata, along with a following of bhikkhus, the residents of Khanumata, in large numbers, started to go towards Ambalaṭṭhikā to see the Buddha, and Kūṭadanta, too, inspite of the objections of the brahamins who had gathered to partake of the sacrificial oblations and gifts, joined the residents of Khānumata who were going to see the Buddha. Having met the Buddha and having greeted him courteously, Kūṭadanta told the Budddha: " I have heard it being said, Sir, that the Buddha is possessed of complete and immaculate knowledge of the three-fold success of sacrifices (*tividha yañña sampadaṃ*) and the sixteen requirements (*solasa-parikkhāra*) for a properly constituted sacrifice. I have already made arrangements, Sir, to perform a great religious sacrifice (*mahā yaññaṃ*) though I have no proper knowledge of the above mentioned matters. It will be very opportune, Sir, if the Buddha will explain them to me so that I can derive the best fruits of this sacrifice". The Buddha said: "In the distant past, O brahmin, there was a king by name Mahā-Vijita who was fabulously rich and powerful. One day he thought: ' I am now the overload of an extensive kingdom and I have immense wealth and power, and therefore I must now perform a great religious sacrifice that can ensure for me great happiness and good health for a longtime. The king conveyed this idea to his chief advisor to get his opinion about it and he said: 'My lord, your kingdom is now in a turbulent state with wide-spred poverty, thievery and criminal activities. When the condition of the State is such , if the king thinks of imposing more taxes on the people for a great sacrifice, things will go from bad to worst. In such a situation the king might think: 'let me finish with these thieves and criminals by giving them capital punishment or by imprisoning them or by banishing them'. But, O king, the country will not return to normalcy by such harsh punishment, because many others will start to harass the country anew. What the king should do is to provide those who are keen to take to agricluture and dairy farming the wherewithal to engage in such activities; provide monetary assistance and other facilities to those who are inclined towards trade, industries and other commercial activities; provide attractive salaries to those who are interested to serve the state. When the king implements such a sagacious programme, all the countrymen will be profitably employed, thereby earning sufficient income to live comfortably, and the country will become peaceful and harmonious".

Acting on the advice of the chief counseller (*purohita*), the king restored peace in the country by implementing a well- thought -out economic programme that ensured profitable employment opportunities for all people in the country. Likewise, king Mahāvijitāvī, heeding the advice of his chief councelllor, published in the kingdom all the details of his intended religious sacrifice and obtained the approval of the four divisions of his subjects. On the advice of the Chief Counseller, no animal was slaughtered or injured for the sacrifice and no trees were wantonly cut down, and no forced labour was utilised to perform various duties at the sacrifice. Only items like curd, butter, ghee, honey and molasses were used as offerings at this sacrifice".

By utilising the ancient episode of Mahā Vijitāvi, the Buddha expresses to Kūṭadanta his strong disapproval of brahmanic sacrifices wherein many innocent animals were slaughtered, much cruelty to slaves and poor people was perpetrated, and wanton destruction was caused to valuable flora and founa, in additon to wasting invaluable resources of the country. The Buddha also utilises the episode of Mahā vijitāvī to indicate that problems of a society or country do not crop up due to divine wrath, but that they are causal in genesis. The problems of a country, as hinted in the Kūṭadanta Sutta, are generated on account of improper planning and managerial incapability of rulers and that they can be satisfactorily solved only by proper planning and skilful implementation of the planned programmes.

Having indicated to Kūṭadanta a better type of sacrifice, if he was interested in performing one, the Buddha ends the admonition by telling him that following the path of virtue, culminating in the attainment Arahantship, is very much superior to sacrifices of material things.

W.G. Weeraratne.

KŪṬĀGĀRASĀLĀ, a monastery complex in the Mahāvana in Vesali in north India which was used by the Buddha and his disciples as a temporary residence, while on missionary tour in that region. Buddhist texts record several *Suttas* and *Jātakas* preached by the Buddha while living in this magnificent monsstery complex, on many occassions.

The term 'Kūṭāgāra' means 'circular building with an upper storey and a pinnacled roof'. The upper storey of this particular circular building in the Mahāvana was the living apartment (*gandhakuṭi*) of the Buddha and below it was the open meeting hall (*sālā*) with pillars supporting the *gandhakuṭi* above. There were several other buildings attached to the one described above and these buildings constituted the living apartments and other facilities for the many *bhikkhūs* who accompanied the Buddha in his missionary rounds. On account of the prominence and grandeur of the circular building with the pinnacled roof, the entire monastery complex was popularly designated as the Kūṭāgārasālā.

The monastery contained a ward for sick monks and the Buddha occasionally visited the sick monks in it, to soothe and console them (*S* IV. 210).

Many renowned persons at that time visited the Buddha in the Kūṭāgārasālā, individually and sometimes with their retinues, to pay him homage and listen to his sermons. Occasionally such visitors discussed with the Buddha matters pertaining to good social conduct and intricate doctrinal problems. Licchavi chieftains Mahāli Oṭṭhatthaddha (*D*. I. 150 ff.; *S*.I. 230ff.; *S*. III. 68), Nandaka (*S*.V. 389) Sunakkhatta (*M*. II. 252), Baddiya (*A*. II. 190), Sāḷha (*A*. II. 200) and Abhaya (*A* II. 200) paid visits to the Buddha in the Kūṭāgārasālā and had lengthy discussions with him. Saccaka, the learned Jaina ascetic leader who was reputed as a clever debater, met the Buddha at the Kūṭāgārasālā and had a debate with the Buddha. But the Buddha could ultimately, convince Saccaka about the futility of following the teachings of Mahāvīra, the Jain leader, after a protracted bout of arguments (*M*. I.227ff; 237ff).

The Buddha also preached the folllowing *Jātakas* to assembled audiences at the Kūṭāgārasālā during his several visits to Vesali: *Sigāla Jātaka* (*J*. II. 5), *Telovāda Jataka* (*J*.II.262), *Bāhiya Jataka* (*J*. I. 420) and *Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka* (*J*. I. 504).

Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, the foster mother of Siddhattha Gotama who was determined to obtain permission from the Buddha to establish the *Bhikkhuṇi Sāsana*, travelled from Kapilavatthu to Vesali along with five hundred women who had also renounced worldly life to become *bhikkhuṇis*, met the Buddha in the Kūṭāgārasālā. It is said that the Buddha finally agreed to allow them to become *bhikkhuṇis* after a strong plea by Elder Ananda (*A*.IV.276-7; *Vin*.II,253-4).

Three months before his passing away the Buddha visited the Kūṭāgārasālā from where he announced to the assembled *bhikkhūs* his impending death (*D*.II. 120). This must have been the last visit of the Buddha to the Kūṭāgārasālā in Vesāli.

The Kūṭāgārasālā in Vesāli must have thrived as a popular Buddhist monastic centre up to several centuries after the passing away of the Buddha and this is evident from two references to this centre in the Sri Lankan chronicle Mahāvaṃsa. One of them (*Mhv*. 4, 11-12) refers to a *thera* by name Kākaṇḍaputta Yasa, a resident in the Kūṭāgārasālā, who played a prominent role in the second Buddhist council held a hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha. The second (*Mhv*. 29-33) refers to a large group of *bhikkhūs* from the Kūṭāgārasālā monastery who came to Sri Lanka in the 1st cent. A.C. to attend the foundation laying ceremony of the Mahāthūpa in Anuradhapura.

T. Ariyadhamma

KUVERA. (Kubera) or Vaiśravana (Vessavana) is one of the Dikpālas (Quardians of the Quarters) or Lokapālas (Protectors of the World). He is mentioned as such in Buddhist texts as well as in Hinduism. His special function is the protection of the Northern quarter. In Buddhist cosmology, he is one of the Mahārājās (great kings) who shares the sovereignity of the lowermost heaven (Cātummahārājika), under the suzerainty of Indra, the king of gods, residing in the heaven immediately above (Tāvatimsa), at the top of Mount Meru. Kuvera, being the ruler of the demi-gods known as *yakṣas*, who are represented as guardians of treasures, came in after some time to be regarded as God of Riches and the Giver of Wealth.

At the time when Sri Lanka was being colonised by a North Indian people, Kubera (Kuvera) appears to have been one of the principal deities worshipped by the average man in India. It is possible to conjecture that he was the favourite deity of the Vaisyas, the merchants and husbandmen; this was quite natural as the aim of both these is the acquisition of wealth. It was among the merchant classes that early Buddhists found the most enthusiastic supporters. They were also the people who took a leading part in the propagation of Buddhism in India as well as aborad. It is therefore natural to find Kuvera receiving the honour of Buddhist communities. He is represented in the earliest of Buddhist monuments, i.e. at Bharhut, and many representations of him have been found in the Graeco Bud-

dhist art of Gandhāra. Icons of Kuvera have been found in almost every country to which Buddhism penetrated.

In some Buddhist countries Kuvera was accorded special recognition. In the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Khotan, for example, Kuvera is supposed to have presided over the foundation of the state and is sometimes even referred to as a Tathāgata, a term which is normally used in respect of Buddha. In the 8th century, he was also called a deva-king, but it is not known whether the term had, in Khotan, the significance which *devarāja* had in Cambodia. The deities (*yakṣas*) who recieved special honour in the various regions of the Buddhist world are enumerated in a Mahāyānist Sanskrit text named *Mahāmayūri*, which was translated into Chinese about the 4th century. "Among the Simhalas, the (*yakṣa*) is the Lord of Wealth (Dhanes´vara i.e. Kuvera)", says this text (Simhalesu Dhanes´varah). Pot-belly (Kalasodara) is also the name of a *yakṣa* who was honoured in Sri Lanka. He was probably identical with Kuvera. King Pandukābhaya (437-367 B.C.) of Sri Lanka, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, caused the Banyan Tree shrine of Vaisravana (Kuvera) near the western gate of Anuradhapura (*Vessavanassa nigrodham.... pacchimadvaradisābhāgae nivesayi*) (Ch.x. 90).

The worship of the God of Riches is still prevalent in Sri Lanka. Those who practise demonology (*yakaduro*), often invoke the dreaded injunctions of King Vesamuni, as Kuvera is now known among the Sinhala villagers, in those ceremonies which are designed to counteract the evil effects of his myrmidons-the *yakṣas*. These ceremonies are undoubtedly reminiscent of beliefs and practices which prevailed long ago and are by no means of recent invention.

The paradise of Kuvera, called Ālaka in Sanskrit and Ālakamanda in Pali writings, is beliieved to be situated on the summit of Mount Kailāsa, one of the highest peaks of the Himālayas, which rose from the nothern shore of the sacred Mānasa, referred to as Anotatta in Pali literature. The pleasure garden in Kuvera's paradise is known as Caitrarata; sometimes it is referred to as Vaibhraja. Kailāsa and Mānasa are two of the most prominent features of the geography of the Himālaya region. In the *Mahāsudassanasutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* there is a description of the residence of the universal king (*cakravarttin*), which is very much similar to that of Kuvera.

Kuvera's citadel is called Visānā. His messengers are Tatolā, Tattolā, Tatotalā, Ojasi, Tejasi, Tatojasi, Sūra, Rāja, Ariṭṭha and Nemi. His lotus lake is called Dharaṇī. His son is called Inda. He has a splendid retinue. He is a follower of the Buddha (i.e. *Rajāpi taṃ vessavano Kuvero, upeti dhammaṃ paripucchamāno. Dhammika Sutta- Sutta Nipāta* 379-380). In the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* he is the spokesman and he recited the *Āṭānāṭiya* rune for the protection of the Buddha and his followers (i.e. *uggaṇhātu bhante bhagavā āṭānāṭiyaṃ rakkhaṃ, bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhuṇīnaṃ upāsākānaṃ, upasikānaṃ, guttiyā rakkhāya......*) There were some *yakkhas* who had no faith in the Buddha or the Dhamma; hence the charm or rune for protection. Vessavana rides in the Nārivāhana, which is 12 yojanas long, its seat being of coral. His retunue is composed of ten thousand crores of *yakkhas*. (The preacher's seat in the Lohapāsāda (brazen palace) at Anuradhapura, according to *Mahāvaṃsa*, was made in the design of Nārivāhana. Vessavana is a *sotapanna* and his life span is said to be 90,000 years. There is mention of a conversation between him and Velukaṇṭakī Nandamātā when he heard her sing the *Pārāyana Vagga*. He stayed over to listen to it. When Cūlasubaddhā wished to invite the Buddha and the monks to her house in Sāketa, and felt doubtful whether the Buddha would turn up, Vessavana appeared before her and told her that the Buddha would turn up, Vessavana appeard before her and told her that the Budddha would come at her invitation. On another occasion he heard Uttara Thera preaching to the monk in Dhvajalikā on the Saṅkheyya Mountain near Mahisavatthu. Sakka having been informed of it, visited Uttara Thera and had a discussion with him.

Once when Vessavana was travelling through the air, he saw Sambhūta Thera wrapt in *Samādhi*. Vessavana descended from his chariot, worshipped the Thera and kept behind two *yakkhas* with orders to wait until the elder should emerge from his trance. The *yakkhas* then greeted the Thera in the name of Vessavana and told him they had been left behind to protect him. The elder sent thanks to Vessavana, but informed him through the *yakkhas* that the Buddha had told his disciples to protect themselves through mindfulness and so further protection was not needed. Vessavana visited Sambhūta on his return and found that the Elder had become an Arahat. Thereafter he went to Sāvatthi and carried the news to the Buddha.

Mention is made of Vessavana's *gadāvyuha* and his mango tree, the Atulamba. Ālavaka's abode was near that of Vessavana. Bimbisāra, after his death, was

born seven times as one of the ministers (*paricāraka*) of Vessavana and while on his way with a message from Vessavana to Virulhaka, visited the Buddha and gave him an account of a meeting of the *devas* which Vessavana had attended and during which Sanankumāra had spoken in praise of the Buddha and his teachings.

Vessavana seems to have been worshipped by those desiring children. Vessavana is mentioned as having been alive in the time of Vipassi Buddha. At the time of the passing away of Vipassi Buddha, there was a great earthquake, which terrified the people but Vessavana appeased and quieted their fears. Vessavana accompanied Sakka when he showed Thera Moggallāna round Vejayantapāsāda. He was Sakka's intimate friend. As Lord of *yakkhas*, it was in the power of Vessavana to grant to any of them special privileges, such as the right of devouring anyone entering a particular pond, etc.

Sometimes as in the case of Avaruddhaka, a *yakkha* had to serve Vessavana for 12 years in order to obtain a particular boon. Vessavana sometimes gets the services of uncivilised human beings (*paccantamilakkhavāsāka*). The *yakkhas* fear him greatly. If he is angry and looks but once, 1000 *yakkhas* are broken up and scattered, like parched peas, hopping about on a hot plate. This was probably before he became a *sotapanna*.

Vessavana, like Sakka, was not the name of a particular being, but of the holder of an office. When one Vessavana died, Sakka chose another as his successor. The new king, on his accession, sent word to all *yakkhas*, asking them to choose their special abode. It was the duty of *yakkhinis* to fetch water from Anotatta for Vessavana's use. Each *yakkhinī* served her turn, sometimes for four and sometimes for five months. But at times they died of exhaustion before the end of their term.

Vessavana's wife was Bhuñjati, who like himself was a devoted follower of the Buddha. They had five daughters, Latā, Sajjā, Pavarā, Acchimatī and Sutā. Puṇṇaka was Vessavana's nephew. The pleasures and luxuries enjoyed by Vessavana have become proverbial matters (*bhuñjāmi Kāmakāmi rājā Vessavano yathā; Vessavanassa rājaparihāra-sadisam*). An ascetic named Kañcanapatti is mentioned as having been the favourite of Vessavana.

In a former birth, Vessavana was a Brahmin called Kuvera and owned a sugar cane farm where he worked seven mills. The produce of one mill he gave in charity and when his profits increased he gave alms for 20,000 years. After death, he was born as one of the Cātummahārajika-devas. In literature, the name Kuvera signifies the god of wealth and his city Alakamanda is said to embody all prosperity. He had nine treasures. Kuvera is mentioned in a list of those who reached heaven through generosity.

Vessavana and Kuvera are names which refer to one and the same person. Says the *Suttanipāta* (*Dhammika Sutta*, v. 380):

> *Rājā pi taṃ Vessavano Kuvero - upeti dhammaṃ paripucchamāno*
> *tassāpi tvaṃ pucchito brūsi dhīro - so cāpi sutvāna patītarūpo*

Another name of Kuvera is Jambhala, according to Nothern Buddhists. A copper seated image of this deity is now in the Boston Museum and has been illustrated by Ananda Coomaraswamy. It is about three inches in height and has been assigned to the 8th century. The right hand holds a citron (*jambhala*) and in the left is a mongoose (*nakula*) vomitting coins which fall into a pot. Under the right foot is an overturned pot with more coins.

Kuvera's half brother Vibhīṣana was worshipped in Sri Lanka and a shrine of that deity exists even at the present day at Kelaniya (Western Province) as well as at Lankatilaka vihāra (central province). A bas relief representation of Kuvera may be noticed on a stele at the Dakhiṇa thūpa, Anuradhapura. Eight lords of the *yakṣas* are described briefly in the *Dharmadhātu vāgis'vara-maṇḍala* of the *Nis'pannayogāvalī*. This text says that the *yakṣa* king (Kubera) holds the *bījapura* (cirtron) and the *nakula* (mongoose) in the right and left hands respectively. His colour is yellow; he is two armed. He holds also the *gaḍa* (mace) and the goad.

Jambhala is again described in the Mahāyāna as an emanation from the Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava. There was a division of opinion among the Northern Buddhists as to the sire of Jambhala, the followers of the Akṣobhya cult holding him as originating from Akṣobhya. Ratnasambhava means jewelborn and it is very likely that the sire of Jambhala was Ratnasambhava. Vasudharā is said to be the consort

of Jambhala and both were known before the Dhyāni Buddhas.

The role of the god of wealth must have been assigned to Ratnasambhava at a late period. According to the *Sādhanamālā*, Jhambala could emanate from Akṣobhya or from Ratnasambhava. In the former aspect he is three faced, six armed and shown with his consort. In his aspect as an emanation from Ratnasambhava, he carries the mongoose in his right hand and the citron in the right. When single, Jhambala is of golden complexion and carries the mongoose in the left hand and the citron in the left. This is exactly the position in the bronze sculpture form Sri Lanka in the Coomaraswamy collection in the Boston Museum.

Several images of this deity have been found in India and have been illustrated by B. Bhattācarya in *Indian Buddhist Iconography*. One of the finest products from the medieval art of Bengal is reproduced as Fig. 177 in the above named work. It is from Vikramapur (East Bengal) and shows the pot-bellied deity in the *lalita* attitude.

In the Boston Museum example from Sri Lanka there is frank realism, which is its principal artistic interest. In this instance, a fat trader who is awaiting his customers is represented, this deity being worshipped by the Buddhists for material benefit. Compared with the head-dress of Avalokitesvara (as given in his icons), the figure from Boston Museum shows a similarity of arrangement. On grounds of style therefore, Coomaraswamy assigned the 6th or 7th century as its most probable date. He was, however prepared to concede the 8th century as the lowest age limit in view of its resemblance to 'Simhaladvipe Jambalah' of miniature 18" in the Cambridge Ms. 1643. From the vessel which is overturned by the right foot issues a hoard of coins represented by a ribbon-like band. It may at first be suggested that the ribbons represent snakes but, as Coomaraswamy has rightly pointed out, the artist who was a skilled craftsman could certainly have made his snakes more convincing if the intention was such. In some examples of Jambhala from other countries, the attributes of the deity vary. Either a purse or a mongoose or both are sometimes shown. The original idea seems to have been the purse from which riches are poured out. As suggested by Foucher, the mongoose is probably a later development of the purse symbol.

A similar bronze from the Osmund de silva collection shows Jambhala in the *lalita* attitude on a *padmāsana*. There is a plaster cast of this image at the Anuradhapura Museum and it shows similar attributes. The headdress is smaller when compared with the former but generally the resemblances between the two are great. It may be of the same age as the Boston Museum example - the lowest age limit being the 8th century.

Another example of this deity is noticeable on the tympanum of the *gedige* at Nalanda (in the Central Province of Sri Lanka). In the centre of it sits a deity who has been identified as Kuvera (Vais'ravana) by H. C. P. Bell. His right foot rests on the cornice of the third storey below. The left is crossed in front on a cushion. His right hand with open palm is held in front of his belly. The left hand which holds an attribute rests on his leg. It may be surmised that the attribute is a purse. The *upavīta* is shown across the chest and stomach, so, too, armlets and a necklace. Above the head is an umbrella (*chatra*). On either side of the deity is a bracket pilaster, above each of which is a flying *vidhyādhara*. The right hand of the deity is depicted in *varada mudrā*. The citron and the mongoose are absent in this instance but the purse is shown. H. C. P. Bell assumed that it could be a closed fan but was doubtful about his identification, From the study of similar examples elsewhere it will be seen that an attribute answering to such a description had to be a purse.

The facial expression is austere and the limbs of the body are elongated. These are characteristic features noticeable in sculptures executed under the patronage of the construction of the Nalandagedige. In respect of certain architectural details also the influence of the Pallava school of art and architecture is noticeable in this monument.

As Mahayana Buddhism was affected by the absorption of Tantric practices, several Hindu gods and goddesses were given independent forms as Buddhist deities. They were also given sometimes despised roles and were depicted as trodden upon by angry Buddhist gods. The *Nis'pannayogāvali* and the *Dharmadhātu-vāgīs'vara-maṇḍala* show how this process of absorption has taken place by assigning them to a Dhyāni Buddha family. Unless the religious practices performed at Nalanda-gedige were of a Tāntric character, the presence of some erotic sculptures cannot otherwise be explained.

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Nandasena Mudiyanse

KYANZITTHA, One of the great Buddhist kings of Burma who ruled from 1984 A.C. until 1112 A.C. His father was king Anawrahta. Kyanzittha was crowned by Shin Arahan who was the Primate. Kyanzitta's capital was Sri Kshetra, now Hmawza.

Kyanzittha succeeded his elder brother Sawlu to the throne after suppressing a Mon rebellion. He had a magnificent coronation ceremony with Brahmanical ritual, built himself a new palace, and erected a series of inscriptions, mostly in the Mon language and began the great age of temple-building at Pagan. All his temples, including the Lovely Ānanda Temple, are in Mon style. In 1090 A.C. he completed the building of the Ānanada Temple at Pagān. In this temple his portrait-image can still be seen. Kyanzittha's inspiration is said to have come from eight Indian Buddhist monks who gave him glowing accounts of the great cave-temple of Ananta in the Udayagiri hills of Orissa. Kyanzittha also completed the Shwezigon Temple of his father's time. He was also the first Burmese king to have restored the Bodhgayā temple in Bihar and this act of his is recorded in an inscription now fixed in the wall of the Mahant's residence at Bodhgayā.

Kyanzittha is also credited with the construction of the interesting temple, Abeyadāna at Myinpagān and of some forty smaller pagodas such as the Payeinma at his birth place, the Shwedwinaung to commemorate his hiding in a pit, the Minochantha to contain nine relics received from Ceylon and the Pusittok to commemorate the spot where his mother, when brought as a bride to Anawrahta, knelt in homage to the palace.

Kyañzzittha, in his zeal and enthusiasm for the new faith exhorted a Cola king, successfully, to aceept Buddhism.

Kyanzittha's construction of Buddhist monuments contributed a great deal in the popularizing of the religion among the ordinary people. What influence Buddhism had on Kyanzittha himself is well depicted in the following extract from his inscription of the Shwezigon Pagoda.

> "With loving kindness.....shall king Kyanzittha wipe away the tears of those who are parted from their trusted friends....his people shall be unto him as a child to its mother' bosom ... he shall soften the hearts of those who intend evil, with wisdom, which is even as a hand, shall king Kyanzittha draw open the bar of the Gate of Heaven, which is made of gold and wrought with gems (*Epigraphia Birminica* I, PL. II, p. 90).

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H. R. Perera

LĀBHA, gain, profit, or more generally, possessions. These consist of the various requirements of life, broadly classified as the four requisites (*cattāro paccayā*) in Buddhist literature. These are food (*piṇḍapāta*), clothing (*cīvara*), shelter (*senāsana*) and medicinal provisions (*gilāna - paccaya*). The term *lābha* thus means the acquisition and receipt of these and other requisites for the maintenance of life. The term *āmisa* is also sometimes used in this sense as at *A*. I. 73.

Desire for wealth consisting of these and various other necessities of life is a strong aspect of craving (*taṅhā*) propelled by which man battles against himself and society, thereby creating various problems of life. How this desire for *lābha* operates in the day to day life of man is shown in a ten-fold chain of cause and effect in the *Mahānidāna-suttanta* (*D.* II, 58 ff). The ten links given here as successively leading from one to the other are: sensation (*vedanā*), craving (*taṇhā*), pursuit (*pariyesanā*), gain (*lābha*), business

speculation i.e. how to invest the profits (*vinicchaya*), strong desire for profit (*chandarāga*), attachment (*ajjhesanā*) possession (*pariggaha*), avarice (*macchariya*) and protecting (*ārakkha*) leading to various kinds of disputation and quarrelling, slander and lies, blows and wounds, *etc*.

In this formula the term *taṇhā* is used not in a meta physical, but in the ordinary practical sense and accordingly the commentary (*DA*. II, 499) explains it as *samudācarita taṇhā* as distinguished from what is called *vaṭṭamūla-purima-taṇhā* the craving that is the basis of rebirth as found in the *paṭicca-samuppāda* formula.

The meaning of this formula is that people, motivated by the desire to increase their possessions without the corresponding spiritual development, subject themselves to suffering in its various forms. As acquisitions increase problems also correspondingly increase giving rise to various social and economic crises. Conquest of this craving is the achievement of peace which is the condition of the mind that is freed from the desire to possess. It is the kind of conquest that enables man to make use of the necessities of life, without attaching himself to them. It is then that he can "enjoy" wealth without doing harm to himself or to others, for he obtains his material needs from society "like the bee that obtains the pollen of the flower without harming its colour or the smell (*yathāpi bhamaro pupphaṃ vaṇṇagandhaṃ aheṭhayam -paleti rasamādāya-Dhp*. 49).

Pursuit of possessions as an end in itself is always an obstacle to the proper progress of man. It never affords satisfaction and consolation. Gain of wealth is one of the good results of a virtuous life, a life of quiet contentment, says the *Itivuttaka* (p. 67). [1] The proper attitude to gains and possessions is to make use of them discreetly. Otherwise gains mean competition leading to social divisions of various types. This theme is well-expressed in the following words occurring in the *Sappurisa sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (III, 39): "When a bad man (*asappurisa*) acquires the necessities of life such as clothing, food, shelter and medicines, he thinks that while he has received them the other monks have not. In this manner, because of his possessions, he exalts himself and disparages others. That is the nature of the bad man". The danger of compaing oneself competitively with others, leading to jealousy, is brought forth here.

Gain and loss (*lābha* and *alābha*), like many other things in life (*lokadhamma*), are two opposites affected by which people become disturbed and agitated. Remaining calm and unaffected in both situations (*anurodha-virodha-vippahīna*) is the ideal expected in Buddhism. While the ignorant ordinary man, thinking gains to be permanent, becomes obsessed by both gain and loss, the learned good man, reflecting them not as permanent, remains unperturbed. By cultivating the latter attitude one can certainly enjoy peace. This is the subject matter of the 5th and 6th *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhaka nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A*. IV. 156 ff.) A verse in the *Suttanipāta*, (*Sn*. 834) has the same theme:

"He traineth not in the hope of gain, nor moved
Is he at getting none; no craving stirs
His placidness; he hankers not for tastes (Hare's translation).

Longing for individual possessions or the desire for hoarding wealth in the form of both movable and immovable property (*lābhakāma*) is one of the eight factors that blemishes one's good life and make one unpopular. Hence it is called one of Mara's armies (*Sn*. 438), and therefore not found in a good man (ibid. 854). Wherever found it is a source of unhappiness (*J*. III, 516). People, specially businessmen, are out to make big profits in this manner propelled by *taṇhā* (ibid. 1014). But the highest gain for man is good health (*ārogyā paramā Lābha: M*. I. 508; *Dhp* 204), which in its strict sense means to be free from the three roots of unskilfulness, namely avarice (*lobha*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). And those who have achieved this state are described as those who have obtained the highest gain, which is deathlessness (*te pattipattā amataṃ Vigayha laddhā mudhā nibbuttiṃ bhuñjamānā: Sn*. 228). This is the state of genuine *lābha* in the highest sense, the state free from all bondage (*Yogakkhema*).

1. *Sīlaṃ rakkheyya medhāvī*
patthayāno tayo sukhe
pasaṃsaṃ vittalābhañca
pecca sagge pamodanaṃ

Hellish torments that await the profiteer in business dealings, the black-marketeer, are also described in the following term: in the *Nimi Jataka* (*J.* VI. 112-3):

"That tongue, see, pierced with a hook, like as a shield Struck with a hundred bards; and who are those Who struggle leaping like fish on land And roaring, drabble spittle......? These men are they who in the market place Haggling and cheapening from thir greed of gain Have practised knavery and thought it hidden Like one that hooks a fish: but for the knave There is no safety, dogged by all his deeds: These cruel creatures beget sin, and they Are lying yonder swallowing the hook." E.B. Cowell's translation

Thus in business undertakings, it is not the correct kind of reasonable profitmaking, but profiteering that is deprecated.

Labha is given as one of the ten impediments (*dasapalibodha*) to the practice of higher life (*Vism.* III, 43). The text explains *lābha* as the four requisites (*cattāro paccayā*) and how they become an impediment is explained as follows: "Wherever a meritorious bhikkhu goes people give him a large supply of requisites. By spending his time in giving blessings to them and teaching them, he gets no chance to do the ascetic's duties. From sunrise till the first watch of the night he never breaks his association with people. Again even at dawn, alms food eaters fond of opulence come and say 'Venerable Sir, such and such a man lay follower, woman lay follower, friend, friend's daughter, wants to see you' and being ready to go he replies 'Take the bowl and robe, friend'. So he is always on the alert. Thus these requisites are an impediment for him. He should leave his group and wander by himself where he is not known' (Bhikkhu Nanamoli's translation).

In the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (*MSV.* III, 2, pp. 106 ff), the word *lābha* is used specifically in the sense of gifts received by the Buddhist monks, specially by those living the rainy season in a particular temple. Here, some minor rules with regard to eight kinds of gifts are given. These eight kinds of gifts are: I. *Sīmahṛta-lābha* or gifts received during a single *uposatha* observance within a rainy season, and to be made use of by those monks who recieved them while spending the retreat; II *Kriyāhṛta* or gifts received by making arrangements among the bhikkhus themselves that a particular area or a row of houses would be reserved for certain monks to go for their necessities during the period of retreat; III. *Nis'rayahṛta* or gifts received by a monk who spends the rainy season depending for his necessities on a particular individual; IV *Saṅghaprajñapta* or a gift that is fixed but not specially declared to be a gift; V. *Bhikṣuprajñapta* - or a gift both fixed and explicitly declared to be a gift; VI. *Vars'īka* or a gift recommended to be offered to a monk who has spent the retreat; VII. *sammukha* or a gift which is neither fixed nor explicitly declared as to be given to a particular monk, VIII. *Pratyādes'a* or a gift that is offered at one of the four chief *caityas* i.e. at the places where the Tathagata was born, attained Enlightenment, preached the first sermon and attained *parinirvana*.

With regard to *labha* it may also be mentioned here that Arhant Sivali was regarded as the foremost among those who received gifts (*lābhīnam aggo*) *A.* I. 24) in the Buddha's order, and consequently businessmen regard and worship him as their patron saint.

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

LABOUR, toil of body, mind, or more usually of both, when it becomes compulsory and painful: or else it is the physical exertion directed to the supply of the material needs of the individual. In order to obtain the material wants of man he has to exert himself and this exertion, specially when it is physical, is called labour. Although there is no exact equivalent for the English word labour in Pali, the Sanskrit word *s'rama* more or less expresses the meaning intended. the Pali words *parissama, āyāsa or vāyāma* would be somewhat expressive of the idea. Whatever be the linguistics of the term it is clear that labour is a necessary and a natural part of the activity of man. Action of man is labour mostly. And in this sense the question of labour cannot be excluded from any comprehensive system of thought.

In the available Buddhist records there seems to be no special treatment of the problem as a separate subject. But the question is indirectly and impliedly discussed in its general teaching, specially in the fourth Noble Truth consisting of Noble Eightfold Path, which is the pivot around which the practical philosophy of Buddhism revolves. The fourth, fifth and the sixth constituents of the Path consisting of the right kind of business (*sammā-kammanta*), right kind of livelihood (*sammā-ājīva*) and the right kind of exertion (*sammā-vāyāma*) are of special significance in this connection. These three constituents of the Path provide the ethi-

... for man's labour. Hence ethics assumes a significant role in the concept of labour as understood in Buddhism.

Man's occupation, livelihood and exertion should be of the right (*sammā*) kind and not of the wrong (*micchā*) kind. As the divisions of the Path are for academic purposes, in practice they have to be developed simultaneously and as such they are all kinked together. Therefore the above three aspects of man's activity also have to be treated together when discussed in relation to the practicals of life. The primary activity of man being the fulfilment of his economic needs, right livelihood could in a sense be called right labour, the qualification 'right' meaning that it should be ethically justified (*sammā*). It briefly means that one abstains from making one's living through a profession that brings harm to himself and others. Broadly speaking whatever effort (*vāyāma, parissama*) is made towards the goal of release from *dukkha* it should be within the limits of the truths of moral science. Whether the man's efforts are directed towards the worldly ends or the transcendental ends this fact is applicable with equal force.

In the day to day activity of man, where labour becomes a measure of value owing to its productive capacity, labour problems also involve employer - employee relations. This is an important aspect of the problem in which master - servant relations are involved. The well-known *Sigāla* discourse of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Sutta*, No. 31) gives the answer to this problem. It is based on the knowledge on both parties of their mutual obligations, which is the basis of peaceful co-operation between any two parties. As regards those of the employer towards the employee it is said that he should see to it that the work assigned is according to the ability and the capacity of the employee: "Adequate wages should be paid to him: medical needs should be provided: Occasional donations or bonuses should be granted. The servant or the employee, in his turn, should be diligent and not lazy: honest and obedient and not cheat his master: he should be earnest in his work" (See Walpola Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught*, Gordon-Fraser, pp. 79-80). This sums up the Buddhist attitude towards and the solution for the labour problems in a general way. And if both parties discharge their mutual duties in a general way. And if both parties discharge their mutual duties and obligations well there cannot be much room for exploitation on the part of the employer and various forms of labour violence on the part of the employee.

From an absolute point of view man has to toil and labour to obtain his needs until he gets rid of his burden completely by overcoming the bonds of worldly existence. This kind of absolute freedom is not easy to achieve and only a few have even courage to undertake the hazard. Therefore in the relative existence of ordinary life the above analysis given in the *Sigāla sutta* holds good for any time or any clime. The labour involved in man's effort towards the achievement of freedom from the bonds of renewed existence is called *tapa, vāyāma, padhāna* etc. in Buddhism and embraces the ascetic elements contained in the effort of man towards that goal. The six years of laborious effort of prince Siddhartha prior to his Enlightenment is the best example for this. It is only by getting over the burden completely in the absolute sense in the state of freedom from the burden (*ohita - bhāra*), that one can find true pleasure in all one's work and treat all kinds of work as labours of love. For those who have put an end to the accumulation of fresh *kamma*. They have attained to the state of freedom from the burden of activity (*kammakkhaya*) so that they are not involved in or attached to the work they do. Activities of such people are always selfless, because they are free from bonds.

The principle of division of labour is to be inevitably found in any form of human organisation, for otherwise social activity becomes impossible. The ancient Indian caste system is a clear example for this phenomenon and among the community of Buddhist monks there were particular *bhikkhus* appointed to look after a particular aspect of the work of the community. The posts of those who distributed meals (*bhattuddesaka*), and those who were responsible for the arrangement of the seats and lodgings (*senāsana - paññāpaka*) could be cited as examples. The appointment of various disciples as the chief in a particular branch of activity (*etadagga*) by the Buddha (e.g. Kumārakassapa as the best of orators, Moggallana as the best in the display of psychic powers etc.) too could be treated as a kind of division of labour. See also article on EMPLOYMENT in volume V, *Ency. Bsm.*

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

LAITY See GIHI

LAKKHAṆA SUTTA, the 30th discourse in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D.* III, pp. 142-179) is one of several discourses in the *Tipiṭaka* dealing with the thirty two

special signs of a Great Man (*Mahā-purisa-lakkhaṇa*). Several scholars regard the discourse to be a later addition to the *Tipiṭaka* on the following considerations: *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* is one of the few discourses that provide no introductory reason (*nidāna*) for their deliverance by the Buddha; the discourse also lacks the usual finale seen in discourses preached by the Buddha; the verse sections of the discourse show an exceptionally wide variety of metres which is another pointer to the lateness of the discourse.

The *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* is presented in three parts. The first part, by way of an introduction to the concept of the 32 signs, says that anyone born with them has only one of two possible careers open to him, namely, if he remains a householder (*gihī*) he will become a Universal Monarch (*cakkavattī*) ruling a vast kingdom righteously, and with justice (See. Cakravartin). But if he renounces the world he will become a Buddha, a Fully Enlightened one, and "draw back the veil of ignorance (*mohajāla*) from the world." The implication is that a person born with the 32 signs on his body will rise to the peak of human development spiritually or temporally.

In the second part of the discourse the Buddha enumerates the 32 special signs saying, with regard to each of them, that a man on whose body that particular sign manifests will either become a Universal Monarch (*cakkavatti*) if he leads lay a life, or a Buddha if he decides to renounce worldly life.

The thirty two signs on the body of a Great Man, as enumerated by the Buddha in the *sutta*, are as follows:

(1) He hath feet with level tread (*suppatiṭṭhitapādo*);
(2) On the soles of his feet, wheels appear thousand spoked, with tyre and hub, in every way complete and well divided (*heṭṭhā pādatalesu cakkāni jātāni honti sahassārāni sanemikāni sanābhikāni sabbākāra paripūrāni suvibhattantarāni*);
(3) He has projecting heels (*āyata paṇhī*);
(4) He has long fingers and toes (*dīghaṅgulī hoti*);
(5) His hands and feet are tender (*mudu taluna hatthapādo*);
(6) His hands and feet resemble a net (*jālahattha pādo*);
(7) His ankles are not over the heels but midway in the length of the feet (*ussaṅkhapādo*);
(8) His legs are like an antelope's (*eṇi jaṅgho*);
(9) He can touch and rub his knees with either hand while standing and without bending (*thitako va anonamanto ubhohi pāṇi-talehi jannukāni parimassati parimajjati*);
(10) His male organs are concealed in a sheath (*kosohita-vattha guyho*);
(11) His complexion is like bronze, the colour of gold (*suvaṇṇa - vaṇṇo kañcana sannibhattaco;*
(12) His skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body (*sukhumaccavi hoti sukhumatta chaviya rajojallam kāye na upalippati;*
(13) In the pores on his body grows single hairs, one to each pore (*ekeka-lomo hoti, ekekāni lomāni lomakūpesu jātāni*);
(14) The hairs on his body turns upward, every hair of it, blue black in color like eye paint, in little curling rings, curling to the right (*uddhagga-lomo hoti, uddhaggāni lomāni jātāni nīlāni anjanavaṇṇāni kuṇḍala vaṇṇāni padakkkhiṇā-vattakā*);
(15) He has a frame extremely straight (*brahmujjugatto hoti*);
(16) He has the seven convex surfaces (*sattussado hoti*);
(17) The front half of his body is like a lion's (*sīhapubbaddhakāyo*);
(18) There is no furrow between his shoulders (*cittantaraṃso*);
(19) His proportions have the symmetry of the banyantree, the length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms, and the compass of his arms, is equal to his height (*nigrodha-parimaṇḍalo hoti, yāvatakvassa kāyo tāvatakvassa vyāmo, yāvatakvassa vyāmo tāvatakvassa kāyo*);
(20) His bust is equally rounded (*samavatta-kkhandho*);
(21) His taste is supremely acute (*rasaggasaggī*);
(22) His jaws are as a lion's (*sīhahanū*);
(23) He has forty teeth (*cattārīsa-danto*);
(24) He has regular teeth (*samadanto*);
(25) He has continuous teeth (*avivaradanto*);
(26) The eye-teeth are very lustrous (*susukkadāṭho*);
(27) His tongue is long (*pahūta jivho*);
(28) He has a divine voice like the karavīka bird's (*brahmassaro karavīka bhāṇi*);
(29) His eyes are intensely blue (*abhinīla-netto*);
(30) He has eye lashes likes a cow's (*gopakhumo hoti*);
(31) Between the eye brows appeaars a hairy mole white and like soft cotton down (*unna bhamukantare jātā hoti odāta mudu tūlasannibha);*

... s like a royal turban (*uṇhīsa-siso*)

In the third and final part of the *sutta* the Buddha describes the karmic causes of each of the signs and the advantages conferred to the person who possesses them. The description is first done in prose, which is attributed to the Buddha himself, and then in verse. It is interesting to note here that the Buddha has given a pure ethical interpretation to the thirty two signs of a Great man, where as such a conception was not found in the brahmanic texts. For example, the second of the thirty two signs is the marks of tiny wheels on the soles of the feet of a Great man. In a previous life, the person with this sign has dispelled people's fears and provided them with protection, shelter and the necessities of life, and hence this sign on his body. The advantage enjoyed in the present life by the possessor of this sign is that as a Universal Monarch or as a Buddha he will have many supporters.

Sometimes the causes and advantages mentioned in the prose section differ slightly from the verse. For example, having feet with level tread (*suppatiṭṭhita-pāda*), the first of the thirty two signs, is, according to the prose, the result of "having been unwavering in good conduct of body, speech and thought, in generosity, self-discipline, observing the fast -day, precepts and in honoring parents, ascetics and brahmins and the head of the clan", but according to the verse it is slightly different.

As for the advantages conferred by such past good deeds, the prose says that as a Universal Monarch he will rule over a prosperous world and that no enemy will obstruct him; if he becomes a Buddha he will meet with no impediment either internally (from greed, hatred and delusion), or externally (from ascetics, gods or *māras*). The verse section, on the other hand, says that the advantages enjoyed by the Universal Monarch will be that he will defeat all his foes, while as the Buddha he will not be reborn again in *saṃsāra*.

It should be noted that there is an attempt to find some link or correspondence between the past good deeds and the sign they have given rise to. So, being quick to learn skills and crafts results in having legs like an antelope (*eṇijaṅgha*), presumably enabling one to walk quickly. Again in consequence of developing non-violence and being generous at giving away fine cloths and fabric, there results a golden coloured smooth complexion (*suvaṇṇavaṇṇa*).

In the *Tipiṭaka* the thirty two signs are always described as being a part of brahmanical prognostic lore, and scholars generally accept them as being pre-Buddhist. The Buddha adopted existing concepts after giving them a new interpretation to inculcate his own ethical teachings, and the *Lakkhaṇa sutta* is a good example of this approach adopted by the Buddha.

The Buddha actually says in the *sutta* that religious teachers of other persuations know about the thirty two signs, but that they are ignorant of the karmic reasons for gaining them; and it is these very good deeds that are emphasised in the *Lakkhaṇa sutta* whereas brahamins emphasised the mystical powers of the man who possessed the thirty two signs, the Buddha shifted the emphasis to the ethical behaviour that gave rise to them, and when we look at this behaviour we notice that much of it has a distinctly social overtone. It includes being generous (*dāna saṃvibhāga*), harmlessness (*dayāpanna*), dispelling people's fears (*ubbegauttāsa bhayāpanūdano*), providing them with protection and security (*dhammikañ ca rakkhāvaraṇaguttim*), uniting those who have fallen out (*bhiṇṇānaṃ vā sandātā*) and desiring the welfare, profit, comfort and freedom from bondage from others.

Such ethical behaviour is very reminiscent of the Perfections (*pāramī*), which the bodhisatta is supposed to have practised in preparation for Buddhahood, a concept not specifically stated in the early strata of the Tipiṭaka. When we recall the *lakkhaṇa sutta*'s assertion that such deeds were practised in the past by one who would later become either a Universal Monarch or a Buddha, one can see here the concept of the Perfections in its germinal stage.

Bellanwila Wimalaratana.

LAKṢMI, or S'RĪ (Pali: Lakkhī, Sirī), the Indian goddess of beauty, prosperity and splendour, the goddess of good luck. She symbolises one of the most important and age-old tendencies of the human mind, that of conceiving the good and the beautiful, the prosperous and the lucky, in life in the form of a female divinity. The anthropomorphous form of the goddess does not

1. The sense of *S'rī* and *Lakṣmī* in early Indian literature is discussed in detail by H. Oldenberg in his essay "Vedic Words for Beautiful and Beauty and the Vedic sense of the Beautiful" in *Rūpam*, No. 32, 1927, pp. 98 ff.

find a place among the earlier Vedic literature. It is in a very late hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (I, 165, Max Muller, *Ṛgveda*, 2nd edition, Vol.IV, pp. 523 ff.), known as the *S'ri -Sūkta*, that she is addressed as a personalised goddess, as the wife of Vis'nu. While the form *S'ri* occurs in the early Vedic literature as a word meaning prosperity it is only in the *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi, 4, 3) that she is referred to as a goddess. The abstract ideas of prosperity, beauty, good luck etc. contained in the form *S'ri* and *Lakṣmī* have been extended to mean a goddess symbolising these ideas.[1] Her emergence seems to have taken place along with those of the other gods and goddesses that gradually enlarged the Indian pantheon in post Vedic India. Gods and the goddesses to a lesser extent had their place in Buddhist India and the worship of Lakṣmī cannot be excluded. The *Dīgha Nikāya* (I, 11) evidently refers to her invocation (*siri-āhvāyana*) in addition to the numerous references to her in the *Jatakas*. The *Milindapañha* (p. 191) refers to her as *Siri-devatā* treating her worshippers as a separate sect. In the *Siri-kālakaṇṇi Jātaka* (*J.* IIII, 257 ff.), Siri, as the goddess of fortune, is depicted as the daughter of Dataraṭṭha, the regent of the northern region and hence coming from the *Cātummahārājika* deva-world. In the body of the story she describes herself as " the one presiding over the course of conduct that gives lordship to mankind" (*aham mahājanassa issariyadāyakāya paṭi-padāya ṭhitā*). Kālakaṇṇi, the daughter of Virūpakkha, the regent of the western region, is represented as the opposite character of Siri and hence the "goddess" of misfortune. In the *Sudhābhojana Jātaka* (*J.*V. 399) Lakṣmi is connected with the east and here she is reproached because she bestows fortune indiscriminately both on the good and the bad. Here is seen, it may be observed, a deviation from the normal concept, according to which moral integrity is the qualification for her favours. The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (II, p. 17) refers to her as the powerful goddess that gives luck to the kingdom (*rajjasiridāyikam mahānubhāvaṃ devataṃ*). In the *Sirikālakaṇṇi-pañha* of the *Ummagga Jātaka* too (*J.* VI, 349) Siri and Kalakanni are treated as the two female divinities representing good luck and ill-luck respectively, who can never live together in harmony. In the *Siri Jātaka* (No. 284)[2] Sirī is Anāthapiṇḍika's goddess of good-luck who changes her residence from one place to another in order to escape a thief that came to steal her. She finally settles down in the tresses of Anāthapiṇḍika's wife and the thief goes away disappointed. The story is meant to show that the goddess of fortune is not transferable! Lakkhi or Sirī, it is quite significant, is equalised with wisdom (*paññā*) at *J.* III, 306. Realisation of truth as gnosis or saving knowledge (*vimutti-ñaṇa*) is the greatest fortune and hence it is this same idea that later developed into the concept of the goddess *Prajñāpāramitā* in the Mahāyāna. In the *Tesakuṇa Jātaka* (*J.*V, 112-3) *Sirī* (here Sirī and Lakkhī are treated as two individuals) is made to make the statement that she dwells in a man who is energetic and free from jealousy (*uṭṭhānaviriye pose-ramāham anusuyyake*) and so goes a well-known Sanskrit adage "Lakṣmī visits only those men who are energetic like lions" (*udyogināṃ puruṣasiṃham upaiti Lakṣmi*). Conversely a man of opposite character is said to be the dwelling place of Siri's opposite character, Kālakaṇṇi. By being free from jealousy and friendly towards all (*sabbesaṃ suhadayo*) one can get rid of ill-luck and attract good luck. Victory in battle is also compared to Lakkhī in two places in the *Cūlavaṃsa* (lxxii, 101 and lxxvi, 233). One who does not betray one's friends shall not be deserted by *Sirī*, says a verse occurring in the *Temiya Jātaka: Siriyā ajahito hoti-yo mittānam na dūbhati:* (*J.* VI, 14).

With the development of the personality of Lakṣmī there also inevitably grew a mythology around her. Accordingly she finds her place in the churning of the ocean, which was a task undertaken by the gods (*sura*) and the titans (*asura*) for the recovery of the elixir of life (*amṛta*). Out of the many auspicious objects that emerged from the ocean Lakṣmī was one. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* account (book 1, ch. 45) she appears as the 9th of the ten objects that were recovered, *amṛta* being the 10th object. The other account is found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (book I, ch. 9) according to which she is the eighth and the last treasure that emerged. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* account she was a lotus, her special symbol, (hence she is designated Padmā) in her hand whereas in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* account she is seated on one.[3] The connection of Lakṣmī with water and specially with the lotus, which is a symbol of the waters, is a significant characteristic of this concept.

2. These two goddesses, S'ri or Lakṣmī, and Kālakaṇṇī, as representative of good luck and ill-luck respectively, are called Puṇyā Lakṣmī and Pāpī Lakṣmi in a hymn of the *Atharvaveda*, (vii, 115). See J. Muir, *Original Sanskṛt Texts* Vol. V, pp. 348-9.

3. Compare also the idea that Venus Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love, is also sometimes regarded as having sprung from the foam of the sea.

(See also under LOTUS). With regard to this point the following words of Heinrich Zimmer may be quoted "The Sanskrit words for the "lotus" *kamala* and *padma* when provided with the long ā of the feminine ending denote the goddess who dwells in the lotus: Kamalā, Padmā. Identical with S'rī-Lakṣmī, the wife of Vis'nu, who is the creator and maintainer of the world, she is luck, prosperity and good fortune incarnate. She presides over the fertility and moisture of the soil and over the jewels and precious metals in the womb of the earth and is represented standing on the lotus, as the other gods on their animals or vehicles" *(The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 158).

It may also be noted that the myth of the churning of the ocean by the gods and the titans for the recovery of the elixir of life seems to symbolise the same phenomenon as the bodhisatta's struggle against Māra and his hosts (*Mārayuddha*) which culminated in the realisation of *prajñā* (*prajñā-Pāramitā*) and the achievement of immortality by the Buddha. Buddhaghosa, quite in keeping with this view, in fact compares the bodhisatta's realisation of all-seeing knowledge (*sabbaññuta-ñāṇa*) under the bodhi-tree to the churning of the ocean in the following simile occurring in the *Manorathapūraṇī* (III, 70): Having overcome Māra he purified the three-fold vision during the three watches and churning, with the churning-stick of his knowledge which is capable of thinking in forward and backward order, the ocean of the Law of Dependent Origination, which too is of the double nature of regular and of reverse order, the bodhisatta obtained the all-seeing knowledge, whereupon the ten-thousand world-systems quaked (*mārabalaṃ vidhametvā tīsu yāmesu tisso vijjā visodhetvā anuloma-paṭilomaṃ paṭiccasamuppādamahā- samuddaṃ, yamakañāṇamanthena manthentassa sabbaññuta-ñāṇapaṭividdhe tadanubhāvena dasasahassī lokadhātukampanaṃ*).

It was this idea of the perfection of wisdom that gave birth to the goddess Prajñāpāramitā, a more Buddhistic form of Lakṣmi, in the developed forms of Buddhism and in Buddhist art. It is also significant in this connection that another form of Lakṣmī, the earth-goddess under the name Vasundharā, has also asumed significance in Buddhist art by her being connected with the Bodhisatta's *mārayuddha* when she was called to witness by him.[4]

Although Heinrich Zimmer, in his *Art of Indian Asia* (p. 141) makes a distinction between Lakṣmī and *Prajñāpāramitā* by making the former to symbolise the fulfilment of the earthly wishes of man and the latter that of the transcendental wishes, in the ultimate analysis one cannot see a difference between the two as this so-called transcendental idea is nothing but the realisation that there is no difference between the worldly and the transcendental aspects of life, between saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa as often emphasised specially in the Mahāyāna works. The fact that the Jātaka commentator also had this idea in mind is shown by Laksmi being equalised with *prajñā*. (*J.* III, 306). After all, the full realisation of *prajñā* would be the fulfilment of all the earthly gains as well.

The oldest available representation of a figure (leaving aside the female figurines from the Indus Valley) that could be identified as that of Lakṣmī is the one found carved on the northern gateway of the Sānci Stūpa of about the beginning of the Christian era. Here the goddess sits on a fully opened lotus, her favourite symbol: a number of other blossoms rise around her and on two of these guardian elephants (symbolising rain-clouds) stand sprinkling water over the goddess from pots held in their uplifted trunks. This is the well-known Gaja-Lakṣmī or Lakṣmī with the elephants, which became a somewhat common motif in later Indian art. This scene is very often regarded as representing symbolically the nativity of Gautama Buddha. With regard to another representation of Lakṣmī from the Ādivarāha cave at Māmallapuram and belonging to the early 7th century A.C., E.B. Havell observes: "Lakṣmī, Mother Nature, true woman and goddess most divine, is represented in the supreme moment when, rising from the waves on her lotus throne she gazes with undisguised repture and wonderment upon the apparition of Vis'nu in all his splendour before her. There is a fine inspiration, a touch of the eternal feminine, in her simple, spontaneous gesture, full of adoration for her divine spouse as she prepares to throw herself upon his breast. The reverential mien of the attendant river goddess at her side is simply and charmingly expressed and the colossal heads of Indra's elephants, rendered with consummate craftsmanship make an imposing canopy for the whole group.[5]"

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4. Vasundharā's connection, as the goddess of fertility, with the bodhisatta's *Māra-yuddha* as depicted in Buddhist art has been discussed in detail by D.C. Gangolly in *IHQ*. 1943, pp. 1-11. (This article is illustrated).

5. *The Ideals of Indian Art*, London, 1920, pp. 155-6

As regards the general history of Lakṣmi in Hindu mythology the following account may be useful: "In the Vedas the term Lakṣmi occurs in the sense of auspicious and is also applied to a fortunate woman. In the earlier legends Lakṣmi is the goddess of good fortune and beauty, who issued from the mouth of Prajāpati and was the wife of Aditya. Another legend makes her a daughter of the Maharṣi Bhṛgu who in a fit of rage cursed all celestial beings. Lakṣmi, his daughter being one of them, took refuge in primeval waters, from where she re-appeared during the churning of the ocean in the full bloom of her divine beauty, floating in the dew of a lotus flower.

"In all later legends she is spoken as the spouse of Vis'nu. She is said to have had several rebirths in each one as the spouses of Viṣṇu incarnation. When Viṣṇu came as Rāma, Lakṣmī was Sītā; when he came as Vāmana she was a lotus (Padmā); when she came as Paras'urāma she was Dharaṇī; when he came as Kṛṣṇa she was Rukmiṇī, and so on. Lakṣmī is portrayed as a very beautiful goddwss with two hands (instead of the four she possesses) in one of which she holds her flower, the lotus. In the seasonal worship of this goddess her images are rarely used. It is customary to heap up rice on a tray, decorate it with cowrie shells and place on the pile a small wooden box with a coin in it, symbolising the goddess of good fortune and prosperity."[6]

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

LALANĀ, along with *rasanā* and *avadhūti*, is a vein in the human body, which, as taught in the physiology of Tantric Buddhism, has a meditative significance in the *yogic* exercises taught in that branch of Buddhist philosophy.

A philosophical concept that is common to almost all the branches of Indian philosophy is that ultimate reality is non-dual as opposed to the dualistic nature of apparent reality. The experience of this non-duality between the relative and the absolute aspects of existence was the practical aim of Indian religion in general. In Buddhism this philosophical aspect was elaborately developed in the Mahāyāna, specially in the Tāntric sects. The concepts of *upāya* (means method) and *prajñā* (wisdom), *s'ūnyatā* (viod) and *karuṇā* (compassion), *vajra* (diamond), and *padma* (lotus) etc. were some of the ways in which this relative duality was conceived. Based on the other philosophical tenet that the individual is a replica of the universe, a microcosm, these dual aspects were conceived as being represented in the human body by the two nerves *lalanā* and *rasanā*, which are called *iḍā* and *piṅgalā* respectively in the Hindu Tantras. *Lalanā*, on the left side of the body, was conceived as feminine and corresponding with *prajñā* while *rasanā*, on the right side was conceived as masculine and corresponding with *upāya*. In the centre where they unite is *avadhūti* (*s'usumnā* of the Hindu Tantras) symolising the practical realisation of non-duality in the state of great bliss or *mahāsukha* or *nirvāna*.[7]

In the complicated symbolism of Tantric Buddhism these two nerves have been given various kinds of names which indicate the different aspects in which the apparent duality was conceived. Some of these names are:-[8] *Lalanā; iḍā, candra, s'as'in, soma, apāna, dhamana, āli, nāda; prajñā, gaṅgā, s'ukra, bali, sthūla, rajas, adharma, asthira, apara, pṛthivī, abheda, acitta, avidyā, tamas, abhāva, prakṛti, s'akti, sambhogakāya, grāhaka. Rasanā: piṅgalā, sūrya, ravi, agni, prāṇa, camana, kāli, bindu, upāya, yamunā, rakta, pālita, sūkṣma, retas, dharma, sthira, pāra, dyau, bheda, citta, vidyā, rajas, bhava, puruṣa, s'iva, nirmāṇakāya, grāhya,*

Lama Anagarika Goveinda[9] identifies the two psychic forces that flow through these two nerves as lunar (*lalanā*) and solar (*rasanā*). However, as the duality of existence could be expressed in so many other ways, one finds it difficult to stick to one pair of symbolism and it is this fact that is proved by the large

6. Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World*, Vol.I, p. 584, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1968.
7. This idea is clearly expressed in the following verse occurring in the *Sādhanamālā* (p. 448)
lalanā prajñāsvabhāvena
vāsanopāyena saṃsthitā
avadhūti madhyadese tu
mahāsukhādhārarūpini
8. Quoted by S.B. Dasgupta in his *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p. 154, notes, from P.C. Bagi hi's *Studies in the Trantras*.
9. *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*, p. 155 See also D.L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Oxford University Press, 1959, Introduction.

number of symbolic pairs recorded in Tantric works as the above list shows. Lama Givinda summarises (ibid. p. 155) the physiological location of these nerves thus: "According to the tradition of the *S'atkarma-*[illegible] [illegible] (*lalanā*) and *piṅgalā* (*rasanā*) are represented as two spirals starting from the left and the right [illegible] respectively and moving in opposite directions [illegible] and *s'us'umma nāḍi* (*avadhūti*) which runs like a hollow channel through the centre of the spiral column, meeting *idā* (*lalanā*) and *piṅgalā* (*rasana*) in the perineum at the base of the spine".

In the *yoga* of Tantric Buddhism this physiological symbolism is made use of for meditational and such other spiritual exercises that help one to realise and experience the universality of all consciousness and thereby awaken the dormant forces of the human mind generally designated in Tantrism as *kuṇḍalinī* ('libido' as Govinda says: *ibid.* p. 156). While *lalanā* and *rasanā* symbolically represent the apparent duality of all mundane experiences, *avadhūti* represents the state free from this duality, the state of non-duality of peace and harmony. The aim of the *yogin* is to experience this state of equilibrium. This is the practical purpose of these theories in Buddhist yogic exercises. "The yogin' is he who has found the central axis of his being, who has 'opened' the *s'us'umnā* (*avadhūti*) who has gained direct access to his innermost forces and who has succeeded in establishing direct contact between the extremes of his nature, by connecting the deepest with the highest" observes Lama Govinda (*ibid* p. 157).

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

LALITAVISTARA, one of the most secred Mahāyāna texts belonging to the category of *Vaipulya Sūtra* (lit. discourse of great extent). It is one of the nine *dharmas* (*nava-dharma*=nine sactred texts,) of Nepalese Buddhism. The *Lalitavistara* also calls itself a *Mahānidāna*, and *Lalitavistara purāna*, a title befitting its form and style. The title *Lalitavistara* (i.e., the detailed narration of the sports (of the Buddha) itself is suggestive of the docetic views found in the work.

The *Lalitavistara* consists of twenty-seven chapters which narrate the life-story of the Buddha from the time of his sojourning in the Tusita heaven, in his penultimate birth where he was born as Svetaketu, up to the event of his preaching the first sermon. The text begins with the stereotyped formula, "Thus, have heard (*evam mayā rutam*); but unlike Pali suttas which open with the corresponding Pali formula (*evaṃ me sutaṃ*) it does not immediately introduce the main topic of the discourse. The preamble, sketching out a magnificent picture of the Buddha as well as the vast assembly of *bodhisattvas*, *bhikṣus*, *devas* and other beings is characteristic of all Mahāyāna *sutras*.

The first chapter called the *Nidāna-parivarta* is devoted to the preamble. The life-story of the Buddha begins with the second chapter,*Samutvāhaparivarta*, and this beginning corresponds to the *Avidūrenidāna* of the *Nidanakathā*. In this section the *Lalitavistara* closely corresponds to the tradition recorded in the *Nidāna-kathā*, varying only in minor differences of details and in extravagence of description. For example the verses of extortation (*sañcodanagāthā*) are found in the *Lalita* in place of the entreaties of gods of Thusita as given in the *Nidānkathā*. The third chapter *Kulaparis'uddhaparivarta* is mainly devoted to the description of the investigations which are normally referred to in the Pali tradition as the Five Great Investigations (*pañca-mahā-vilokana*). In the *Lalita* these investigations are enumerated as four in number. Though not enumerated the investigation regarding the mother, too, is described in great detail. Unlike in the *Nidānakathā* all these events are elaboratedy presented in the *Lalitavistara* and it even describes how the gods assisted the *bodhisattva* in these investigations. Deviating from the known Pali tradition the *Lalitavistara* describes also how the gods descended to Jambudvipa and began teaching the brahmans the science of physiognomy so that they may be able to discern the signs in the body of the *bodhisattva* when he is born among men. In the meantime some other gods appear in Jambudvipa and inform the *Pratyekabuddhas* that the *bohisattva* will be born twelve years hence, and this perhaps is in place of the *Buddha-halāhala* (uproar proclaming the appearance of the Buddha) referred to in the *Nidānakathā*. Though the *Nidānakathā* says that the *bodhisattva* will be born thousand years after the *Buddha-halāhala*, the *Lalita* reduces the intervening period to twelve years.

Between the two events, namely the Great Investigations and the *bodhisattva's* conception in Maya's womb, the *Lalita* recounts many more happenings which are not known to the Pali tradition. The *Lalita* describes how the bodhisattva, after firmly resolving to depart from Tusita heaven preached to the gods and consoled them. He is even said to have pacified the gods by appointing Maitreya to succeed him. The *Lalitavistara* gives also an account of the deliberations carried out to find a suitable form for the bodhisattva

to enter the mother's womb. It was a god named Ugrateja, who had recently departed from Jambudvipa, who suggested the form of an elephant.

The fourth and fifth chapters (*Dharmālokamukha-parivarta, Pracalaparivarta*) gives details of the past lives of the bodhisattva and describes his preparation for the descent to Jambudvipa. The next chapter, *Garbhāvakrāntīparivarta* is mainly devoted to describe the bodhisattva's conception in Māya's womb. Though the description of Mayas dream is similer to the one found in the Pali tradition, the events that follow it are presented in an extravagent form, and it is probable that many of these are fabrications of the compiler (s) or redactor (s) [1] of the *Lalitavistara*. Both Pali and Sanskrit traditions hold that though the *bodhisattva* took conception in Māyā's womb he remained there unsullied by the impurities in the mother's womb. Though the Pali tradition is satisfied with merely stating this, the *Lalita* venture to explain how this was possible. It says that while being in the mother's womb the *bodhisattva* lived in a casket called Ratnavyūha and while being in it he was nourished by some special food offered by Brahmā.

The *Lalita* description of the birth of the bodhisattva is basically the same as in Pali texts, except for some additional details such as the spontaneous appearance of lotuses to receive the foot of the bodhisattva; and, perhaps, such details were included to embellish and sanctify his character. The *Lalita* redactor's over enthusiasm for exaggeration and embellishment has resulted in a confusion of the sequence of events. Thus, at one place it says that it was four months after the birth that Suddhodana was able to bring the child to his palace. Elsewhere it is said that it took a week to bring the child to the palace. In the meantime it also upholds the common tradition that Māyā died seven days after the birth of the bodhisattva. Asita's visit is elaborately dealt with , and this opportunity is taken to insert the list of characteristics of a Great Being (*mahā-puruṣa*).

The three chapters that follow (vii, *Devakulopana-yanaparivarta* viii. *Ābharaṇa parivarta* ix. *Lipisālāsaṃdars'ana parivarta*) are peculiar to the *Lalita* and are perhaps added to fill in a gap found in the Pali tradition. These additions also enabled the redactor (s) to present the super-human qualities of the bodhisattva in a very extravagent form. For example, the *Lalita* describes vividly how the statues of various deities spontaneously fell prostrate at the feet of the infant bodhisattva; how the bodhisattva surpassed his teacher in knowledge and proficiency in various arts and sciences.

The tenth chapter (*Kṛṣigrāmaparivarta*) narrates the well-known event of the ploughing-ceremony with details not found in the Pali tradition. The *S'ilpasandar's'ana parivarta* (xi) is important as it describes how the young bodhisattva selected his bride, the bodhisattva's act of displaying his kill in the art of war is very ingeneously woven into the narrative. According to the *Lalitavistara* it was Gopā, daughter of Daṇḍapani, who was selected by the bodhisattva as his wife, and it was in order to dispel the doubts entertained by his prospective father-in-law regarding his proficiency in the art of war that he displayed his skill. The redactor of the *Lalita* makes much use of this chapter to present graphically the contest that took place between the bodhisattva and Devadatta.

The *Sañcodanaparivarta* (13th) is a lengthy one which describes the means adopted by the gods to urge the bodhisattva to get his mind on renunciation, and thus it is apparent that like the Pali tradition the Sanskrit tradition, too, does not speak about the period of the bodhisattva's life between his marriage and renunciation.

The *Lalita* describes in great detail the dream dreamt by Gopā and Suddhodana about the impending departure of the bodhisattva. This is, perhaps, a means adopted by the *Lalita* to magnify the act of renunciation specially by describing the numerous preventive measures taken by Suddhodana. Whole of chapter fourteen (*Svapnaparivarta*) is devoted to this.

Though there are differences between the two traditions (the Pali and the Sanskrit) with regard to details concerning the renunciation (*Abhiniṣkra-maṇaparivarta*) the gist of both is almost similar. In details, of course, the *Lalita* seems to agree more with the parallel account in the *Mahāvastu*.[2] Similarities of this sort, perhaps, suggest that the *Lalitavistara* consists of two ancient traditions, the Pali and Sanskrit, are

1. Though the *Lalitavistara* consists of old and new traditions in its form as found at present it appears to be the work of a single redactor.
2. The *Mahāvastu* is said to be a work of the Hinayāna which has assimilated features of Mahayāna.

often complementary to the other.

For the redactor of the *Lalita* all events connected with the bohisattva are worthy of festivals, and, therefore, the bodhisattva's four visits to the pleasance are made occasions for pompous celebrations. The *Lalita* redactor rejoices in detailing the part played by the gods in helping the bodhisattva to renunciate. Every opportunity is made use of to insert verses of exhortations and graphic poetic descriptions.

Events that took place between renunciation and the commencement of ascetic practices are summed up in the *Bimbisāropasaṃkramaṇaparivarta* (16th) and as indicated by the title it gives prominence to the *bodhisattva's* meeting with king Bimbisāra.

The *Lalitavistara* deviating from the *Jātaka-nidāna-kathā* account says that the bodhisattva, before meeting Ārāḍa Kālāpa also met, two brahman women known as S'āki and Padmā and two other sages called Raivata and Rajaka. In describing the severe ascetic practices performed by the bodhisattva the *Lalita* clolsely follows the Pali tradition, except for a few addition such as the visit of Maya from heaven.

As pointed out before the *Lalita* has often attempted to suggest explanations for events that appear to rouse the curiosity of the readers. In this chapter (17th *Duṣkaracaryāparivarta*) the *Lalitavistara* explains that the bodhisattva, though he himself knew the futile nature of severe austere practices, performed them for six years in order to show their uselessness to those who regarded ascetic practices as the sole means of salvation.

The *Nairañjanāparivarta* narrates the offering of rice-gruel by Sujātā. The next two chapters graphically describes the *bodhisattva's* march towards the foot of the bodhi-tree (*Bodhimaṇḍagamanaparivarta*) and the gathering of numerous bodhisattvas from the buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*) and taking position around the *bodhimaṇḍa* (*Bodhimaṇḍavyalapartivarta*).

The *Lalita* devotes a lengthy chapter to describe the battle between the *bodhisattva* and the Māra (*Māragharṣaṇaparivarta*). This description is more graphic and animated than the parallel descriptions found in Pali sources., It also narrates how Māra, failing to conquer the *bodhisattva* by use of force, send his daughters to entice him by their coquetry.

The attainment of Buddhahood is described in the 22nd chapter (*Abhisambodhanaparivarta*) which in content is very close to the Pali tradition. The utterence of joy (*udāna*) which the Buddha is said to have made is not the usual one cited in Pali sources.

The *Saṃstavaparivarta* is devoted to present the eulogies uttered by various dieties in praise of the Buddha. This is followed by the enumeration of events that took place during the seven weeks after Enlightenment. The offering of the first meal by Trapuṣa and Bhallika is narrated in the next chapter. The *Adhyeṣaṇā parivarta* records the invitation made by Brahmā Sikhi requesting the Buddhia to preach the doctrine to the world. Being persuaded, the Buddha sets forth to Benares and on his way meets Upaka. The *Lalitavistara* narrates an interesting incident that took place on the way. When the Buddha came up to the ford of Gangese and requested the ferryman to take him to the other bank the latter demanded the fare. Then to the great astonishment of the ferryman the Buddha crossed the river through the air. Awe-stricken ferryman reported this matter to king Bimbisara, who ordered that thenceforth all religious recluses should be ferried without any charge of a fare.

In the *Dharmacakrapravartanaparivarta* the *Lalita* narrates very graphically the preaching of the first sermon and all the miraculous events that took place at that time. It even goes to the extent of describing how a bodhisattva named Dharmacakrapravartin rolled to the presence of the Buddha the great wheel of law (*Dharmacakra*), made up of thousand spokes and adorned with all kinds of jewells.

The last chapter (*Nigamanaparivarta*) is in praise of the *Lalitavistara* itsself . It also enumerates the numerous benefits that accrue to anyone who reads or listens to this text.

From the foregoing account it is apparent that the *Lalitavistara* consists of episodes which are found in Pali and Sanskrit traditions and also of some episodes not known to either the Pali sources or to Sanskrit texts like the *Mahāvastu*. In order to explain the existence of different traditions Winternitz puts forward the suggestion that "the Lalita-vistara is a recast of an older Hīnayāna text, the Buddha biography of the Sarvāstivāda school, enlarged and embellished in the spirit of the Mahāyāna. This supposition also explains the character of the text, which is by no means a unified work of one author, but an anonymous compilation, in

which very early and very recent passages stood side by side. (M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* II. p. 252-53). This view is accepted almost verbatim by P. Vaidya in his edition of the *Lalitavistara* (*BST*. I, Intro.p. X)

Whatever the truth of this suggestion is undoubtedly the *Lalitavistara* consists of old and new, both Pali and Sanskrit tradition; and, besides, it also abounds in highly exaggerated, improbable elements which are, perhaps, mostly creations of the redactor of the *Lalitavistara*. It appears that it is in order to impart authority to these new that the narrative is interrupted in the 7th chapter to insert a dialogue between the Buddha and Ananda which calls for faith and belief on the part of the devotees.

Though the character of the text does not permit to conclude that it is a unified work of one author, it does not, however, rule out the possibility that the *Lalita*, in the form it is known to us, could be the work of one redactor.

Lalitavistara consists of both prose and verse, the latter often being the summarised version of the former. As Winternitz observes some of these metrical passages are beautiful old ballads, perhaps derived from the same ancient sources as some of the *suttas* in the *Suttanipāta*. Many prose passages, too, belong to the old tradition. Therefore, it is incorrect to conclude that the verse portions constitute the older stratum, while prose portions were added later. P. L. Vaidya is of opinion that the archaic nature of language of the verses is due to the limitations and exigencies imposed by the metre.

The *Lalitavistara* in its final form, as extent at present, is undoubtedly the result of a conscious effort to present the biography of the Buddha in a poetic form and style. It has many features that bring it close to the category of an epic.

Though it is said that the *Lalitavistara* was translated into Chinese as early as the 1st century A.C. there is no conclusive proof on this point. *Nanjio* has two entries under Nos. 159 and 160. According to *Nanjio Fo-pen-hing-chig* (68 A.C.) a work not extant now, is the earliest translation. But scholars including P.C. Bagchi do not support this supposition. The other one known as *Po'u-yia-ching* atttributed to Dharmarakṣa (308 A.C.) consists of only eight chapters, and scholars including Winternitz doubt whether this is really a translation of the Sanskrit text.

The Tibetan translation belonging to the 9th century is said to be an accurate translation. Two Mongolian versions are found. One is said to be a translation, of the Tibetan originally compiled by Co's-kyi Od-zen. As the Tibetan original of this is not found it is not possible to check the accuracy of the Mongolian version. This Mongolian version is attributed to Ses-rat-Sein ge. From the Mongolian version it could be adduced that Co's-kyi-'Od-zen's Tibetan rendering itself is a condensed form of the Sanskrit text. The other is the Mongolian rendering of the Tibetan text occurring in the *Kangyur*. This was done by Samdan Sengge of the 17th century. Perhaps the latter used the earlier Mongolian version and this explains the verbatim repetition of Ses-rab Sen-ge's work in that of Sanden Sengge.[4]

Winternitz suggests also that a version slightly different from the *Lalitavistara* was known to the artists who, from about 850-900 A.C. decorated the famous temple of Barabudur in Java.

The exact date of compilation of the *Lalitavistara* is not known. Basing their agreements on sculptural representations found in Gandhāra depicting scenes described in the *Lalita*, scholars assign the work to the 1st or 2nd century A.C

Though *Lalitavistara* is an important source book for the study of ancient Buddhism it is not advisable to consider the whole work as providing ancient traditions. Its importance in this respect is very aptly summed up by Winternitz, thus: "It is, however, most informative as regards the development of the Buddha legend from its earliest beginnings, when only the chief events in the life of the great founder of the religion

3. The *Lalita* gives the following as the *udāna Chinnavartmopas'āntarajāḥ suṣkā āsravā na punaḥ s'ravanti*
Chinne vartmani vartata dukkhasyaiso'ntah uccyate
4. The Mongolian version with an English translation was edited by Nicholas Poppe and published under the title. *The Twelve Deeds of the Buddha*, (Asiatische Forschungen, Band 23, otto Harrassowitz.)

are adorned with miracles, down to that boundless deifiction of the Master, in which, from the beginning to the end of his career, he appears mainly as a god above all gods. On this account the work is of immense value from the point of view of the history of religion. From the point of view of history of literature, too, the *Lalitavistara* is one of the most important works of Buddhist scripture. Though it is not yet an actual Buddha epic, it contains all the germs of such an epic; and it is from the ballads and episodes as preserved in the earliest portions of the *Lalitavistara*, though probably not from the *Lalitavistara* itself, that As'vaghoṣa, the greatest poet of the Buddhists, created his magnificient epic *Buddha-Carita*, life of the Buddha".

The Sanskrit text *Lalitavistara* was first edited by Rajendralala Mitra in *BI*. in 1877. A better edition was done by S. Lefmann in 1902 and 1908. Rajendralala Mitra translated into English the first fifteen chapters (*BI* 1881-1886). Chapters 1-4 were translated into German by Lefman in 1875. A complet French Translation by Ph. Ed. Faunaux is found in the *AMG*, tomes 6 and 19 (Paris 1884, 1892).

S.K.Nanayakkara

LANGUAGE. The Buddha, as Siddhartha Gautama, was reared in the Brahmanical system of learning, which included the *Vedas* and its six ancillary sciences, two of which pertained to linguistics. These are etymology (*nirukti*) and grammar (*vyākaraṇa*). The former culminated in the treatise called *Nirukta* compiled by Yāska, two centuries before the Buddha. The latter received its final form in the work of Pāṇini called *Aṣṭādhyāya* about two centuries after the Buddha. The so-called Sanskrit langauge, meaning 'the well-done' was thus the indefatigable work of Indian linguists during the course of nearly four centuries.

The Buddha was precisely in the midst of its development. Interestingly, what the linguists, imersed in the study of the Sanskrit language have not observed or realized is the fact that this linguistic analysis is not unrelated to the philosophical enterprise of their Brahmanical tradition. While etymology deals with analysis, grammar deals with synthesis. In the arena of philosophical thinking, the Brahmanical conceptions of *ātma* and *brahma* presented a curious combination of the two linguistic methods, analysis and synthesis. Considering the Brahmanical interest in reaching the ultimate reality by a process of analysis, one observes the development in the conception of the ultimately real self (*ātma*), the inexhaustible (*anakṣara*). While being the ulitmately irreducible reality, it is also the all-pervading self, the unity of all reality.[1] While *ātma* represents the ultimate reality in its analytic as well as synthetic aspects, *brahma* also is intended to achieve both in the sphere of the social life. In its analytical aspect it accounts for the ultimately distinct castes, *Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vais'ya* and *S'ūdra*. In its synthetic aspect it stands for the creative and unifying function of *brahma* as the social reality.[2] Thus metaphysics and linguistics remained interrelated disciplines.

With the emphasis on etymology and grammar the purification and sophistication of the language began even before the Buddha. With the culmination of these disciplines the flexible and constantly evolving language came to be sublated to a closed system. It is the well-fabricated' (*saṃskṛta*) language, which could not be and was not allowed to be used by the uneducated folk for fear of any corruption creeping into it. However, the ordinary languages or dialects continued to be used by the people.

Having examined every form of human knowledge, the Buddha, whose concern was more the good and the peace for the human person and the human society, discovered no certainty relating to such human knowledge. He also discovered a close relationship between knowledge and language, so much so that he was unwilling to speak of a knowledge or experience transcending language.

However, the Buddha had difficulty of expressing his non-substantialist understanding of the nature of the world of experience in a language that was intended for expressing substantialist metaphysics. So he sat under the bodhi-tree, as tradition has it, enjoying the bliss of emancipation (*vimuttisukha*), but actually reflecting on the manner in which he could express his experience of freedom and how that freedom could be part of the human society at large.[3]

1. *Chāndogya Upanis'ad* III. 14.4
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*PTS*) Vol. I, p. 4f

This is when he was compelled to bring back many of the grammatical forms of the earlier non-sophisticated languages like the Vedic, and create new terms that would radically change the very conceptual apparatus. 'Dependently arisen' (*paticcasamuppanna*), 'dependent arising' (*paticcasamuppāda*), 'conditionality' or 'this relatedness' (*idappaccayatā*), the 'present' (*paccuppanna*) were terms not found in the Indian languages before the Buddha.

Utilizing these terms he brought down the understanding of the nature of the world from the high pedestal of the logicians and the transcendentalists to the ordinary people who could 'come and take a look' (*ehipassika*). This understanding consists of the manner in which phenomena came to be on the basis of conditions on which they depend. Thus, the understanding is based upon reflection, that is, moving from the experienced effect to the conditions on which that effect depends. Hence the use of the past participle *paticcasamuppanna* 'dependently arisen. This is called the knowledge of phenomena (*dhamme ñāṇa*)[4] This is the most significant in the Buddha's philosophical language.

On the basis of the repeated experience of such occurrences, the Buddha was willing to stretch them into the future anticipating their recurrence, yet without absolute certainty. This is called inductive knowledge (*anvaye ñāṇa*)[5] Here, instead of the past participle used to refer to the experienced events the Buddha used the nominal form paticcasamuppada 'dependent arising', so that it could be descriptive of the past, present as well as the future.. Since its formulation, it has remained the central conception in Buddhism.

The relating of the present effect to the past condition could not be achieved by the use of the existing linguistic terms expressive of the past, present and future. 'In that context', existence was confined to what is present (*vartamāna*), both past (*atīta*) and future (*anāgata*) being considered non-existent. However, for the Buddha, part of the immediate past could not be separated from the present. Hence his use of the past participle. Therefore, completely abandoning the present participle, *vartamāna*, to refer to the present, he utilized another past participle *paccuppanna* 'arisen depending upon' to signify the present.

In addition to many other terms he coined, the term *idappaccayatā* 'this condition-ness' used as a synonym for dependent arising expresses the idea of conditionality and avoids any sense of determinism.

This cluster of terms enabled the Buddha to explain causal relations among events, not only without falling into theories of eternalism and nihilism, but also preserve peace among human beings when communicating with each other regarding the nature of reality. Thus, if a certain set of conditions that is said to enable a certain effect to come to be, does not actually do so, then it is possible to further examine any other conditions that prevented the occurrence of the particular effect. Such revisionism is the hallmark of a non-rigid and flexible philosophy that prevents dogmatism of any sort.

While constructing new terms to express his insights, he used passive forms, instead of the active as a pedagogical devise to eliminate the belief in a permanent and eternal self (*ātma*). Thus, the doctrine of no-self or non-substantiality was embodied in the language itself. The early Buddhists were quite aware of the significance of this pedagogical devise that when they wanted to introduce each of the discourses, they inserted the statement: *evaṃ me sutaṃ*, 'thus has been heard by me'. Unfortunately, those who were unable to realize the sophistication with which the Buddha and his early disciples were using language, translate this phrase with heavy emphasis on the active voice as 'thus have I heard'.

While the Buddha recognized the two terms 'etymology' (*nirukti*) and 'grammar' (*vyākaraṇa*) of the pre-Budddhist linguists, he did not utilize them in the same sense. The Pali term *nirutti* was used with the prefix *janapada* ('country') to refer to language in general. He reserved the term *veyyākaraṇa* to express the idea of exposition. The term sāmañña (*sāmānya*), sometimes with the prefix *loka* ('world') was utilized to refer to 'generality' or 'commonality' that is grammar, but like the term *nirutti* it referred to language in general.

For the Buddha, these were not the only functions

4. *Saṃyuttanikāya* (*PTS*) Vol. II, p. 56f.
5. *Ibid.*
6. It is derived from *saṃ* and root *man* 'to think'

of language. In addition to them, language functions as 'convention' (*sammuti*)[6] on which there should be agreement among a community of speakers. A community of ten people cannot have ten different languages unless all of them have learnt all those ten languages. Herein is when the person looses its individuality because it needs to conform to the agreed upon convention in order to communicate with others. It is this notion of agreement that gave the impression that a term in a language really does not signify a meaning which is part of experience. The Buddha was not willing to stretch this idea too far, for, according to him, even the objects of experience are not directly apprehended but are put together according to one's interests and choices. The activity of getting together and thinking (*sammuti*) is not different from the activity of getting together and expressing (*saṅkhā*, the term for conception), and getting together and knowing (*saññā*, the term for perception). In this manner, experience as well as language and convention are interrelated.

'Current usage' (*vohāra*) is of great significance, for very often terms go out of use and new ones evolve. For the Buddha it is what accounts for the so-called 'language drift' Here again, sometimes the term 'world' (*loka*) is prefixed.

Finally, there is the most significant term for language, namely, *paññatti* meaning 'expression', a term found for the first time in the Buddha's discourses. It is a nominal term derived from the causative verb directly related to *paññā*, and is better understood as the expression of *paññā* itself, that is, making the content of *paññā* known. In other words, a permanent and eternal self is not an expression (*paññātti*) and a veridical experience. Indeed, the absence of such a self, which is implied by the term *anattā* (no-self) and *suñña* (empty) , as well as the more positive description of experience as the dependently arisen (*paṭiccasamuppanna*) and dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) are highlighted by one of the Buddha's later disciples, Nāgārjuna.[7] It can be described as a conception with referential content. It is significant to note that sometimes the Buddha used a pair of terms such as *janapadanirutti* and *sāmañña* to refer to language, and at times he used all the five terms referred to above when he wanted to speak of language.[8] This means that language is not one single activity but a host of them.

What is more important is the attitude that the Buddha adopted in regard to language. In one of the important discourses on the subject, the *Niruttipatha Sutta* of the *Saṃyuttta Nikāya*, the Buddha advises his disciples not to misuse the verbs expressive of the past (*ahosi*), present (*atthi*) and future (*bhavissati*)[9] Thereby he did not mean that these periods referred to by the verbs have absolute demarcations. Experienced time (*kāla*) unlike the rational, is not absolute or discrete, but related to the fluctuating objects of experience. (*kālika*).

The second most important attitude of the Buddha toward language is prompted by his concern for the good of the humans and peace among them. This is the gist of the "Discourse on the Analysis of Non-Conflict" (*Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta*).[10] a discourse that has undoubtedly influenced the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-Sūtra* of a later date. Herein, the Buddha admonishes his disciples about the importance of not taking language as an absolute reality or rejecting it altogether as a meaningless entity. These two attitudes are referred to by the two terms, *abhinivesa* and *atisāra*, two linguistic expressions he used not without understanding. The second was the term in the indigenous medical vocabulary implying 'diarrhea'. In that case, the former would mean 'constipation', that is excessive entering, and not leaving. Conceptual constipation and conceptual diarrhea have often led to conflicts in the world. The more enlightened approach recommended by the Buddha to his noble disciples is to look upon languages as an important means of communication, historically and functionally evolved, wherein there is no such evaluation as superior and inferior.

D.J. Kalupahana

LAṄKA See SṚI LAṄKA

LAṄKĀTILAKA (1) is a brick built *paṭimāghara* (image house) situated in the ancient city of Polonnaruva. It was built by Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A.D.) and

7 *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24. 18
8 *D*. I P. 202.
9 S III. p 71f.
10 M III. p 230f.

forms part of a group of buildings known as the Alāhana-parivena. It is the largest among three such image houses. Although it was a vaulted shrine like the Thūpārāma (Polonnaruva), it is not so at the present day, as the vaulted parts had come down, when the archaeologist set about restoring it in the early years of the present century. From front to back it had a full length of 124 feet. The greatest breadth was 66 ft., at the square shaped shrine. The north wall still stands to a height of 55ft. The image house, when it was originally built must have measured nearly 100 ft., from the base to the top of the crowning finial.

On the ground plan, there was a *cella (garbha*, where the standing image of the Buddha was installed), an *entresol* formed by the opening through the thick wall, a vestibule and the *entresol* facing the front stairs. This shrine was not meant for large crowds to assemble inside. There had been an upper storey, in the form of timbered galleries, supported on stone pillars in the inner shrine. This made it possible for a full view of the Buddha image which was about 40ft. in height.

The ground plan shows that this image house had followed a model that had become normal for image houses in the Anuradhapura period, which is basically the same as that of Hindu shrines in India. This model is the square *cella* (*garbha-gṛha*) from which projected a bayed vestibule. The space in front is a distinct portico to which a flight of steps at the main entrance leads. There is also a side entrance, through the north wall into the vestibule.

The walls are extraordinarily thick. Internally the *cella* is 42 ft. square. The vestibule is 32 ft. 6 ins. long and 18 ft. at the broadest point. On either side of the internal passage have been planted stone pillars, square in section, with capitals of a type, familiar in Anuradhapura buildings. On each side are 17 free standing pillars which must have supported an upper storey or gallery of wooden construction. Enough space was left in the centre for a clear view of the image from the front entrance. There appear to have been narrow galleries projecting from the side walls of the vestibule as well. The inner shrine was lighted by narrow mullioned windows. A feature which imparts a majestic appearance to this image house are the two polygonal piers which flank the main entrance. Originally this building must have been about 90 ft. in height. The preserved fragment is 58 ft. in height.

The vault had come down long ago. In order to have an idea as to the nature of its construction, there is a similar shrine of a miniature form, i.e., the Thūpārāma (polonnaruva). Relying on it, it may be said that the vault had been constructed on the principles of the true arch. The architects had relied for the stability of the vault, more on the excellence of the mortar in which the bricks were laid, than on sound methods of construction as are in use today. Specially shaped bricks of a fine texture had been used for the vertical moulding at the entrance. The joints between the bricks are so fine as not to allow the insertion of a point of a pen-knife. The ornamental details were finished in fine lime plaster. The shrine was decorated with paintings, both inside as well as outside.

In front of the shrine is a pillared *maṇḍapa* on a stylobate 36 ft. 6 ins. square, from which bays (measuring each) 18 ft. 6 ins. by 9 ft. were thrown out on all four sides. There are 40 stone pillars on it, chastely carved, on their square portions. The octagonal parts in the middle are left bare.

The two wingstones which flank the flight of steps leading to the shrine, were carved for five risers to be fitted to them, whereas, there are only three in the flight which they now adorn. The architects of Polonnaruva period did not have all the material that they utilised in their structures specially fashioned for their purposes. In their time, there were many edifices of earlier ages that had gone to ruin and they were free to use the materials from such dilapidated buildings in their own activities. The fine sculpture of a person holding a rod, which is seen on the outer face of the balustrade on the left of the flight of steps and the figures of *nagas* which adorn the inner face, are therefore not representative of the Polonnaruva period. They date from about the 9th century.

A good deal of plastic art was produced during this period in the medium of stucco. The best examples of this type are the figures inside the miniature shrines in relief decorating the walls of this image house. They represent gods who have come in their *vimānas* to pay homage to the Buddha. Many of these stucco figures show great skill in modelling the human body in various attitudes and postures and are eminently suited to the purpose which they were meant to subserve. The friezes of dwarfs which are found at the bases and cornices upholding the edifice, characteristically show forth the nature of these beings as presiding over laughter. In depicting the grimaces on their faces and their playful attitudes, the artists have

given free rein to their fancy to the utmost.

This image house is centrally situated within the Alahana- parivena group.It has been built on the artificial terrace about 2 ft. above ground level. On aesthetic grounds the exterior aspect of this shrine merits consideration. The form of the shrine, when seen by the approaching pilgrim was capable of heightening his religious feelings. The two polygonal shafts flanking the main entrance, with their soaring height, are calculated to direct the minds of the pilgrims upwards and created in them the effects of serenity or pleasure and excitement.

There are traces of wall paintings on the exterior as well as the interior of the image house. The fragment of a painting on the arch at the side entrance contains little more than a very decorative floral design. A part of a human face, still visible, indicates that the artists were well accomplished in drawing various physical types.

On a guardstone at the entrance to this image house there is an inscription which settles its identity. It states that Vijayabahu IV (1267/8-1270) carried out restoration work of this building which was originally built by Parakramabahu I (1153-1186). See PL. XXXIII and XXXIV

Sources

1. *ASCAR*. 1910/11
2. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*. Vol. II
3. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1-4
4. *History of Ceylon*, (University of Ceylon), Vol. I Pt. II

Nandasena Mudiyanse

LAṄKĀTILAKA (2) : Laṅkātilaka (of the Central Province in Sri Lanka) has been built on a hill called Panhalgala in Haṃdessa, near Gampola. The date of the building is contemporaneous with Gaḍalādeniya as attested by the rock inscriptions in Sinhala and Tamil engraved on the rock at the spot. The chief minister of the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV (1341-1351), Senā-Laṅkādhikāra was the author of this beautiful shrine. It is perched on the top of a lofty rock that rises in the midst of paddy fields. These fields are enclosed on all sides by hills. It does not require any architectural merit, to make picturesque, a white temple surmounting a luxuriant vegetation which surrounds the lower part of the rock in the midst of the tender green of the paddy fields".[1] See PL. XXXV

According to the rock inscriptions, the date of the building is *S'aka* year 1266 (1344 A.D.).[2] The chief architect employed for the purpose was Sthapati-rāyar. As the name suggests, he was a person of South Indian origin. As at Gaḍaladeniya the influence of his school of architecture has been considerable and the extent of this influence will be referred to in the sequence. The inscriptions describe the building as one with four storeys but at the present day, only the ground floor and part of the first floor are visible. As the upper storeys collapsed in course of time, it is very likely that reconstruction work was carried out under the patronage of kings who flourished in later times. There is definite evidence to show that later additions had been made but it is not possible to say precisely who was responsible for such renovations or at what time they were executed. The mention[3] in the *Cūlavaṃsa* of Parākramabāhu VI (1412-1467) carrying out stucco work at Gaḍalādeniya and Laṅkātilaka leads one to the surmise that he was responsible for such reconstruction work as were necessary at the time, but there is no definite evidence to support the assumption.

In the eighteenth year of the reign of Vikramabāhu III (1356/7-1373), the incumbent of the Laṅkātilaka vihāra, who was of the Mehenavara family, wrote the *Vimukti Saṃgrahaya*. Therein, its author Lanka Senevirat Piriven Mahā Sthavira of the Mehenavara-vaṃsa calls himself the fifth *munuburu* of Lanka Senevirat Maha Mantri of the Mehenavara-vamsa, the founder of Laṅkātilaka.

There is a valuable collection of metal-images of the Buddha preserved in the temple. The largest of these, a gilt image measuring 2' x 1'3" is believed to have been donated to the shrine by Senā-Laṅkādhikāra, its founder. A statuette of a king, believed to be that of Buvanekabahu IV, one foot high, has also been safely preserved in the temple.

The hillock on which the image house has been

1. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* Vol. II
2. *CJ* ..., XVIII, Nos. 1&2, pp. 4-4
3. *Cūlavaṃsa*, xci. v.30

built has an uneven surface. Granite and brick have been used in the building unlike in the contemporary monument at Gaḍalādeniya, which is essentially of stone. The neven rock on which the Laṅkātilaka is built might have presented a serious obstacle to the arachitect who found the means of overcoming the difficulty by laying the foundation and levelling it with large blocks of granite. The entrance is reached by ascending a flight of steps flanked by a pair of *gajasiṃhas*. This part of the rock is the most unevenhence the height of the vavies stereobate at the rear and the front varies greatly. At its highest, the stereobate rises to a height of 10 ft. 3 ins. from ground level, whereas at the rear it is only 4ft 8 ins. (subject to variations at intervals) from ground level.

On ground plan, it is cruciform, and is comparable to the Ananda Temple at Pagan in Mianmar. The sanctuary is square, each side 35 ft. on the exterior. It is enclosed by an outer casing wall which leaves room for circumambulatory purposes along the three sides. On the exterior of each of the three sides at the *cella* is a niche in which is placed an image of one of the popular deities of the period. On the front are two niches on each side of the entrance. These are called *dēvālēs* and access to them may be had through five doorways (each 6 ft. 10 ins. x 2 ft. 10 ins.), two on either side of the main entrance, one at the back and the others on the two remaining sides. These are normally kept closed and are not opend except on certain days of the week. The outer face of the enclosing wall has now been plastered with lime. Sixteen elephant heads (5ft. 10 ins. x 2 ft. 6 ins. bearing comparison to the examples at Vijayitpāya, Gaḍalādeniya and symbolising the *dig-gajas*, have been placed at intervals from each other on the exterior walls.

The cruciform plan of the building was the result of constructing a projection from each of the four sides of the *garbha-gṛha*. The projection at the face of the shrine is wider in dimensions since it forms the main entrance . At the rear, the porch` is obscured on accont of the construction of a hall (in recent times) for the accomodation of votaries coming in for prayers at the *dēvālē*. The two remaining sides and their porches are alike in dimensions as well as in methods of construction. A study of the plans will reveal that there could not be any great difference in dimensions as every side of the building is symmetrical with the opposite side and unless they agree in dimesnsions the purpose of the plan would have been lost. If there be any differences, they are quite insignificant and occur only at the rear. The left side of the rear porch has been diminished in proportion. The flight of steps leading on to the shrine has a width of 8 ft. 3 ins., and the length of space covered by the *gajasiṃhas* measure 6 ft. The height of the building from ground level up to the finial of the *sikhara* is 60 ft. According to an eighteenth century copper plate (inscription) the height of the building which included four storeys, all of them functional, was 32 cubits (i.e. 80 ft.). Taking into consideration what is now left of the building, this information appears to be reliable. The length of the building from the moonstone up to the corresponding end at the rear is 96 ft., and the breadth across the shrine measures 78 ft. The circumambulatory path between the inner and outer shells is 4 ft. wide.

Although the *garbha* measures 35 ft. each side externally, the internal measurements are much less than may be expected. The *garbha* is preceded by an antechamber 16 ft x 10 with a communicating passage between the two. The rear of the *garbha* is used for purposes of ascending the upper floor which is now not used. The antechamber opens with an arched doorway 14 ft. 3 ins. wide and 13ft. 2 1/2 ins. high. The connecting passage contains stucco figures of guardian deities on its walls, a pair on each side.

The main entrance to the shrine is an arched passage, allowing for a *makara toraṇa* on the exterior wall. It is crowned by the head of a *gandharva*, 30 ft. above ground level. The terminations at both ends are by means of *makara* heads with gaping mouths and conventional peacock tails. Under the head of the *gandharva* is a figure of *gaja-lakṣmi*, with two elephants on either side pouring water over her. The conventional peacock tails support sculptures of two deities on either side. Below each *makara mukha* is a lion supporting the architrave or lintel of the *torana*. Part of the ground floor and the first storey are now covered by wooden roofs but through the first wooden roof one may discern another *makara toraṇa* or an archway on the wall of the first storey, partly covered.

The inscription on the rock, as well as the copper plate, mention four storeys but at present only the ground floor and the first storey remain. The ground storey rises to a height of 12 ft. from the ground and then terminates with a battlemented parapet on which rests the first gable wooden pier which abuts against the wall. The wall is then continued upwards and ends with a second battlemented parapet supporting a wooden pier. The continuation of the wall further up-

...nates with the third battlemented parapet ... the four sided sloping roof of the usual ... type having two finials on the crown. The ... second piers are really meant for throwing ... and are lean-to-roofs against walls on the four ... The roofing is of recent date and has no connec-... with the work of the 14th century. The upper half ... the monument presents features more in common with those buildings of the late Kandyan times than with any other early period. As it appears, only the ground storey could be assigned to a period earlier than the 15th century. Since it is said in the *Cūlavaṃsa* that Parākramabāhu VI was responsible for repairs to the *vihāra* in the 15th century, it is not possible to date the present edifice with any degree of certainty. It is very likely that the monument fell into ruin and the upper storeys disappeared. Both the inscription and the copper plate refer to the ceilings of each floor, and the paintings with which they were adorned.

The outer casing wall, which makes room for the circumambulatory path along the *dēvālēs*, shows an interesting curve in its inner face, a semi-vault above the cornice. It has been suggested that the outer shell is no part of the orginal design. One notices that the outer face of the inner wall rises straight and does not curve and the inner face of the outer wall shows the beginnings of a curve about the height of the capitals of the pilasters on the wall of the opposite side. The curve ends abruptly at a height of 18 ft. above ground level against the brackets that crown the pilasters of the inner wall. There are mouldings on the outer face of the inner wall which is proof that the outer casing was no part of the original design. In the original design there may have been only one ante-chamber, the inner one. The present porch is one with the outer wall-hence the first ante-chamber has to be contemporaneous with the outer wall.

As mentioned earlier, the height of the stereobate varies from place to place since the foundation had to be laid on an uneven rock. Above the stereobate the mouldings of the walls conform to one single pattern (cyma recta, fillets, vertical block, torus, vertical block, fascia, vertical block, cyma reversa, vertical block, fillet, cyma recta, vertical block, fascia, a course of vertical blocks one above the other). From the distance, one may notice only a course of three mouldings one above the other and projecting out, with the ... above mentioned in between. The cruciform plan of the building has made it possible for 16 sides in all. The remarkable absence of a frieze of *gaṇas* or *vyālas* or a troupe of dancers between the plinth mouldings or under the eaves is noteworthy, whereas at Gaḍalādeniya, these minor elaborations have been given a prominence, in accordance with the styles of architecture then in vogue.

The capitals of the pilasters have no similarities with those available in other bulidngs of this period. They form a class by themselves, and if any similarity is to be sought for in South India, they may be compared with those of the Colas. In the capitals of the Pandyas, one notices a small pendant or drooping flower, a motif, which in the Vijayanagara period, went through further developments, as shown by the capitals at Gaḍalādeniya. The capitals of the pilasters at Laṅkātilaka show an early stage of development of the *kalasa*, which has not yet gone through the rounded process. In order to form the capital, three courses of corbellings have been resorted to and these are then extended horizontally across the wall, so that in a series of mouldings they culminated in a cornice of double flexure, thus marking the beginning of the first storey. It is at a height of 12 ft. from ground level and ornamental devices such as dormer windows, called *kudu* in Dravidian architecture, are placed at intervals on this horizontal band. The pilasters are continued upwards but horizontal bands project and intervene at intervals. These consist of fillets and vertical blocks placed one above the other. The uppermost continuation of the pilaster terminates with a dormer window, larger than the ones below and crowned by the head of a *gāndharva* and a floral design underneath. These dormers bear a striking resemblance to the *kīrtimukhas* on the cupola of the monument at Gaḍalādeniya. A series of vertical blocks and fillets separating them are then continued until the wooden piers and the battlemented parapet on which they rest are reached. As the building rises up, the bulk becomes thinner, in order that, the topmost crown should terminate with a finial. Unfortunately these members of the architectural composition have fallen away and only parts ofthe storeys now remain.

The plan of the building and the site on which it has been built has made one writer[4] to compare it to a Norwegian church. If there be any resemblance at all, it has to be accounted for as a mere accident, since it is historically impossible for us to trace any intercourse,

4. H.W. Cave, *Book of Ceylon*, p. 337

cultural or otherwise, between Sri Lanka and the European countries in this period of the island's history. On the other hand, it may be reasonable for us to suppose that the origin of the plan of the building has to be sought for within south East Asia than in any distant European country. Cultural relations between Mianmar and Sri Lanka may be traced from the 11th century.The temple at Pagan in Mianmar (the one called Nāgayon), built towards the end of the 11th century is cruciform [5] in plan, has a central nave and two side aisles. There are projecting porticoes facing the four cardinal points. The walls contain niches, having sculptures relating to the life of the Buddha. A semi pointed barrel vault joins the outer wall to the inner wall and a circumambulatory path is laid between the walls. A battlemented parapat crowns the cornice mouldings of the walls. Such in outline is the description of the temple at Pagan.

It may now be of interest to compare the two buildings with the aid of material available. In ground plan, in vaulting, roofing and wall treatment, the two monuments present striking resemblances. The date of the Laṅkātilaka is the latter half of the 14th century where as the temple at Pagan is three centuries older. In this period of the history of Sri Lanka, there were cultural links between the two countries. Therefore it is very likely that the Burmese example has inspired the edifice at Laṅkātilaka. Originally the shrine consisted of the *cella* (*garbha-gṛha*) and the ante-chamber only. The modification of the original design may have taken place shorthly afterwards- since we find the *dēvālēs* mentioned in the rock inscription as well as in the 18th century copper plate. The modification of the original plan was to combine in one shrine the worship of the Buddha and the cults of the gods of popular Sinhala religion.

There are a few other minor buildings which may be of the same date as the major edifice. Facing the shrine is a hall for drummers - a part of which is now used as a shrine room. The large gilt metal image of the Buddha donated by Senā Laṅkādhikāra and a few other minor images have been deposited in this shrine room. The building is of recent date but it is very likely that it stands on the foundation on which was erected the *maṇḍapa* by the wife and children of Senā Laṅkadhikara, for depositing a metal image corresponding to his life size. At the back of the edifice is a *mura-ge* (guard house), dilapidated and unused. A wooden tiled roof now shelters the building and it may possibly date from the foundation of the shrine. It is probably this building which is referred to in the copper plate as "the *maga vāsala* on the west eight cubits side". Nearly a hundred yards away from the guard house is another building called the Siṃhāsana Maṇḍapaya (12 ft. x 10 ft.) which is renovated but believed to be as old as the shrine itself. It is used only during the *perahera* season.

At the rear of the shrine is a building of recent date forming an entrance to the *devale*. It is more a porch, oblong in plan and covered by a wooden roof. The rear wall of the major edifice consisting of a doorway leading to the *devale*, is joined to this oblong porch which may be termed the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the *devale*. It faces the dilapidated *mura-ge* on the west and the road leading from the shrine to the villages in the neighbourhood.

To summarise, it may be said that this edifice has been built according to the style that was in vogue during the Polonnaruwa period, modified by Burmese influences. Apart from the base and the doorframes, it is a structure mainly of brick construction. The style of this monument is a continuation and a development of the Sinhala architecture of the Polonnaruwa period, influenced to a great extent by the Burmese exmple named Nagayon. The modification of the original design to include *devales* within the shrine was due to an attempt to combine the worship of the Buddha with that of the gods of the popular Sinhals religion. Therefore the Lankatilaka, while being a continuation of the architecture of the Polonnaruwa period, is a modification as well on account of certain Dravidian and Indo-Chinese influences.

In the Lankatilaka rock inscription and the copper plate, there is mention made of "an image of solid bronze installed in the pavilion measuring 28 cubits which was caused to be constructed by Senā Laṅkādhikāra through his sons and daughters of the household". It is most likely that this reference is to the metal image of the Buddha, now deposited in the hall opposite the entrance to the shrine. In it, the right shoulder is bare, the hair snail like, the *siraspata* (*ketumālā*) comparable to a lyre like instrument, the robe shown with schematic lines indicating folds and a fold of the robe is thrown over the left shoulder to hang down in front. It is depicted in the *vajrāsana* at-

5. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* No. 56

titude, right palm having been placed on the left. The eyes are fully open and the facial expression is less inspiring.

The principal sedent Buddha image within the shrine room is referred to in the inscription. It says "the lowest storey caused to be made by Sena-Lankadhikara and consisting of the images of these Buddhas and gods viz. the principal image in which was deposited a relic image containing two hundred and sixty five relics of the Buddha's body, seated on the diamond throne with the back turned towards the great and illustrious Bo-tree". The copper plate adds further "the sacred Bo -tree adorned with golden leaves...". There is very little evidence of a Bo-tree being depicted behind the image as mentioned in the inscription and the copper plate. A floral and vegetative design below the *makara toraṇa* perhaps conveys the idea of a Bo-tree. A similar design but more elaborate is seen at Gadaladeniya behind the main image. A comparison of the two images at Gadaladeniya and Laňkātilaka might lead one to assume that the better modelled is at Lankatilaka. It is of lesser proportions, more life like and far more convincing as the Master in the attutude of meditation. The whole demeanour is much more pleasing, the standing images numbering two are in the *vitarka mudrā*, right hand raised, the fore finger bent to touch the thumb to denote explanation of subtle point doctrine. The robes cling to the body and the folds are clearly shown. These two images are not specifically mentioned either in the inscription or in the copper plate. It is not possible to give any satisfactory explanation for the omission although one might, as a guess, point to the restoration work carried out in the reign of Parakramabahu VI.

Images of deities have been installed within the *devales* at Lankatilaka. These are, Upulvan and his consort, Sumana and his consort, Vibhisana and his consort, Gaṇapati and Skanda. The entrance is by a passage by the side of the shrine room of the Buddha. Large niches have been made on the outer walls of the shrine room to place them but in later times a covering wall was constructed with a view to preserving the images from decay. Hence the interior passage through the walls is dark and the sloping wall connecting both at the top increases the darkness.

The images of the deities are mentioned in the Lankatilaka inscription and the copper plate. "(The images of) the god king Kihireli Upulvan, the tutelary deity of Lanka, the god kings Sumana, Vibhīṣana, Ganapati, Skandakumara and also their wives". The copper plate adds further that these were made in the five *devāles*. There are five entrances to the *devales* - two on either side of the main entrance, two on the north and south and one on the west. The latter is regarded as the main entrance to the *devales*. As one enters through the doorway to the right of the building, one comes across in the first niche in the wall the image of Gaṇapati (Gaṇes'a). The god is with his elephant head, his legs are short the proboscis is of miniature proportions and curved to the left. The right palm bestows protection (*abhaya*) while the left is in *varada mudrā*. The inscriptions mentions that the images of the consorts of the gods were caused to be made, but in the *devales* as they are constituted today, both Gaṇapati and Skanda are without their wives.

Next to Gaṇapati is the niche in which is placed the images of Upulvan and his consort. The inscription and the copper plate refer to him as the tutelary god of Lanka. He stands bestowing protection (*abhaya*) together with his consort on his right. The old paint has worn away and it has recently been painted dark blue and called that of Viṣṇu as a result of the confusion caused by the identification of Upulvan with Viṣṇu in later times. The head wears a crown and ornaments are shown from head to foot. Except for waist bands and necklaces, the body above the waist is bare. The image of the the consort is of slightly smaller proportions. She is white in colour, wears a *makuṭa* on the head and has the upper part of her body above the waist bare except for a few necklaces worn round the neck. The *devale* next to that of Upulvan is Vibhiṣana's whose image togethor with Viṣnu in later times. The head wears a crown and ornaments are shown from head to foot. Except for waist bands and necklaces, the body above the waist is bare. The image of the consort is of slightly smaller proportions. She is white in colour, wears a *makuṭa* on the head and has the upper part of her body above the waist bare except for a few necklaces worn round the neck.

The *devale* next to that of Upulvan is Vibhīṣana's whose image togethor with that of his consort has been placed there in a niche similar to the others. In literary works, his colour has been compared to the deep blue of the sky. The image at Lankatilaka seems to agree in all respects with that of Upulvan except for the head dress and the *mudrā*. The left hand bestows *abhaya* (protection) while the right hand is in the attitude of benediction (*varada*). The head dress is a *makuṭa* but

his consort wears a crown. Her slim waist, prominent breasts, large hips and her self inclining towards her consort portray her as an exceedingly charming female.

The images of the god Saman and his consort are placed in the niche next to that of Vibhiṣana. These images are fairly well preserved and except for repairs carried out with regard to the right hand of the god which had fallen away, the two images retain much of their original form. Saman is regarded as white in colour and in this image too this colour has been retained. His right and left hands are in the attitude of *abhaya* and *varada mudras* respectively. His consort is shown on his right and she has been painted blue in colour. She wears bangles on her arms, her waist is slim and her breasts are quite prominent and upright.

The last but not the least is the image of Skanda, the god of war. He stands alone without a consort although the inscriptions refer to images of consorts of all the deities. This image as well as the ones mentioned earlier have been restored in later times, though it is not possible to say precisely when.

On the side walls of the corridor leading to the shrine room of the Buddha are two images of *dvārapālakas* or guardians holding by their hands a mace across their shoulders. The manner of their dress is almost similar to the ones noticed in the *devāles*, an upper garment and a lower garment together with belts and jewellery.

There is a bronze statuette of a king (one foot high), believed in tradition to be that of Buvanikabahu IV, preserved in the Laṅkātilaka-vihāra. It is most remarkable as an example of plastic work in metal belonging to this period. The head wears a crown and mecklaces and ear ornaments are shown. The costume with its elaborate flounces is no doubt a faithful representation of the fashion then in vogue, since it is unlike any other known example of its kind. The hands are held together in oriental fashion of salutation or worship. The facial expression is that of deep devotion.

There are two rock inscriptions at Lankātilaka-vihāra, one in Sinhala and the other in Tamil but both with identical contents. It has been mentioned that the monument was four-storeyed and that several parties were responsible for the construction of each storey. Both chapters of Buddhist monks, the mudaliyars and the army and Sena Laṅkādhikara were responsible for the erection of the fourth, third, second and lowest storeys (ground floor) respectively. Sculptor Rāyar is cited as the head of the master masons. This name suggests that South Indian architects and sculptors were employed for the building purpose.

The gods and goddesses mentioned are Maitri, Lokesvara Nātha, Suyāma, Santuṣita, S'akra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahes'vara and their consorts and the gods Kihireli Upulvan, Sumana, Vibhīṣaṇa, Gaṇapati, Skanda and their consorts. It is expressly stated that Kihireli Upulvan was the guardian deity of Lanka. The master masons were paid with paddy, gold, siver and clothes to the value of 36,000,000 *masakas*. The wife and children of Sena Lankadhikara have to their credit a maṇḍapa of twenty eight cubits for the installation of a solid metal image. For the accommodation of the monks of the two chapters (forest dwelling and village dwelling) two monasteries were caused to be erected. Orchards and flower gardens were also caused to be made.

For the maintenance of the temple, fields and lands were donated. *Yālas* and *amunas* are mentioned as extent of land. *Gasa-kola* (plantations), *val-pita* (jungle) appertaining to the willage were also donated. Personal donations from Senā Lankaḍhikāra included gold, silver, bell-metal and copper vessels and furniture, two hundred male and female servants from his palaces and four hundred cattle including buffaloes. For the upkeep of the monastery, the inhabitants of Sri Lanka were asked to pay one *fanam* annually from each household. Quarter per cent of goods given to or received from merchants coming from the eighteen countries, the nine ports and the carriage departments (*madiga*) in the inner and outer city, has also been mentioned as income to the *vihāra*.

The titles mentioned are *raja, amātya, āpā, mahapā, siṭu, senevirat* and *mudaliyars*. The Sinhala and Tamil army has also been addressed to safeguard the interests of the *vihāra*. The individuals figuring in the record are Satruvan Patirāja, Jayasiṃha Patirāja, (Lord) Divāṇā and Vasa Laṅkā (vä) ri Adhikāra. From the names of the dignitaries, mentioned, we find that only four individuals have taken part in this work, (with the exception of Sena Laṅkādhikāra).

The copper plate at Laṅkātilaka-vihāra differs in details from the rock inscription. It is incised on four plates, the last being inscribed on one side only. It contains in addition, the *sannasas* granted by kings who flourished in later times i.e. Kirtti Sri Rajasimha and

Rājadhirājasiṃha. The rock edict is transcribed with variations and additions occurring at times up to the first line of the seventh side. The remaining *sannasas* are then added up to complete the seventh side.

It should be mentioned that the plates are in letters of the 18th century. It may be that these were copies of the original *sannasas* granted to the *vihara*. In view of this circumstance, the contents of the document should be examined with a certain amount of caution. There are quite a number of architectural details which do not occur in the rock inscription. The base (*adhiṣṭhāna*), levelled to an area 60x70 cubits in length and breadth, was of granite and to the height of a man. Many hundreds and thousands of bricks were used in the construction of the rest of the shrine. Facing the eastern direction was a porch (*bappuva*). On the four sides there were moonlight terraces (*candrika-sthala*). The height of the building from ground level to the finial of the *sikhara* (Sinh. *kot-käralla*) was thirty two cubits. On the top, at the four corners, there were four (miniature) *stūpas*, surmounted by golden pinnacles. The *dāgoba* (*vimana*) on the summit was in the centre and was likewise crowned by a golden pinnacle. It was a chamber constituting a library, wherein was transcribed and deposited the *Tripiṭaka*. It had doorframes and lintels.

With the aid of these details occurring in the copper plate, it may be possible for an architect to have a conjectural restoration of the shrine as it existed in the 14th century, taking into consideration also, the material available in the rock inscription.

The Laṅkatilaka rock inscription of Vikramabahu III (1536/7-1373) is dated the third day of the waxing moon of *Unduvap*. The purport of the document was to register the grant of the village Paṭṭiyegama in Goḍaraṭa, including the house sites of the village, forests, serfs and animals to the Laṅkātilaka-vihāra for its maintenance. An *adipāda* of the reign makes also a donation of the village of Rabbegamuva to the *vihāra* for its maintenance and mentions the various curses to which disputants of the donation would be subject.

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LAṄKĀVATĀRA SŪTRA, Discourse about 'Entering Lanka' is one of the most important *sūtras* of Mahayana Buddhism. It is included among the traditional 'great discourses' (*vaipulya sutra*) by Mahayanists. The *sutra* has also been adopted as one of the basic texts of Soto Zen Buddhist tradition in Japan.

The date of the compilation of the *sūtra* has not been fixed with certainty for want of evidence. The internal evidence suggests that the *sūtra* represents the idealist development in the Indian Buddhist tradition. However, it is generally believed that the *sūtra* was compiled during 350-400 A.C. (See Hajime Nakamura *Indian Buddhism*,Osaka, *KUFS* Publication, 1980. p. 231). Many who have studied the *sūtra* are of opinion that the introductory chapter and the last two chapters were added to the book at a later period. Suzuki who may be regarded as the most authoritative writer on the *sutra* in the English language (*Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sutra* (hereafter Suzuki I) Routeledge & Kegan paul Ltd, London. (1930) 1952 and *The Laṅkavatāra Sutra* (hereafter Suzuki II), George Routeledge and Sons, London. 1931) points out that there are records of four Chinese translations of the *sūtra*, the earliest being about A.C. 420 and the last being about A.C. 704. He further points out that the earliest translation by Gunabhadra does not contain the first and the last two chapters. He surmises that this shorter version is the original *Lākāvatāra* which is believed to have been brought to China from India by Bodhidharma, the legendary founder of Mahāyāna in China. The tradition believes that Bodhidharma transmitted the text to the second patriarch Hui-K' e. According to Suzuki, the *sūtra* contains all the major tenets of Zen Buddhism. (See Suzuki I. pp 89-236).

Stucture of the sūtra: The *sūtra* has 10 chapters. They are:

1. *Rāvaṇādhyeṣaṇaparivarta* (Chapter on Ravana's Request)
2. *Ṣattriṃs'atsahasrasarvadharmasamuccaya-parivarta* (Chapter on the Collection of all the *Dharmas* (taken from) *Laṅkāvatāra* of 36,000 Verses)
3. *Anityatāparivarta* (Chapter on Impermanence)
4. *Abhisamayaparivarta* (Chapter on Intuitive Understanding)
5. *Tathāgatanityānityaprasaṅgaparivarta* (Chapter on the Deduction of the Permanency and Impermanency)

6. *Kṣanikaparivarta* (Chapter on Momentariness)
7. *Nairmaṇikaparivarta* (Chapter on Transformation)
8. *Māṃsabhakṣaṇaparivarta* (Chapter on Meat-eating)
9. *Dhāraṇīparivarta* (Chapter on *Dhāraṇīs*)
10. *Sagāthakaṃ* (Chapter with Verses)

Contents of each chapter:

Chapter 1: The Enlightened one was staying in a castle situated on the peak of Mount Malaya in Lanka. He was surrounded by *bhikṣus* and *bodhisatvas* 'who understood the significance of the objective world as a manifestation of their own mind; they knew how to maintain (various) forms, teachings and disciplinary measures, according to the various mentalities and behaviours of beings; they were thoroughly versed in the five *dharmas*, the (three) *svabhāvas*, the (eight) *vijñānas* and the twofold Non-Ātman'. The Buddha, following a tradition of the ancient Buddhas, expresses the intention of explaining the *dhamma* to the king of Rākṣasas, Rāvaṇā. Having known the intention of the Buddha Rāvaṇā arrives before the Buddha. The Buddha through his divine power makes Rāvaṇā see that everything in the universe is a creation of one's own mind. Subsequently, aided by Mahāsatva Bodhisatva, upon the approval of the Buddha, Rāvaṇā asks a question from the Buddha on duality. The Buddha says that duality arises from discrimination (e.g. *dharma* and *adharma* etc.) which is 'cherished by the philosophers, S'rāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and ignorant people'. The Buddha further says that the highest *samādhi* which is attained by entering into the womb of Tathagatahood (*tathāgatgarbha*) is realized through oneness which is the absence of duality and discrimination.

Chapter 2: The chapter begins with the Bodhisatva Mahāsatva's statement that he will ask one hundred and eight questions from the Buddha. (In actuality, according to Suzuki's translation, there are 151 questions or even more than that in this list.) These questions cover various issues most of which are directly related and some not directly related to the teaching of the Buddha. For example a few questions at the beginning are as follows:

How can one be cleansed of false intellection? Whence does it arise? How can one perceive errors? Whence do they arise? Whence come lands, transformation, appearance, and philosophers? Wherefore is the state of imagelessness, the gradations, and whence are the sons of the Victorious? Where is the way of emancipation? Who is in bondage? By what is he redeemed?What is the mental state of those who practise the *dhyanas?* Whence is the triple vehicle? (24) (Unless otherwise stated, these numbers refer to the section numbers in Suzuki I. These numbers also correspond to the section numbers in the Sanskrit text edited by P.L. Vaidya). However, there are some other questions the relevance of which to the teaching of the Buddha is not quite clear. For instance: of how many sorts are *gathas*? What is prose? What is metre? of how many sorts is reasoning and exegesis? How many varieties of food and drink are there? Whence does sexual desire originate? Whence are there kings, sovereigns, and provincial rulers? (26)

The above questions have no direct bearing on the teaching although such questions are not unheared of in the Buddhist literature. The manner in which the Buddha deals with these questions suggests that they have been put not in order to obtain answers but for some other purpose, namely, to show that the questions are meaningless since the language itself used to convey the meaning is empty. The Buddha rejects all questions saying that the sentences do not actually make the statements meant to be made by those sentences ('*....utpādapadaṃ anutpādapadaṃ, nityapadaṃ anityapadaṃ....*).

In spite of this treatment of his questions by the Buddha, Mahāmati continues to ask. It is significant to note that the questions asked are in no way different from the rejected questions. In fact, almost all the questions subsequently asked by Mahāmati are from the previous list. This time, the Buddha does not reject the questions, but 'answers' them.

In this longest chapter of the *sūtra* questions are asked on the following subjects: (numbers in the following summary refer to the numerial order of the question.) (1) in how many ways does the rise, abiding, and the ceasing of the *vijñanas* take place? (2) the most subtle doctrine which explains the *citta, manas, manovijñāna*, the five *dharmas*, the *Svabhāvas*, and the *Lakṣaṇas*; (3) examining into the reality of noble wisdom; (4) purification of the outflow which comes from recognising an objective world which is of mind itself; (5) the eternal unthinkable; (6) making an assertion and refuting it; (7) how all things are empty, unborn, non-dual, and have no self-natue; (8) is the *tathāgata-garbha* same as ego-substance of the other religionists?; (9) perfection of the discipline leading to be a *yogin;* (10) will-body (11) causation of all things; (12) essence of discrimination as regards words;

13) conditions whereby the word-discrimination manifests itself; (14) attainment of self-realization by noble wisdom; (15) *nirvana;* (16) nature of the Buddha's theory of causality; (16) whether all things exist on the reality of words; (17) eternity of sound; (18) nature of error; (19) the stream-entered and their special attainments; (20) one vehicle that characterises the inner realisation of noble wisdom. The Buddha answers these questions by laying emphasis on the fundamental *Vijñānavāda* doctrines.

Chapter 3: The chapter begins with the Buddha giving a further account of will-body to Mahāmati. Subsequently, the following questions which are similar in nature to those in the previous chapter are asked and answered: (21) the five immediacies; (22) the Buddha nature of the Buddhas; 923) the deeper sense of the statement "I am all the Buddhas of the past" and "I have gone through many a birth..." (24) on 'not speaking is the speaking of the Buddha'; (25) being and nonbeing of all things; (26) characteristic of the realization; (27) what characterises wrong discrimination; (28) Why should not Bodhisatva-Mahāsatva grasp meaning from words? What are words? What is meaning? (29) deepseated attachment to the existence of all things and the way of emancipation; (30) if all things are of the nature of false imagination is there neither defilement nor purification?; (31) how is transcendental knowledge unobtainable (32) why Lokāyata should not be honoured?; (33) what does the term *nirvāna* designate? (34) self-nature of Buddhahood; (35) is the Tathāgata a non-entity?; (36) on external causation (of the Buddha and the other religionists); (37) on the claim that all composite things are impermanent.

Chapter 4: This short chapter is on a single question asked by Mahāmati on (38) the state of perfect tranquilisation.

Chapter 5: This short chapter too discusses one point, namely, (39) whether the Tathāgata is permanent or not.

Chapter 6: The chapter discusses the following questions by Mahāmati: (40) rising and disappearing of *skandha, dhātu* and *āyatana*; (41) distinguishing aspects of the five *dharmas*, the (three) *svabhāvas*, the (eight) *vijñānas* and the twofold egolessness; (42) should the statement "the Tathāgatas of the past, present and future are like the sands of the river Ganga" be taken literally? (43) momentary destruction of all things and their distinctive signs; (44) what are the six *pāramitās*? how are they fulfilled?.

Chapter 7: The following questions are asked (together) and answered (together): (45) how was it that the arahants were given assurance bythe Buddha on their attainment of supreme enlightenment?; (46) how can all beings attain Tathāgatahood without realising the truths of *parinirvāna*?; (47) What does it mean that from the night when the Tathāgata was awakened to supreme enlightenment until the night when he entered into *parinirvāna*, between these two evnts the Tathāgata has not uttered, has not pronunced a word?; (48) What is the meaning of this that, being always in samādhi, the Tathāgatas neither deliberate nor contemplate? (49) how do the Buddhas of transformation being in the state of transformation, executed the works of the Tathāgata? (50) how is the succession of momentary decomposition explained, which takes place in the *vijñanas*?; (51) what do these statements mean: that Vajrapāṇi is constantly with (the Tathāgata) as his personal guard, and that the primary limit is unknown and yet cessation is knowable, and that there are evil ones, their activities and left-over *karmas*?; (52) how can the Blessed one with the unexhausted *karma*-hindrances attain omniscience?

Chapter 8: This chapter is the Buddha's response to Mahāmati's question (53) on meat-eating.

Chaper 9: This short chapter comprises the *Lankāvatāra Mahāyāna sūtra Dhāranī* or magical formula based on the *sūtra* (a device characteristic of Mahāyāna tradition by which usually a lengthy *sūtra* is given in an extremely abbreviated form for the purposes of chanting in order to secure good results).

Chapter 10:This is usually not numbered as a separate chapter, but meant to be a compilation in verse form of all the ideas expressed in the *sūtra* so that memorization is made easy. There are 884 verses in this section which covers not only what was already given in the *sūtra* but many new issues.

The *Lankāvatārasūtra* is one of the most important of all Mahāyāna works. It represents the most advanced stage of the philosophical development of the

1. See in this regard Dasgupta, S.N., "Philosophy of Lankāvatāra in *Buddhist Studies*, ed. by B.C. Law, gndological Book house, Delhi, 1983, pp. 859-876

Mahāyana tradition, namely, the Vijñānavāda or the idealist trend in Buddhist thought.[1]

The *Sūtra* has a dual purpose, positive and negative. The positive purose of the *sūtra* is to present the idealist persuasion in Buddhist thought. The negative purpose is to criticise the views that are not in conformity with its own. The *sūtra* is simultaneously engaged in both these activites, and that it is so engaged can be seen very clearly throughout the work, from the beginning to its very end.

We already mentioned the fact that many scholars including Suzuki are of opinion that the first and the last chapters are later additions. There are several theories about the presence of the first chapter. One theory believes that the first chapter with the king of Laṅkā, Rāvaṇā, as the main interlocutor has been added later in order to give historicity for the *sūtra* (Suzuki (I) p. 16. and Ananda Guruge 'History of the Lankāvatāra-sūtra' in *Buddhist Essays: A miscellany*. London. 1992). Another theory says that the *sūtra* has been compiled hurriedly having Laṅkā as the venue in order to introduce Mahāyānā Buddhism to Sri Lanka. This theory is heavily dependent on the eighth chapter on meat-eating which is a Hinayāna practice[2] Whether this chapter is a subsequent addition or not cannot be determined conclusively on available historical or even on internal evidence. There is a possibility that both these theories may be true. However one thing is clear: the internal evidence clearly suggest that the first chapter is quite integral in its content and outlook with the rest of the *sūtra* and it serves as the introduction to the whole *sūtra*. The introductory chapter introduces all the main ideas and trends the reader is bound to come across repeatedly throughout the *sūtra*. Therefore the first chapter, even if it is a later addition, has been constructed so as to integrate with the rest of the *sūtra* quit well.

The only 'non-philosophical' chapter of the *Sūtra* (with the exception of the ninth chapter containing a *dhāraṇī* which is not supposed to have a standard meaning) is the one on meat-eating. However, it is hard to say that these chapters are not integral to the whole *sūtra*, for the *sūtra* not only gives a philosophy but also gives a religion. The discussion on meat eating and the *dhāraṇī* are quite significant in this respect.[2]

The major philosophical and religious views of the *Sūtra* are those of the Vijñānavāda tradition, namely, the five *dharmas*, three *svabhāvas*, the eight *vijñānas* and the twofold non-atman (1); the non-differentiating nature of the *ālayavijñāna* (17); denial of duality (16); abandonment of discrimination (18), unreality of the external world (20), and the 'womb of tathāgatahood' (*tathāgatagarbha*) (21). These ideas are introduced and emphasized in the first chapter itself. The above ideas are not presented in a vacuum, but in the context of the views opposed to them.[3] In this respect, the first and foremost target is what the *sūtra* calls *s'rāvakas* or the Hīnayāna schools of Buddhism. Almost always, the *s'rāvakas* are grouped together with *pratyekabuddhas*, the other religionists or *tīrthakas* (which suzuki, not very appropriately, translates as 'philosophers') and 'those who are ignorant'. In the first chapter, the Buddha warns Ravana that he should "not fall into the attainments, conceptions, experiences, views and *samādhis* of the *s'rāvakas*...." (10). Subsequently the Buddha praises *Rāvaṇā* for asking a question on some aspect of meditation which is never tasted by those who practise the maditation of the *s'rāvakas*..." (14) and refers to the stage of *acala* in meditation which goes "beyond the *samādhi* and understanding attained by the *s'rāvakas*....." (15). In this same discussion, the discrimination of phenomena into *dharma* and *adharma* is attributed to other religionists, *s'rāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas* and the ignorant (18). In this manner, the *sūtra* always presents its views along with the criticism of its opponents of whom the Hīnayāna tradition is the foremost.

'Other religionists' are often referred to along with the rest. However the main contention with them is their theories of causation (section:40). It is said that Rāvanā acquired that kind of knowledge which is capable of disposing of the arguments of other religionists on causation (10-11). Although Lokāyatikas are referred to in several places, it is not clear in what sense the term is used. They have been described as "skilled in varieties of incantations and in the art of eloquence" and "making clever use of words" (173); but subsequently they have been attributed with views usually considered 'metaphysical' and 'unanswered' in the Buddhist tradition (176-177). They have also been atributed with dualism (being and non-

2. Kalupahana. D.J., *A history of Buddhist Philisophy*, Hawaii 1992, ch. XVIII and the Apendix
3. We are in agreement with arnold Kunst who says that the *Lankāvatara* is a highly polemical text': "Some Polemics in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra" in *Festschrift for walpola Rahula*

-eing etc.) which is usually attributed to 'other religionists' in the *sūtra*. It must be noted that the major philosophical and religious views advocated and the references to the opponents whose views are criticized in the first chapter continue to appear till the end of the *Sūtra*.

The main interlocutor in the *Sūtra* (in fact, the sole interlocutor after the first chapter) Mahāmati, the Bodhisatva appears in the first chapter itself. He is the only one in the assembly who understands the significance of the mysterious smile of the Buddha. Mahāmati's inquiry into the reason behind the Buddha's smile opens the door for the exposition of the philosophy of the *sūtra*, first as responses to Rāvanā's questions and subsequently to those of Mahāmati.

The themes discussed from the 2nd to the 7th chapter are of uniform nature in the sense that the responses of the Buddha to those questions represent the Vijñanavada philosophy. As the (above) summary of the questions show, the subject-matter of the questions is diverse and varied. Nevertheless, the philosophy presented to respond to these questions is the same.

The Vijñānavāda doctrine of 'mind only' (*cittamātra*) and the reality of *ālayavijñāna* is the central teaching ofthe *sūtra*. This doctrine is presented against the practice of various forms of discrimination, namely, *citta, mano* and *manovijñāna* and subject and object. The following statement articulates the two ideas clearly:

....That Mind in itself has nothing to do with discrimination and causation, discourses of imagination, and terms of qualification (*laksyalaksaṇa*); that body, property, and abode are objectifications of the *ālayavijñāna*, which in itself above (the dualism of) subject and object; that the state of imagelessness which is in compliance with the awakening of mind itself, is not affected by such changes as arising, abiding, and destruction (section: 42).

The 'mind-only' doctrine is affirmed throughout the *sūtra*. For example, it occurs in the following sections: 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 70, 73, 91, 111 (chapter II); 152, 162, 170, 173, 183, 208 (chapter III); 212 (chapter IV); 219 (chapter V); 225, 235 (chapter VI); 243 (chapter VII): 272, 282, 300, 301, 311, 320, 327, 335, 342, 351, 369, 375 (chapter X). The related ideas of (the folly of) false discrimination (129-131, 150, 163, 204, 274 and 306): non-reality of the external world (*māyā*) (320, 334 and 374); and that all phenomena are empty of self-nature (73-74) occur throughout the *sūtra* in support of the main doctrine.

The philosophical and religious context against which the idealist philosophy is presented is primarily the Hīnayanā philosophy and religion. The references to and criticism of the Hīnayāna doctrines and practices are many and varied. They are scattered in all chapters except in chapter IX which is a *dhāraṇī* (magical formula). In the first chapter itself there are several references to Hīnayāna. The first reference to *s'rāvakas* occurs in the admonition by the Buddha to *Rāvaṇā* not to "fall into the attainments, conceptions, experiences, views, and *samādhis* of the *S'rāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas* and philosophers" (10). Subsequently the discrimination of things as belonging to past, present and future is condemned and the state byond such discrimination is described as a state "not tasted by those who practise the meditation of the *S'rāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas*, and philosophers..." (14). Subsequently sections 15, 18 and 20 contain criticisms of the Hinayāna on the same grounds. Chpater II extends the criticism of Hīnayāna to many other philosophical issues. The workings of the *alayavijñana* is described as a phenomenon "not easy to comprehend (especially) by those who practise the discipline belonging to the *S'ravakas, Pratyekabuddhas* and philosophers" (45). The '*dharmata Buddha*', which is unconditioned is described as "not belonging to the world of the ignorant, *S'ravakas, Pratyekabuddhas* and philosophers" (57). Subsequently the final realization of the *Sravakas* is criticised as "no discarding of habit-energy and no escape from imperceivable transformation of death" (58). This downgrading of the Hināyānic goal reaches its culminating point in the following statement:

... those who, afraid of suffering arising from the discrimination of birth and death, seek for *nirvana*, do not know that birth-and-death and *nirvāna* are not to be separated the one from the other; and seeing that all things subject to discrimination have no reality, imagine that *nirvana* consists in the future annihilation of the senses and their fields. They are not aware, Mahāmati, of the fact that *nirvāna* is the *ālayavijñāna* where a revulsion takes place by self-discrimination. Therefore Mahāmati those who are stupid talk of the trinity of vehicles and not of the state of mind-only where there are no images (61-62).

Sections 63, 69, 71 and 83 contain criticisms of

the Hinayana doctrines of *skandha*, *dhātu* and *āyatana*. Sections 72, 97, 103 and 107 and 134 contain similar criticisms of the low nature of the Hinayana standards. Chapter III continuing a similar line of thought confirms that those who adhere to discrimination of *skandha*, *dhātu* and *āyatana* are 'doomed to ruin' (147). The section 170 shows the importance of keeping the *bodhisatvas* and *mahāsatvas* away from 'those who belong to the vehicles of the *s'rāvaka*...' The chapter IV is a reaffirmation of the 'mind-only' doctrine and downgrading of the Hīnayāna *nirvana* which is prohibited for the *bodhisattvas* who have a loftier ideal (212). Chapter V, although it does not directly refer to the *s'rāvakas*, does criticize their practice of discrimination of phenomena into *skandha*, *dhātu* and *āyatana* and permanency and impermanency. Chapter VI contains a harsher attack on Hinayāna. The section (222) claims that self-realization is not gained by the *s'rāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas* and philosophers. Section 226 asserts that the right knowledge constitutes not 'falling back into the stage of the philsophers, '*s'rāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*. Section 236 refers to those 'ignorant and simple-minded who are addicted to the docrine of momentariness' and the next section compares those who delight in *nirvana* and those who perform the *pāramitās* of charity etc. in order to achieve it with the 'ignorant' (237). Chapter VII describes the S'rāvakas as those who have got rid of 'passion-hindrance' (*kles'avaraṇa*) but not 'knowledge-hindrance' (*jñeyāvaraṇa*), a result of direct perception of the egolessness of phenomena which is not achieved by the *s'rāvakas*. Chapter VIII is the only chapter which discusses a practically oriented ethical issue, namely, the practice of meat-eating. The entire chatper can be considered a direct attack on the Hinayāna. At the very outset of the chapter the Hīnayānists are isolated from the other groups with whom they were combined up to that point for attack, and this fact becomes clear from this statement of Mahāmati: "even those philosophers who hold erroneous doctrines and are addicted to the views of the Lokāyata such as the dualism of being and non-being, nihilism, and eternalism, will prohibit meat-eating..." (244). In this chapter we do not encounter the expositions of usual idealist doctrines, but again the focus is the *mahāsattvas* and *bodhisattvas* who must refrain from the kind of food enjoyed by the *s'ravakas*. In the discussion it is made clear that meat-eating is not approved for anyone, not even for the *s'ravakas*. The so-called 'meat purified from three ends' (*trikoṭipāris'uddhamāṃsa*) of the Hīnayānists has been clearly denied (253 and 257). The last chapter which is composed of verses is basically a summary of the ideas presented in the previous eight chapters (chapter IX being only a *dhāraṇī*) although it contains some other material which is not directly related to the main trend of the *sūtra*. The criticism of the Hīnayāna continues unabated in this chapter too. The section 295 puts all the doctrines criticised together and affirms their dream-like nature:

> Causation, the *dhātus*, *skandhas*, and the self-nature of all things, thought-construction, a personal soul, and mind they are all like a dream, like a hair-net.

The doctrines advanced by the *s'rāvakas* are described as resulting from jealousy. They 'who are deeply intoxicated with the liquor of *samādhi*' are compared to an elephant 'who is stuck in deep mud is unable to move about' (322). In the very last section the basic ideas emphasized throughout the *sūtra* are reiterated:

> When the dualism of being and non-being is abandoned, there is neither bothness nor not-bothness; and going beyond s'rāvakahood and pratyekabuddhahood, one will even pass over the seventh stage (357).

This discussion shows that the *Sūtra* has a clearly articulate dual purpose, namely, to promote the idealist trend in Buddhist philosophical thinking and the religion associated with it and to show the invalidity of the philosophy and the religion of Hinayāna.

Many scholars have noticed the *Sūtra* has a large amount of repetitions.[4] However, this aspect of the *Sutra* may be defended on the ground that in a work which combines theoretical philosophy with practical religion, repetitions are not only desirable but also helpful, for they serve to keep laying emphasis on the main themes so that the reader gets accustomed to the viewpoint.

The philosophical method followed in the *sūtra* is similar to the method in the *Vajracchedikā* and in

4. Suzuki (1) Vaidya, *Saddharmālaṅkāra sūtram*, Mithila Institute 1963; Kalupahana, *op. cit*

Nāgārjuna, namely, the method of conceptual 'deconstruction'. The best example of this kind of treatment is the way the Buddha treats the so called 108 questions that occur at the beginning of the second chapter. As we showed earlier these questions cover a vast range of concepts.

All the questions are dismissed as not capable of conveying the meaning intended. The obvious reason is that both language and the things behind its concepts are empty of any reality. There are other occasions where specifically Buddhist and phillosophical concepts are negated, a method which very much resembles that of Nāgārjuna:

And there are no Buddhas, no truths, no fruition, no causal agents, no perversion, no *nirvana*, no passing away, no birth. And then there are no twelve elements (*aṅga*), and no duality either, of limit and no-limit; because of the cessation of all notions (that are cherished by the philosophers). I declare (there is) Mind-only.

The difference in application of this method, however, from Nāgārjuna, as indicated in the above quoted statement, is that here all concepts are negated not only to show that they are devoid of any self-nature but also to affirm the view that all such phenomena are mind-made and hence the sole reality is mind, a view which marks the idealistic development over the *S'ūnyatāvāda*.

The negation of the validity of the concepts including those in the 108 questions in the second chapter thus seems to be integral to the philosophical method adopted by the *sūtra*. In holding this view we are not in agreement with Suzuki who holds the following:

The 108 clauses preached by the Buddhas of the past are a string of negations, negating any notion that happens to come into the mind at the moment, apparently with no system, with no special philosophy in them. These negations are another example of the irrationality of the *Laṅakāvatāra* (Suzuki I. p. 41).

The negation of the validity of language is an essential aspect of the philosophy of religion in the *sūtra*. What the *sūtra* presents as ultimately valid experience is that which transcends the boundaries of language. The following question by Mahāmati and the answer given by the Buddha to the question confirm this:

Mahāmati: Are words themselves the highest reality, or is what is expressed in words the highest reality?

Buddha: Words are not the highest reality, nor is what is expressed in words the highest reality. Why? Because the highest reality is an exalted state of bliss, and as it connot be entered into by mere statements regarding it, words are not the highest reality, Mahāmati, the highest reality is to be attained by the inner realization of noble wisdom, it is not a state of word-discrimination; therefore, discrimination does not express the highest reality (87).

The denial of the validity of all concepts does not necessarily mean that 'things in themselves' are beyond expression. Rather it leads us to the core of the *Vijñānavāda* philosophy, namely, nothing in phenomena has any reality, but all of them are creations of the mind. What ultimately remains is the mind alone (*cittamatra*). This understanding shatters the *māyā,* the cause of the realistic view of phenomena and leads us to the experience of "the highest *samādhi*, which is gained by entering into the womb of Tathāgatahood, which is the realm of noble wisdom realised in one's innermost self" (21). The Religion of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, for which the philosophy is only a means, culminates here.

Asanga Tillekeratne

LAOS.

Introduction: The Lao People's Democratic Republic is a thinly populated mountainous country land-locked between Thailand, Burma, China, Vietnam and Cambodia with an estimated population of 4.6 million (in 1995). Over half the population in Laos are Buddhist, while the rest comprising more than 60 ethnic groups living on the hills adhere to the traditional beliefs of spirit cults. Buddhism continues to exist alongside animism with no conflict with the *wat* (temple) compound having a spirit (*phi*) house for the guardian of the village.

Buddhism was known in the Lao region by the 8th century A. C. from the Mon people who brought Mon civilization and Buddhism, according to Coedes who based his conclusion on inscriptions found in western Lao ('Documents sur l'histoire politique et religioeuse du Laos occidental', *BEFEO,* XXV, 1925, pp. 1-202). Paul Levy dated to the 12th century, two Buddha statues found at Luang Prabang with characteristics simi-

lar to those from Lop Buri and Pi Mai (Les traces de l'introduction du Bouddhisme a Luang Prabang, *(BEFEO*, XL, 1940, pp. 411-423). However, Buddhism as an organised system arrived in Laos only during the reign of Fa Ngum (1353-1373 A. C.) the first ruler to unify the country.

The recorded history of Laos as a state begins with the founding of the kingdom of Lan Zang (present-day Laos) by Fa Ngum in 1353 A. C. This material on the history of Laos is largely drawn from the Chronicles of Lao, *Nithan Khun Borom*, (translated in Mission Pavie's *Etudes diverses* II pp. 1-77) and *Phongsawadan*, (translated in Paul Le Boulanger's *Histoire du Laos Francais*, pp. 41-51). *Phong Savadan Lao* written in Lao Language by the 20th century historian Maha Sila Viravong (translated into English as *The History of Laos*) has been compiled from different versions of Laotian chronicles. Although this material is mixed with legend and ancient lore, historical records of neighbouring countries give ample credence to the historicity of the major events during this period. For example, the inscription of the Sumanakūṭaparvata of Sukhodaya in Siam, belonging to the reign of Luthai, while describing the boundaries of his kingdom, refers to Cau Brana Fa Nom (Chao Praya Fa Ngom or Fa- Ngum). From this inscription it is clear that Fa-Ngum was reigning in Laos in the second half of the fourteenth century A. D.

Fa Ngum's father, Phi Fa, heir apparent to the kingdom of Luang Prabang who was driven away along with his son, took refuge with King Jayavarman Paramesvara in Cambodhia. When Fa Ngum grew up, the king gave his daughter Keo-Keng-Ya in marriage to him, and put him in command of an army charged with securing his right to the throne of Luang Prabang. (It was just the right time for the Cambodian king who was gradually losing his grip on his hitherto kingdom to sponsor an ally in the conquest of the region. The kingodom of Sukhodaya had taken most of the Khmer territory in the west; the rising kingdom of Ayuthya had taken Lopburi, Nakorn Nayok and Korat). Fa Ngum in his conquest of Lao teritories, united the small Lao states, and in 1353, he declared himself king of an independent Lao state which he named Lan Xang (literally a million elephants) with Muang Swa as the capital (L.P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, pp. 254).

When, how and by whom Buddhism was introduced to Laos: Present day Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos all claim that Sovannabhumi (where Sona and Uttara, the envoys of Emperor Asoka arrived in) was located in their own territories. The Laotians claim that the original That Luang in Vientiane, Laos was a *stūpa* erected by Emperor Asoka himself in the 3rd century B.C. But all these claims are probably legendary.

According to the Chronicles of Lao, Queen Keo-Keng-Ya, the wife of Fa Ngum noticed to her displeasure that the people in the Lao kingdom practised the cult of spirits, which included the killing of elephants and buffaloes for sacrifice to the spirits. The queen, as a fervent Buddhist being determined to put an end to the practice of sacrifice, requested her husband to introduce Buddhism into the Lao kingodom, and if not she would ask to return to her father's Khmer kingdom (Maha Sila Viravong, *The History of Laos*, pp. 36).

The King Fa Ngum then, sent a mission to his father-in-law requesting a mission of Buddhist monks. A delegation of Buddhist monks including the king's own tutor Maha Pasman, together with Maha Tep (Deva) Langka, 20 Buddhist monks and three other experts, Norasing, Norasan Noraray and Noradet arrived in Lao. A famous statue of the Buddha known as Prabang was brought by them together with the Tripitaka. The leader of this Buddhist delegation was Maha Tep Langka from Sri Lanka. This information given in Lao chronicles is corroborated by the Wat Keo inscription in Luang Prabang, date 1602 A.C. The inscription also gives the names of three Sri Lankan *mahātheras* who accompanied the Khmer monk Mahā Pasman to Loas as the elder brother Maha Deva Langka, the younger brother Maha Deva Langka and Maha Nadipanna . Lao chronicles specifically state that it was the Sri Lanka form of Buddhism that was introduced to Laos (Coedes, *Ibid*, p. 419). It appears thus that Sri Lankan monks were resident in Cambodia during this period, and played an important role in the development and popularisation of Sinhala Buddhism there.

According to a book written in Lao Language during the reign the of King Sai Settathirath in the 16th century, *The Story of Prabang*, the Buddha statue Prabang referred to above was in the *mudra* of 'Calming quarrels' and was cast in an alloy of gold, silver

1. King Vijayabahu (1055-1110 A.C.) ruled in Sri Lanka during this time.

and other metals in 874 A.C. by Culanagha Thera (or Cunnaka Thera) in Sri Lanka. King Siricantarat (or Srichularaj) of Intapatta (present day Cambodia) sent an embassy to King Supinarat of Lanka Taveep (Sri Lanka) in 1056 A.C.[1], requesting the statue, and the statue was sent as a gift to the Combodian king.

The introduction of Sinhala Buddhism not only served as a symbol of legitimisation of Fa-Ngum's authority, but also as an important factor for moral unity and consolidation of the Lao state. The statue of Prabang became the symbol for the sovereignty of the Lao state. The statue of Prabang became the symbol for the sovereignty of the Lao kingdom. Its capital city was later named Luang Prabang in honour of the statue, and remains as the cradle of Buddhism to this date. The statue which was protected in Wats Monoram, Visoun and Mai in Luang Prabang, and later taken to the city of Vientiane, was seized by the Siamese and returned to its home in Luang Prabang in the 19th century, and was installed in the Royal Palace. It is now kept in the museum in Luang Prabang, and is the country's most protected national treasure (PL. XXXVI).

Spread of Buddhism in Laos since its introduction: After the reign of Fa-Ngum, his son Samsenthai (1373-1416) who ruled for 43 years consolidated the power, and made a special effort to bring Buddhism closer to the lives of the people by building temples and founding monastic schools for the study of Buddhism. The king appointed Maha Tep Langka and Maha Pasman to the rank of Chief Monks of the kingdom who then resided in the Royal monastery called Wat Keo which was specially constructed for the purpose. The famous Wat Monoram where the Prabang statue was protected was also built by the king. By the end of his reign, the city of Luang Prabang had won recognition as one of the most important centres of Buddhist teaching in the region (Mahā Sīla Viravong, *Ibid*, p. 39).

One of Samsenthai's several successors, King Visoun was another king who contributed a great deal to the spread of Buddhism. In 1503, the King ordered the construction of Wat Visoun Mahāvihāra which was specially built to place the Prabang statue. In 1504, it was completed, and the Prabang statue was installed inside the *vihāra* in a magnificent ceremony. It was a period of such great scholarship that it saw the translation of *Tripiṭaka* from Pali to the Lao language, as well as the emergence of the rules of poetry known as *Visumali* which flourished from that time on. King Visoun's son Potisarath's (1520-1550) marriage to two princesses from Chieng Mai and Ayuthya (both in present day Thailand) encouraged the exchange of religious missions between these kingdoms, and this gave rise to an increased promotion of Buddhism. In 1523, King Pothisarath sent a mission to Chiang Mai to secure the *Tripiṭaka* and monks, and a team of monks headed by Phra Tep Mongkol, together with sixty copies of the *Tripiṭaka* arrived in Laos. In 1525, the king received his religious education after ordaining in a ceremony in Wat Visoun Mahāvihāra under the chairmanship of the Chief Monk Maha Sichantho with Maha Sumudhakote who received education at Chieng Mai as preceptor. In 1527, the king issued a royal decree ordering the people to give up spirit worship, and built Buddhist shrines on the sites of spirit altars and shrines. He won great fame and respect for this act, not only within his kingdom, but also in the neighbouring ones. The king who spent some time in Chieng Mai brought the statues of the Emerald Buddha[2] and PhraSeekham[3] (Sihinga Buddha image) on his return to Laos (Mahā Sīla Viravong, *Ibid*, p. 49-53).

In later years, Laos saw internal strife, as well as invasion by Annam (part of present day Vietnam) and Ayuthya until the crowing of Sai Settathirath (1548-1571). In order to guard against attacks by Burma, King Sai Settathirath made Vientiane the new capital. He entrusted the administration of the city Luang Prabang to the senior monks and left the Prabang statue there for their worship. He took along with him the statues of the Emeral Buddha and Phra Seekham. In 1566, he constructed That Luang (Great Stupa) on the site of the old site of That Luang which is claimed to have been built during Adoka's period and Wat Prakeo, the latter to house the Emerald Buddha which his father brought from Chiang Mai. After the end of his reign, there were periods of instability due to internal dis-

2. According to the *Jinakālamāli*, the delegation that received higher ordination from Mahasami Vanaratana in Sri Lanka during the reign of Parakramabahu VI (1411-66 A.C.) brought this statue from Sri Lanka (*The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the conqueror*, Translation by N. A. Jayawickrama, pp. 129-131).
3. This Buddha statue, referred to as 'Sihala image' in the Jinakālamāli was sculpted in Sri Lanka and was received by King Roca Rama Kamhaeng 1275-1317) as a gift (Jayawickrama, *Ibid*, 120, 121). *Jinākalamāli* also mentions that Kuena 1355-a successor of King Mengrai built the 'Great Monastery' in Chieng Mai (*Ibid*, pp xxiii, xxiv)

cord, anarchy and invasions and threats of invasions by Burma and Siam, during which period Buddhism suffered a set back.

It was King Surya Vongsa or Soulinga Vongsa (1639-94) who restored internal stability while making Vientiane a centre of Buddhist scholarship in the region. He encouraged and developed the study of Buddhism which led to an abundance of writers and poets in the country. A Dutch merchant Gerrit van Wuysthoff who visited Vientiane and was received by the king at the wat That Luang in 1641 has given a vivid account of the city. Accoridng to him, the city was replete with beautiful monasteries that attracted pilgrims from far and wide, and that sculpture, architecture, painting, music and dancing flourished (D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, pp. 467, 468). In 1670, the king sent a goodwill mission to Ayuthya to renew his kingdom's friendship and re-established friendly relations with the neighbouring countries. He is known to have introduced just and fair legislation that benefitted all of his citizens, regardless of their social status. This period is regarded as the Golden Age of Laos. The death of Soulinga Vongsa saw the disintegration of the kingdom of Lan Xang, and the consequent decline of Buddhism once again. By 1707, the kingdom was split into two separate states with Luang Prabang and Vientiane as capitals. In 1778, Vientiane was captured by the Siamese. In 1893, the French gained control and ruled Laos as a part of the Union of Indochina together with Vietnam (which included Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina) and Cambodia. The French attempt to spread Catholicism in Laos did not succeed, partly because the anti-colonialist revolutionary movement had the active support of the Buddhist monks (Nguyen Le Thi, "Buddhism in Lao History", *History and Culture in South East Asia: Studies on Laos*, pp. 70-75). Political and military involvement in Laos by the French, the Vietnamese, the Japanese and later the Americans brought the country into turmoil and civil war. Although in 1953, the French rule ended with the granting of full sovereignty, the country saw the end of civil unrest only in 1975 when the communist Pathet Lao, after a long struggle, took complete control.

Although there was no attempt for severe destruction of Buddhism and its culture by killing Buddhist monks, demolishing wats and burning Buddhist texts like in Cambodia during the Pol Pot regime, Buddhism suffered a significant set back in Laos after 1975. The abolition of the monarchy which was the guardian of Buddhist heritage and the change of the national emblem from the silhouett of That Luang to the Soviet hammer and sickle and the Vietnamese star represented the ideological change....

Nature of the saṅgha organization, its main divisions and its strength: At present, there is only one sect-*Phra Song Lao* (Lao *Saṅgha*). The strict ascetic sect of Thammayut Nikaya which was introduced in the early 1940s from Thailand was banned in 1975. The earlier structure of the *saṅgha* which was headed by a *Saṅgharaja* who had a council of five advisors called *Chao Ratagana* was changed after 1975. *Saṅgharaja* was replaced by a President or Chief of the *Saṅgha* (*Padhan Song*) assisted by four Vice Presidents and 9 advisors. The organisation structure operates at four levels: at the centre, in the provinces, in the districts and in the villages. There are four Commissions (*Kammadhikara*) to implement all activities that relate to the *saṅgha* and Buddhism. 1. *Saṅgha* administration 2. *Saṅgha* education 3. Propagation of Buddhism and 4. Social Work (Sadharānupakāra) which includes construction and repair of monasteries, protection of historical sites and monuments and also activites related to traditional medicine and the environment.

All matters related to the *saṅgha* and their activities come under the Department of Religious Affaris of the Lao National Construction Front.

There were 20,000 monks and novices in 3441 monasteries in Laos before the Lao Revolution in 1975. According to the estimates by the Department of Religious Affairs, the number has now returned almost to the pre-revolution levels with 17,990 monks and novices in 2823 monasteries, (which excludes 618 monasteries destroyed during the Indo-Chinese war that remain unrepaired).

Buddhist education and Buddhist cultural activities in Laos : As in other Buddhist countries in Aisa, the monastery was the centre of education, culture, art and architecture in the past. The monastery is still the major educational and cultural institution in rural areas in Laos. Every novice monk receives his initial training in *Dhamma Vinaya* and the practice of rituals at the monastery.

The formal education of monks is divided into four levels: primary, secondary, senior secondary and tertiary. The primary education consists of 5 years, and secondary education and senior secondary, 3 years each. Their curriculum includes, in addition to

Dhamma Vinaya, Pali, History of Budhism and English, as well as other subjects taught at Government schools, such as Mathematics, Science etc. Today in Laos, there are 23 centres of primary education, 17 of secondary education and 4 of senior secondary education. At tertiary level, there is one college which was established in 1998, and the course duration is 3 years.

A growing number of young men from the countryside continue to use wats in towns as temporary homes to attend school or go to work. The younger ones who assist in the maintenance of wats while going to school are known as 'temple boys'

One of the most important Buddhist activities of recent vintage in the country is the National Buddhist Conference held every few years. Beginning with the first such one in 1976, four conferences have been so far held, the most recent one being in April 1998. The 1998 conference has resulted in a massive effort at organizing the structure of the *saṅgha* and Buddhist activities at provincial, district and village levels.

Temporary monkhood is common in Laos, as in other parts of South East Asia., traditionally for three months during the *vassana* season, although much shorter periods of monkhood are now common.

As in other present day Theravada countries, women have no place in the Buddhist hierarchy. Many older women, leaving household life, shave their heads and dress in white robes and live in huts in monastery complexes and observe eight or ten precepts. The majority of them have left their homes after fulfilling their family obligations of children's education and marriage of daughters, or when widowed. There are a few who have taken to robes at a younger age. They study and meditate, and only a few perform religious ceremonies for the laity.

Activities related to the preservation and classification, including the compilation of an inventory of Lao palm leaf manuscripts undertaken by the Department of Literature and Mass Culture of the Ministry of Information and Culture are among the most important .recent cultural activities in the country. Lao literature was all in palm leaf manuscript form before the introduction of printing in 1957. Many of these manuscripts deal with either Buddhist scriptures or with areas related to Buddhism.

Traditional Buddhist rituals and festivals in Laos :

Festivals in Laos, like in Thailand and Cambodia are generally associated with 'merit-making', the word for festival being *boun* which is derived from Pali-*puñña*. Harmonious fusion of Buddhism with the worship of spirits called *phi* is amply illustrated in the national festivals that continue to be celebrated to date.

One of the most popular festivals in Laos is a combination of the Buddhist *vassana* festival and the water festival. *Boun Ok Vatsa* (*vassāna* festival) and *Boun Lay Heua Pay* (water festival) are celebrated simultaneously at the end of the *vassāna* three months on the full moon day of October. Houses, public buildings and wats are illuminated for the occasion. On the full moon day, alms and new robes are offered, to the monks, and religious activities take place in all wats. In the evening, rafts filled with lotus shape offerings, lights, candles and flowers and sometimes a bowl of rice are released into the current of the river. Floating offerings made of banana trunks and banana leaf of the past are today replaced by colourful paper. It is usually the children who launch the rafts. The offerings represent the expulsion of evil spirits who have accumulated during the rainy reason who are now attracted to the offerings on the rafts (Dawn Ellis & Tom Butcher, *Laos*, pp. 77, 78).

It is significant that this festival is immediately followed by boat races which celebrate the end of the rainy season and the beginning of agricultural activities. Boat races are a sacred rite to propitiate the spirits of the *nagas* resident in the rivers during the dry season who may be wandering around on land during the rainy season. Boats are usually made by the monks and stored during the year in the wats.

Boun That Luang or Boun Maha That (festival of the great *stūpa* - that means relic) is held on the full moon day of November. In Vientiane, celebrations are held at That Luang shrine while each town celebrates its central *stūpa* which is supposed to contain the relics of the Buddha. The festival begins the day before at Wat Si Muang which is considered to be the centre of the city and to contain the tutelary spirit of the city. (The wat was named Si Muang (Si's town) after Si who sacrificed herself when the foundation of the wat was being laid.) At moonlight, people go in procession round the wat carrying candle-lit little wats made out of banana leaves. On the following morning, monks from all over Laos who gather at That Luang are offered alms, and in the evening, a candle-lit procession round the *that* is followed by fireworks.

Descriptions of a few main Buddhist shrines : That Luang built by King Sai Settathirath in 1566 in Vientiane is venerated as the most sacred shrine in Laos. That Luang is also hailed as the finest example of pure Lao art, and considered one of the great achievements of Buddhist architecture. That Luang contains a central *stupa*, which is said to be covered with 1,000 lb. of gold leaf, and 30 small *stupas* on the second storey to symbolise the Buddha's perfections-all *stupas* in bulb shape. King Surya Vongsa made it a national symbol and remains so to date. In 1873, Black Flag bandits who went in search of treasure destroyed it, and it was reconstructed by M. Fabertaux between 1930 and 1935. It was covered in gold and ceremonially re-inaugurated on the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's birth in 1957. A statue of King Sai Settathirath stands on the square in front of That Luang (PL. XXXVII).

Wat Prakeo is a palace monastery also constructed by King Sai Settathirath in 1566 in Vientiane to house the famous Emerald Buddha, now is Bangkok. This is the second palace monastery which was under the direct control of the king with no resident community of monks. The first was Wat Ho Prabang which was built in the palace grounds in Luang Prabang to house the Prabang Buddha statue. Today Wat Prakeo serves as a museum of a large collection of Laotian Buddhist sculptures.

Wat Xieng Tong which means "the golden city", the former royal shrine was the most influential one in Luang Prabang, and still remains the centre of religious activity. Built in 1560 also by King Sai Settathirath, Wat Xieng Tong epitomises the elegance and grace of Lao Buddhist architecture. In the past before the advent of roads, with the Mekong river providing the only access to the city through a flight of steps to the monastery complex, this wat had a special significance as the gateway to the city. The most striking feature of this wat is the many-tiered roof which sweeps steeply and gracefully to barely ten feet above the ground. The walls and doors are covered with gold stencils on black and dark red background.

Wat Visoun and That Mak Mo stand on the same compound. Wat Visoun, constructed between 1503 andd 1520 by King Vison, is the oldest functioning *wat*. The original wooden roof had survived until a fire damaged it severely in 1887, and later rebuilt in 1898. Although it was at a later period that it turned into a museum for Buddha images, it remains a place of worship. [illegible] the *wat* is a Bodhi tree brought from Sri Lanka in the middle of the 20th century.

That Mak Mo was built round the same time as Wat Visoun by Queen Pan Din Xieng, the wife of king Visoun. During its reconstruction in the early 1930s, over 200 votive objects of gold, silver and bronze had been found. That Mak Mo (Giant water melon shrine) being the popular name for That Pathoum has a semi-spherical shape of the Sri Lankan type of *stupa*, and one of its kind in Laos. (PL. XXXVII).

Several prominent past Buddhist scholars: Maha Sila Viravong was a monk scholar who later continued to contribute as a lay scholar. He had his higher education in Buddhism at Mahā Mongkut Monks' College (now Mongkut University) in Thailand in 1923-1928. On his return to Laos, he founded the first formal Buddhist and Pali School for monks in 1930, and wrote the first Pali Grammar book in Lao language. These were significant efforts to restore the monks' prestige among the Lao people which was being eroded during the French rule. Maha Sila Viravong is best known for his book *Phong Savadan Lao* (History of Laos) which was written in Laotian in 1957 and later translated into English and published in 1959 by the Joint Publication Research Service in New York, USA. He has written nearly 40 books on Lao Buddhism, history, culture, language and literature. His contribution to Lao Buddhism as a teacher, researcher, writer and adviser is impressive.

Prea Mahā Bouakham Voraphej and Mahā Kou Souvannamedhi are two other well known scholars. The former who completed his higher studies at Prea Suramarit Pali and Buddhist College at Wat Unnalom in Phnom Penh, Cambodia in 1935-1944, had written several books on the Dhamma and Vinaya. Maha Kou Souvannamedhi, after he became a lay person specialised in the Lao constitution and the legal system, and served as a Minister of Justice in the People's Democratic Republic of Lao.

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Hema Goonatilake

LAW. It is pertinent to ask the question whether Buddhism which aims at the extincition of suffering *(dukkha)* has any relation to law and international law? The subject of law and international law in the broader sense does not come within the purview of spiritual matters', but it deals with the temporal aspect of the people. No doubt one of the branches of law is ecclesiastical law, but its significance is rather minimal when compared with other branches of law such as criminal law, civil law, international law, etc.

When speaking of Buddhism there are two branches to be taken into consideration namely, the doctrine (the *dhamma*) and the discipline (the *vinaya*). *Dhamma* or the doctrine is generally applicable to both the laity and the *Saṅgha*, whereas the *vinaya* or the discipline is only applicable to the *bhikkhūs* and *bhikkhuṇis*, and it serves as a mode of regulating their outward conduct. Broadly speaking *vinaya* not only regulates or controls the outward conduct of monks, but also controls the mind, which produces outward actions. It is said, that the doctrine regarding release from suffering, which forms so central an idea in the ancient Buddhist faith, belongs to the province of *dhamma* (*Vinaya*, Vol. I, p, XIV).

Referring to *Vinaya* it is said: 'The *Vinaya*, the discipline, specially that portion of it called *Suttavibhaṅga*, appoints and decrees a definite standard of outward morality, comprised in courses of training laid down for the proper behaviour of monks and nuns. On the surface *Suttavibhaṅga* is not much more than an attempt to restrain unsuitable behaviour, but in reality it also arrives, though in many cases by a long process of exclusion at the kind of positive conduct to be pursued by the monk who wishes his life to be externally blameless, so far as his relations with fellow monks, with the Order as a whole, and the laity are concerned." (I.B. Horner, *The Book of Discipline*, p. IX)

Thus, it manifests that *Vinaya* or the discipline part of Buddhism, is meant to regulate the outward behaviour or conduct of monks and nuns that would be conducive for their well-being as well as the well-being of the Order and the laity. So far as monks are concerned the Buddha had laid down two hundred and twenty rules of *Vinaya* or *sikkhāpadas*. They are: *Pārājika 4, Saṅghādisesa 13, Aniyata 2, Nissaggiya 30, Pācittiya 92, Pāṭidesanīya 4, Sekhiya 75*. According to the *Bhaddali Sutta* and the *Sutttavibhaṅga* the Buddha laid down *sikkhāpadas* only at the appearance of signs of corruption in the *Sāsana*. The corruption in the monastic organization compelled the Buddha to set up a body of regulations and thereby arrest the decay of the organization. Restrictive legislation had to be introduced for the purpose of maintaining good discipline and furthering the spiritual progress of the disciples. (Jotiya Dhirasekera, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, pp 50, 51)

Each of the aforesaid *Vinaya* rules or *sikkhāpadas* relates to an offence and these *sikkhāpadas* are arranged according to the gravity of the offence. The four *Parajika* rules apply to four major offences in the *Vinaya*. These offences are:

(i) Indulgence in sexual intercourse. (*Methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭiseveyya pārājikā hoti*)
(ii) Taking by means of theft what has not been given to him (*Adinnaṃ theyyasaṅkhātaṃ ādiyeyya*)
(iii) Intentional killing of a human being (*Manussaviggahaṃ jivitā voropeyya*)
(iv) Lying (false proclamation) about one's spiritual attainments, or supper human attainments (*Yopana bhikkhū anabhijānaṃ uttarimanussadhammaṃ attupanāyikaṃ*) *Vinaya*, Vol. II pp. 21, 46, 70, 90)

Out of the afore said four offences, the most serious offence is sexual indulgence. Any form of sexual intercourse is totally prohibited for a monk. Therefore

this offence thas been placed on top of the list of offences. These four *Pārājikā* offences are regarded as foremost crimes under the monastic discipline. Once such an offence is committed the offender loses his monastic status as a *bhikkhu* and he is no more regarded as a member of the Order. It is said that the *Pārājikā* being grave monastic offences, admits of no remedies or atonements. The penalty for *Pārājikā* offences being complete ex-communication and loss of monastic status, it is spontaneously brought about by the commission of the crime. The *Saṅgha* has only to take note of the fact that the offender is no more one of their fold, and that they have no dealings with him: *na labhati bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ yathā pure tathā pacchā pārājiko hoti asaṃvaso-Vinaya* III,(Jotiya Dhirasekara- *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, p.109)

All other offences other than the *Parajika* are remediable, and the offender who submits himself to the specified penalties and punishments imposed on him and behaves himself in accordance with the *Vinaya* law is considered as being purged of his guilt. In so far as the *Saṅgadisesa* offences are concerned, they require a formal meeting of the Order of the *Saṅgha* to deal with offenders. Horner says: 'This type of offences (*Saṅghadisesa*) is next in gravity after the *Parajikās*, because it cannot be settled by many people (i.e. many *Saṅgha*) or by one man (i.e. one *bhikkhu*). It therefore has to be settled by the Order, which presumably has to be convened for that purpose" (*The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. 1, p 195).

The *Vinaya* which consists of both the substantial law and the procedural law also deals with *kammas* or acts of punishments of varying degrees of severity which are recommended for certain shortcomings and reprehensible features in the behaviour of monks. These *kammas* are:

1. *Tajjanīya kamma* :
2. *Nissaya kamma* :
3. *Pabbājanīya kamma* :
4. *Paṭisāraṇiya kamma* :
5. *Ukkhepaniya kamma* :

(*Kammakkhandhaka* of *Cullavagga - Vinaya* Vol.II).

Apart from the above stated punishments *Vinaya* has prescribed various other forms of punishments, too. For *Saṅghādisesa* offences, which are thirteen in number and not so serious as *Pārājikā* offences, two forms of penalties are prescribed. They are the penalty of *Mānatta* and the penalty of *Parivāsa*. The former penalty is imposed on an offender when he has not concealed the offence, but disclosed without delay. In that instance the *Saṅgha* is called upon to impose on the offender, at his request, the penalty of *Mānatta* for six days. (*Vinaya*, Vol. II, p. 38].

In the case of a *Saṅghādisesa* offence which has been deliberately concealed by the offender, the recommended penalty is *Parivāsa* (probation) which is imposed for the same number of days up to which the offence has been concealed. *Cullavagga* states that a monk who commits a *Saṅghādisesa* offence, must go before the *Saṅgha* and confess to them his error. He should then request the *Saṅgha* to impose on him the prescribed punishment namely, *Parivāsa* penalty for the mumber of days the offence has been concealed. Once the offender has behaved himself under the penalty *Parivaša*, the penalty of *Mānatta* is imposed on him (*Vinaya* Vol. II, p. 40). The actual penalty for *Saṅghadisesa* offence is *Mānatta*, but when the offender conceals the offence, he has to undergo the penalties of both *Parivasa* or probation and *Mānatta*.

When both penalties, *Mānatta* and *Parivāsa* have been satisfactorily concluded, the offender should go before the Order and request that he be reinstated by the Act of *Abbhana*. (*Vinaya* Vol. II, p. 39). This reinstatement should be done with the unanimous approval of the *Saṅgha*, and the quorum required is twenty monks. The deficiency of the quorum by even one monk would render the Act of reinstatement invalid. (*Vinaya*. Vol. III, p. 186). During the period of serving *Manatta* and *Parivāsa* penalties, a monk loses his status and some of the rights he enjoyed earlier. With the Act of *Abbhana*, his lost status and rights are restored.

Just as much as law provides certain acknowledged principles in the administration of justice, *Vinaya*, too provides some salient principles couched in *Satta Adhikaraṇasamatha* in carrying out disciplinary action within the monastic community.

The seven *Adhikaraṇasamathas* are:

1. *Sammukhāvinaya*: by a verdict in the presence of the offender
2. *Sativinaya* : by a verdict of innocence
3. *Amūlhavinaya* : by a verdict of past insanity
4. *Patiññatakaraṇa* : the carrying out of penalty on

the acknowledgement of the guilty monk.

5. *Yebhuyyasikā* : by the decision of the majority

6. *Tassapāpiyyasika*: by an act of condemnation carried out on a monk for corrupt, shameless and reprehensible bahaviour.

7. *Tiṇavatthāraka* : the settlement of offences other than the *Parajika* and *Saṅghadisesa* offences committed by two groups of monks by means of collective disciplinary measures. Both parties have to meet in the full assembly of the *Saṅgha* and with their consent breaches of discipline and offences are collectively settled. (*Vinaya* Volume II, pp 73-104)

Out of the said *Adhikaraṇasamathas*, the *Sammukhāvinaya* recognises the principle that no penalties or punishments should be imposed on an offender in his absence. The legal principle *audi alteram partem*, that is to say the other party should be heard, is fully present in the said *Adhikaraṇasamatha*. In so far as *Sativinaya* is concerned it exonerates a guiltless monk who is falsely accused by malicious parties. Such exoneration is to be carried out by a competent body of monks at the request of the aggrieved monk. This shows that unless a *bhikkhu* is guilty of an offence he should not be falsely implicated. In civil law (Law of delict) there is provision for malicious prosecution.

The aggrieved party (the plaintiff in the case) can institute an action claiming damages against the defendant. The plaintiff should establish, that there was a prosecution against him, that it was instituted maliciously by the defendant, that there was want of reasonable cause and the prosecution terminated in favour of the plaintiff. Prosecution here means the institution of a criminal case against the plaintiff (E.B. Wickramanayake - *The Law of Delict In Ceylon*, p. 93). Law does not encourage that persons should be maliciously prosecuted, because law recognizes the principle that action lies against those who committed offences recognized by law and not against the innocent. Similarly *Sativinaya* stated above protects the guiltless monks against false accusations made by malicious minded monks. This is a glaring example of justice being meted out to the innocent monks in the Monastic Order.

The *Amūlhavinaya*, the third *Adhikaraṇasamatha* seeks exemption for offences committed by a monk in a state of unsound mind. A monk who is guilty of committing an offence when he was of unsound mind, should, after regaining his good state of mind confess to the *Saṅgha* the circumstances under which the offence was committed. Once he establishes that the offence was committed while he was insane, then he is exonerated from the commission of the offence. However those who pretend to be of unsound mind and claiming falsely a lapse of memory, are not absolved from liability. This provision is similar to section 76 of the Penal Code and this Code embraces most of the offences under criminal Law. This section states that nothing is an offence which is done by a person, who at the time of doing it, by reason of unsoundness of mind, is incapable of knowing the nature of the act, or that he is doing what is either wrong or contrary to law.

Trial by Jury which is part of the Criminal Justice System was introduced to the Legal System of Sri Lanka by the Royal Charter of 1810. Section 10 of the Royal Charter declares: "Whereas it is deemed expedient and beneficial that Trial by Jury in criminal cases should be introduced in the British settlements on the Island of Ceylon subject to the modifications as the state of settlements may require......" Sir Alexander Johnstone who came to Ceylon as Chief Justice in the year 1811 lost no time in implementing the directions in the said Charter, and upto date Trial by Jury System in criminal cases prevails. Criminal cases in the nature of murder, attempted murder, and rape are tried before a jury. The unanimous decision or the majority decision of the jury is acceptable.

The *Yebhuyyasikā* *Adhikaraṇasamatha* in the *Vinaya* is very much similar to the jury system prevalent in the Criminal Justice System. When it is not possible to settle a monastic dispute within the particular monastery itself the matter is referred to another monastery having a greater number of monks to settle the dispute. When the dispute could not be settled even by the latter monastery, then it has to be referred to the whole *Saṅgha* for settlement by the decision of the majority. It is said that when the decision is taken the righteous monks should be in the majority. (*Vinaya* II - p. 92 hight). For the purpose of knowing the decision a voting is recommended. Three forms of voting are recommended. They are secret ballot (*gūlhaka*), whispering in the ear (*sakaṅṅajappaka*) and open ballot (*vivaṭaka*). If the righteous monks are in the major-

ity even by a single vote, then the voting becomes valid. In case a majority decision is not reached then a fresh vote is allowed to be taken up to a third time with the hope of securing a majority. But if no majority is secured as desired even at the third voting the assembly should then adjourn with the idea of meeting again the next day. This would give time and opportunity to the righteous monks to consider their decision and to arrive at a majority decision on the next day.

Describing the *Tassapāpiyyasikā Adhikaraṇasamatha* it is said: "It is not only an act of condemnation carried out on a monk for corrupt and shameless actions, but also carried out on one who deliberately lies and attempts to evade a charge laid upon him. It lays down no specific punishment but it was perhaps used more effectively as a general stigmatisation where by a vociferous offender was prevented from evading persecution with a garrulous defence. The stigmatisation would forthwith arrest such indiscipline." (Jotiya Dhirasekera, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, p 123).

Even under the Criminal Law, an accused against whom a case is instituted in courts having criminal jurisdiction is not allowed to evade prosecution. If he does not appear on summons or having appeared and thereafter fails to appear before court, then the law empowers court to issue a warrant against him in order to arrest him, so that the case could proceed to trial in his presence. He is not given the opportunity to avoid prosecution, but ample opportunity is afforded to defend himself.

The *Tiṇavatthāraka Adhikaraṇasamatha* aims at settling disputes that arise among the *Saṅgha* and adjudication over breaches of discipline in such a way that the concord of the monks may not be impaired. Parties to the dispute should meet before the full assembly of the *Saṅgha* and the duspute is settled with the consent of all parties. Even the offences committed in the nature of minor offences are settled and the principle underlying this form of settlement is to maintain cordial relationship and the good will of the contending parties.

The Code of Criminal Procedure Act No. 15 of 1979 makes provision under section 266 for compounding or settlement of some of the offences under the Penal Code. For example causing hurt, grievous hurt on provocaton, assault or use of criminal force could be settled with the consent of both the affected party and the Magistrate. Invariably the settlement is suggested by the accused and the consent of the victim or the complainant as well as the consent of the Magistrate should be obtained. This form of settlement reduces the ill-feelings between the two parties and helps to revive the lost cordiality. Thus it is transparent that the disciplinary rules of *Vinaya* have much in common with the provisions of law, although the *Vinaya* rules were promulgated 2500 years ago.

Referring to the five *Kammas* or acts of punishent, namely *Tajjaniya, Nissaya, Pabbājanīya, Paṭisaranīya* and *Ukkhepanīya*, that is, Act of Censure, Act of Subordination, Act of Banishment, Act of Reconciliation and Act of Suspension respectively, it is stated: "A close scrutiny of the details of these *kammas* show that they give to these Acts the widest scope and unrestricted authority for prosecution and punishment in the interests of the religion and the monastic organization. Development of character and cultivation of the religious life, fitting into the harmonious life of the community, maintaining proper relations with the laymen, all these come within the jurisdiction of these *kammas*. They also watch over the loyalty to the religion and the Order to which the members belong. *Paṭisaranīya Kamma* makes special provision to safeguard the interests of the laymen in the hands of the monks. The monks are forbidden to do anything which damages the interests of the laymen" (Jotiya Dhirasekera, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline* p 120).

The aforesaid statement highlights that these punishments are imposed on the offenders not only for the purpose of reforming them, but in the larger interests of the monastic organization. They also serve to foster and maintain healthy relations between the laity and the clergy. The interests of the whole Order and the lay society have not been ignored but the acts of punishment are directed towards safeguarding the interests of both these institutions, the former consisting of monks and the latter of laymen and laywomen.

One of the major purposes of law is to regulate the conduct of men and women in the society, in the sense, that they should lead their lives in such a manner that they do not violate the rights of others which are guaranteed by law. Violation of human rights recognized by law, whether personal or proprietary rights, may lead to a breach of the peace which greatly hampers the harmony and stability in the society. Thus laws with various sanctions or punishments and with law enforcement agencies contribute much to protect the

rights conferred on the people, thereby paving the way for maintaining peace and harmony in society without which all other developments such as, economic, social, cultural etc. cannot expect to flourish.

Rules of *Vinaya*, the mode of prosecution and imposition of penalties or punishments on the offenders of the monastic community are all directed for the betterment and guidance of the members of the Buddhist Order of monks whose final aim should be the realization of *nibbana* one day. Unless discipline is strictly observed, no substantial progress could be made by the monks in their endeavour to enhance their quality of life in the present, which becomes a stepping-stone to achieve the desired final goal in the near future. A close similarity exists between the law and the rules of *Vinaya* when they are viewed from the aspect of administration of the affairs of the Buddhist Order and the society at large. Both systems regulate, control, and restrict the conduct of the members of the monastic Order and the society for the weal and welfare of the members themselves and the others, who have a right to live and pursue their legitimate tasks without being interfered unjustly.

For the adjudication of offences under the criminal law, and for civil wrongs under the civil law, courts and tribunals are essential. In Sri Lanka such courts of First-Instance are set up under the Provisions of the Judicature Act. The courts of First Instance are the High Courts, the District Courts, Family Courts (now amalgamated to District Courts), Magistrate's Courts and the Primary Courts. District Courts have exclusive civil jurisdiction, and the Primary Courts have both the civil and criminal jurisdiction. The Magistrates' Courts and the Provincial High Courts have the jurisdiction to hear criminal cases. Further High Courts are also empowered to hear appeals from the Primary Courts and the Magistrates' Courts. The Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court are established to hear appeals from the courts of First Instance. Each country has its own system of courts.

In so far as the Buddhist Order is concerned, there are three ways of adjudication of offences. They are:

(1) *Saṅgha Vinicchaya*
(2) *Gaṇa Vinicchaya*
(3) *Pudgala Vinicchaya*

The adjudication that is done by four monks or more than four monks or the *Saṅgha* as a whole is known as *Saṅgha Vinicchaya*.

The adjudication done by two monks, or three monks or as a collective body of monks is called the *Gaṇa Vinicchaya*.

The adjudication by a single monk is *Pudgala Vinicchaya*. This is similar to a court presided by a single judge like the Magistrate's Court or the District Court.

The *Gaṇa Vinicchaya* is similar to the Court of Appeal where two judges sit to hear appeals and at times three judges sit when a case is referred to a fuller bench. Thus it is crystal clear that the Buddha had established a very reasonable system of adjudication which even today is not obsolete.

A person could be made criminally liable for the commission of a crime under criminal law if it is established (a) that a certain event or a state of affairs which is forbidden by criminal law has been caused by his conduct and (b) that this conduct was accompanied by a prescribed state of mind. The event or state of affairs is called the *actus reus* and the state of mind is known as *mens rea*. Both these elements must be proved beyond reasonalbe doubt by the prosecution. *Mens rea* is to be found in the mind of the accused at the time of committing the criminal act. Referring to the element of *actus reus* it is said: "That the *actus reus* inclndes all the elements in the definition of the crime except those which relate to the accused's state of mind and is not merely an "act" in the ordinary sense of the term. The act must be willed by the accused." (Smith and Hogan, - *Criminal Law*, pp 28, 31).

The two basic elements, the 'willed act', and 'the intention' of committing the particular criminal act at the time it is committed, are recognized under the criminal law to make an accused guilty of a criminal offence. Are these two elements present in the *Vinaya* rules? If one examines the four major rules of *Vinaya*, namely *Pārājikā*, it appears that both *actus reus* and *mens rea* are included in them. In other words these two ingredients are clearly seen in all the important rules including the *Pārājikā* rules. For example the third *Pārājikā* rule states: "Whatever monk should intentionally deprive a human being of life, or furnish any weapon which enables a person to take it and to deprive him of his life with it, he is one who is defeated, and he is not in communion." (*Vinaya*, II, p. 85)

In the said rule the mental state (*mens rea*) or the intention to deprive the life of a human being is present. When a monk intentionally deprives the life of a human being, or kills a person the act becomes a willed act. Thus the element, of *actus reus* is present in this rule. Under this rule if a monk having the intention to deprive the life of a human being provides a weapon to enable that person to take it and deprive him of his life, even then the monk is regarded as one who is defeated or one who has committed the thrid *Pārājika* offence.Here too both the willed act i.e. the act of providing the weapon and the intention to kill are present. It is pointed out in the *Vinaya* that there is no offence if it was unintentional (*anāpatti asañcicca-Vinaya,* III p 78). What is known in the criminal law as the"*murderous intention*" is well embodied in the aforesaid rule of *Parajika* with regard to the killing of a human being.

Not only a complete legal system with its ramifications such as legislature, judiciary and executive are abundantly available in the *Vinaya* exclusively applicable to the *Saṅgha*, but the institution of *Saṅgha* could be described as one which is highly democratic. It is said:

"Although the *Saṅgha* has been designated'a system of government formed by the Bhikkhus, for the Bhikkhus, and therefore a democracy,' it will be more correct to say that it was a democratic institution set up by the Buddha for the good of its members as well as of mankind so that it may continue to function on a democratic basis after his death. The Buddha says the *Dhamma* or the Buddhist theory of knowledge, reality and ethics as well as the *Vinaya* or the Constitution and Code of law were to function in the role of the Teacher after his death. When a question is raised as to how in the absence of refuge, there could be unity in the Buddhist Community since the Buddha had not appointed a head and a successor to function in his place after his death, a disciple replies that they are not without a refuge for the *Dhamma* was their refuge." (K.N. Jayatilleke, - *The Principles of International Law in Buddhist Doctrine* - p.81)

Thus it is crystal clear that the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* for the monks, and the *Dhamma* for the humankind alone could stand as the guide, the benefactor and the protector of all of them though the One who expounded the *Dhamma* and promulgated the *Vinaya* had passed away. It was the wish and the advice of the Buddha for his disciples (monks) to adhere to the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* and for the laity to observe the *Dhamma* for their own benefit and in the interest of the entire human society.

So far what has been discussed chiefly is *Vinaya* which comprises of rules of discipline to regulate the lives of monks and the affairs of the monastic Order. We have discussed the similarities of *Vinaya* rules with some of the cardinal principles and concepts of law. The *Dhamma* made known to the world by the Buddha has contributed much to the progress of humankind and even in this modern age of science and technology the *pañcasila*' or the five precepts which come within the domain of *Dhamma*, if truly and properly observed by the laity, the global society would be more civilized and a better place where peace and harmony may reign.

Commenting on the *pañcasila* it is said: "The concept of *pañcasila* or the Buddhist norm of reverence and regard for five societal considerations which are indisputably binding on mankind for their successful growth and for the smooth continuance of the human community, is presented to us in the earliest of the Buddhist teachings as contained in Pali literature. A careful study of these references clearly indicates that *pañcasila* occupies a position which could be declared as being 'universally acclaimable'. By using the phrase universally acclaimable, we wish to convey the idea that faithful adherence by everyone, everywhere, east or west, north or south, to these virtues which are upheld by the concept of *pañcasila* contributes, without exception, to the wholesome growth and development of mankind physically, morally and spiritually" (Bhikkhu Dhammavihari-*A Universal Ethic of Good Living* - pp 1,2)

The aforesaid five precepts are:

1. I undertake the training precept to abstain from killing any being that breathes
2. I undertake the training precept to abstain from taking what is not given
3. I undertake the training precept to abstain from sexual misconduct
4. I undertake the training precept to abstain from speaking falsehood
5. I undertake the training precept to abstain from liquor that causes intoxication and heedlessness.

Not only from the point of view of ethics, that the five precepts play a significant role, but they also serve

as moral laws which contribute to the maintenance of peace, harmony and stability in society.

Law is considered as an order of human behaviour. An order means a system of rules. Every rule of law obligates human beings to observe a pattern of behaviour under certain circumstances. Salmond states that law consists of rules which are of broad application and non-optional character, but which are at the same time amenable to formalisation, legislation and adjudication. (Salmond, *Jurisprudence*, Twelfth Edition, p. 48). Salmond is also of the view that morality or moral laws may apply to every human act, while law, though narrower in scope, extends to a great number of such acts. (Salmond, *Jurisprudence*, Twelfth Edition, p. 47)

Although moral laws are not the outcome of legislation and they are not subject to adjudication, yet they have a wider application to most of the acts of people irrespective of race, class, creed and religion to which they belong. The moral principles underlying the *pañcasila* are capable of bringing immense benefits to the entire human society if people voluntarily adhere to them as a matter of moral duty on their part. Observance of the five precepts has a direct impact on the prevention of some grave crimes, indecent and immoral conduct, all of which would lead to raise the quality of the people in whom the destiny of the society rests.

Pañchasila provides a culture which would lead to the development and enhancement of goodness of humanity which in turn can contribute to the goodness of the global society. What laws with the elements of enforcement and sanction can do, could be achieved if the five precepts are earnestly and voluntarily observed by individuals for the greater interest of themselves and others living in the society. Just as much as one becomes a law abiding citizen, it is the responsibility of each person to make *pañcasila* part and parcel of his life for individual and collective advancement and progress. It is the individual, and nobody else, who could either make his life a success or a failure.

The *Dhammapada* states an absolute truth. *Attāhi attano natho ko hi nātho paro siya*. One is one's own Saviour. Who else or where else there be another?

International law has been defined by Lord Russell as the aggregate of the rules to which nations have agreed to conform in their conduct towards one another. Lord Chief Justice Coleridge referred to International law as "the law of nations". That is the collection of usages which civilized states have agreed to observe in their dealings with each other. International law is divided into two kinds, which may be distinguished as the common law of nations and the particular law of nations. The common law is that which prevails universally, or at least generally, among all civilized states, being based on their unanimous or general agreement, express or implied. The particular law is that which is in force solely between two or more states by virtue of an agreement made between them alone, and derogating from the common law. International law exists only between those states which have expressly or impliedly agreed to observe it. Those states (which now include all civilized communities, and some which are yet only imperfectly civilized) are said to constitute the family or society of nations, just as such national society is governed by its own civil law. (Salmond, -*Jurisprudence* -pp 42, 43].

International law has its origins in the Europe of the 16th and 17th centuries. It was the law created to govern the diplomatic, commercial, military and other relations of the society of states who shared a common Christian religious backgournd and which constituted Europe at the time. The international law of co-existence recognized the formal sovereignty and equality of all States and only imposed on them obligations of a negative character which were essentially obligations of abstentions. (Rohana Perera, A.-*International Law Changing Horizons* -pp 9,10)

In the 19th century there were further developments in the international community and non-Christian States like Turkey, and non-European States such as China and Japan became members of this common community who willingly undertook to observe the international law. Gradually this international community of States began to expand and with the dawn of the 20th century the newly independent states of Asia and Africa became partners of this community. This century saw the emergence of the League of Nations and its successor the United Nations. The League of Nations which was open to any State marked the beginning of a new phase in which international law applied to all States whatever their location or character is. With the emergence of the United Nations the international law began to expand rapidly and new principles began to appear which were instrumental to transform the law into international law of co-operation among all the members, making them "Global Commons".

Among the principles of international law, four major principles are conspicuously seen They are:

(a) Independence of States in the international sphere, and their voluntary subjection to the law.
(b) The agreements solemnly undertaken should be fulfilled.
(c) The existence of a relation between Sovereign Independent States, with the addition of a few other groups, e.g. the League of Nations as long as it existed, and now the United Nations Organisation.
(d) The acceptance by the member States of a common outlook upon the main problems of international intercourse (Keeton-*The Elementary Principles of Jurisprudence* - pp. 247, 248)

Thus it manifests that international law is not confined to a particular State, but it applies to all sovereign independent States united together, voluntarily bound to observe the common law for their own interests without compulsion. International law which is universally applicable has its aims to promote the welfare of the family of the Commons, governed by such law, and not to interfere with the internal affairs of the member States, unless there is serious interferencce by one State with another, Even when there is such interference endeavour is made to settle the conflict or dispute through persuation and negotiation with the aid of the United Nations. Thus co-operation and mutual understanding of each other's view point, and a common outlook of the major problems of the members who have volunteered to accept the international law as their common law are, the other aims of this universal law. In short it could be said that the policy of the international law is, "live and let live" which if strictly followed by all countries of the world, then most of the problems we are confronted with today do not exist.

From the Buddhist point of view is there any relation between Buddhism and international Law? The concept of a World Statesman or the Universal monarch" (*Cakkavatti*) is found in the Buddhist texts explaining his role as one who extends his authority over the entire world without the rod or the sword, and dispensation of justice through the victory of righteousness or *Dhamma*.

It is said: "The idea is that the World-Statesman sets up a State on the basis of *Dhamma*, which in the context means a political philosophy and a constitution founded on the principles of righteousness. And just as much as the Buddha sets up an international *Saṅgha*, based on *Dhamma*, its religious philosophy and the *Vinaya*, the constitution and code of laws, the World Statesman sets up an iternational order, in which all States have a common political philosophy and constitution " K.N. Jayatilleke- *The Principles of International Law in Buddhist Doctrine*, p. 539.

How is he going to set up such an international order? He first sets up a model state in his own country. When this is done, the idea proves to be infective and his prestige spreads in the four quarters of the world, a fact which is symbolically expressed by the movement of the "Wheel", the symbol of his political *Dhamma* and sovereignty, in all four quarters of the world. What is meant is that Nations establish similar States with similar political philosophies and constitutions and acknowledge his leadership. This is the essence of the concept as it appears in the Buddhist texts of both schools of thought. Such a ruler, it is said honours, reveres, faithfully abides by and is led by the righteous political philosophy embodying the ethical principles of the Ten Virtues (*dasakusala-kammapatha*) and based on the need of the State to work for the good of the people with selflessness, love and understanding, imparting impartial justice and promoting both material and spiritual welfare on the principle of equality of man.

The duties and functions of such a State established by the world-ruler are: First, the necessity to provide "righteous care", ward and protection to all citizens, including the people of all professional classes, religious teachers and the army. This care and protection are to be extended to "birds and beasts" as well. Here 'care' (*rakkha*) is explained as treating all subjects with forgiveness, tolerance, friendliness, and kindness on the principle that the State which cares for its subjects would safeguard its own interests; 'ward' (*āvaraṇa*) is defined as the insurance of property such as housing, clothing etc, and 'protection' (*gutti*) as protection against loss and other calamities (*upaddava*). It comes to mean not only the safeguarding of persons, property and human rights but the institutuon of welfare services such as care of the aged, the sick etc. The freedom to propagate the faith should not be limited to Buddhist monks, but is extended to all recluses and brahamins.

Secondly, the State has to ensure that there is no crime: "Let not a person in the State act unrighteously."

This according to Buddhist conceptions has to be done both by removing the social causes of crime, mainly inequalities of wealth and unemployment as well as the psychological, by training in values which has to be both theoretical and practical.

Thirdly, the State has to ensure that there is no unemployment or lack of wealth amongst any of its citizens. The State should provide means for the acquisition of wealth by those devoid of wealth, so that there is an abundance of goods in the country and the people can enjoy as much goods as they like.

Fourthly, all State policies must be based on righteous principles and therefore it behoves the State to act in consultation with enlightened religious teachers and philosophers in determining policy (K.N. Jayatilleke - *The Principles of International Law in Buddhist Doctrine*, p.p 540, 541).

What has been stated above when translated into modern terms, would mean that the State must be an enlightened democratic Welfare State guaranteeing freedom and economic security and promoting righteousness. Since the State has to perform these functions and duties, it follows that the philosophy and constitution, the *Dharma-Vinaya* of the State must embody these rights. History reveals of a king who adopted the righteous rule based on the principles of a World-Ruler and he was Dharmasoka (Asoka) of India. He was so inspired by the Buddhist ideals of social equality and mercy that he stated in one of his edicts that "***it is most desirable that there should be absolute equality for all in all legal proceedings and in the punishment awarded and I have ordered from now the respite of three days to those on whom punishments has already been passed'*** Wells H.G. - *A short History of the World*, p. 95). It could be said that Asoka almost symbolized the world -ruler stated in Buddhist texts.

While the World-Ruler is viewed as the ideal ruler, the Buddhist texts use two adjectives among others to describe him as an upholder of righteousness; *dhammiko* and *dhammaraja (S.I.86,II.16)*. When the question is asked, "who then is the king of the World-Ruler" (*Kopana.....raññо cakkavattissa raja?*) the reply given is that "it is the *Dhamma* (righteousness)". Thus it is absolutely evident that *Dhamma* or righteousness is the prime factor that has come to stay in the concept of the World-Ruler. It is in the *Dhamma* that all virtues lie. *Dhamma* is capable of imparting justice to all. *Dhamma* seeks no barriers of class, creed, caste, sex and other man-made limitations, ethnic, religious, and national differences. It is righteousness that could be applicable undisputably in all countries. It is, for the upliftment of both, material and spititual aspects of makind. Its political philosophy is directed towards creating a global society where oppression, discrimination, violence and violation of human rights do not reign. Dispensation of law with the benevolent idea of imparting justice to all is not arbitrarily forced on people, but enforced strictly according to the principles of natural justice.

Thus, righteousness with its manifold qualities of benevolence that can shower upon the entire humankind has been deeply rooted in the Buddhist concept of the world-ruler. Such a ruler who considers the *Dhamma* as his king never deviates from the course of *Dhamma*. All his actions are in accordance with the philosophy of the *Dhamma*. Laws promulgated have the characteristic of righteousness and they are not meant for one particular country, but for all countries for the weal and welfare of all the people living in every country. This is the form of international law envisaged in Buddhism.

In the context of modern international law, could the Buddhist internatonal law be a guiding factor? In other words whether the *Dhamma* or righteousness which the World-Ruler makes use of as his base for all his actions, including the dispensation of law throughout the world could be utilized for further enhancement of international law which has gained much recognition in this century? In order to broad-base the principles of international law, *Dhamma* which stands for fair-play, justice, right understanding, right thought, right action, right speech, tolerence, loving kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy, equanimity, recognition of all human rights, and duties, non-violence, humane statecraft and numerous other lofty principles could be adopted. People wherever they live are yearning for a better world order where their legitimate aspirations are reasonably fulfilled. Among other principles of international law, friendly relations and co-operation among States stand prominent. These two lofty principles lead to non-use of force and non-intervention in so far as the affairs of another State is concerned. However, we have seen instances where such force and interference used inspite of the fact that international treaties, charters, agreements, conventions and international law do not permit such unreasonable and highhanded actions. What happens is, the rule of

force and not the rule of law reigns. Under such circumstances legitimate aspirations of peace-loving people are undermined, judgements of value are not forthcoming and masses become thoroughly dissatisfied with the law and the global order.

What then is the solution? *Dhamma* or righteousness of the conceptual world-ruler shown in Buddhism could provide a reasonable solution for maintaining a world order conducive for the well-being of the global subjects. Right understanding, Right thought and Right Action, the three cardinal principles of *Dhamma* have the potentiality to transform the entire human society where peace, contentment, prosperity, co-existence and well-being of the people dominate and the Wheel of *Dhamma* rotates without any form of distincion. It is interesting to note that the Buddhist philosophy of governing the affairs of people is based on the principle that "the wheel of power turns in dependence on the wheel of righteousness (*balacakraṃhi niśrāya dhammacakraṃ pravartate*).

C. Ananda Grero

LAZINESS or indolence (*kusīta: kosajja*) is the aversion to work and hence the tendency to spend one's time without engaging in any work by way of sluggishness (*pamāda*). The general concept of laziness as explained in Buddhism is that it is the mental condition wherein the mind becomes indolent as a result of its being pre-occupied with thoughts of sensuality, of malignity and of cruelty (*kāma-vitakka, vyapāda-vitakka vihiṃsa-vitakka, DhpA.* III, 409-10; see also *Dhp. vs.* 112, 230 and *DhpA.* II, 260). In such a condition the individual does not become active when the occasion demands it and remaining depressed with those evil thoughts he never experiences the path of wisdom (*paññāya maggaṃ alaso na vindati: Dhp. v* 280). Laziness is a stain on one's personal appearance (*malaṃ vaṇṇassa kosajjaṃ: ibid.* 241).

When these evil thoughts enter the mind of the individual and if he gives into them without giving them up he is classified as a typically lazy person incapable of making any effort towards self realisation. Such a person's mind is full of sloth and drowsiness (*thīnamiddhabahula; It.* p. 27) and hence unlively. It is the unwillingness of such an individual to exert himself for the overcoming of the various evil tendencies of the human mind and hence remaining smug and complacent that is called laziness (see *Vibh.* pp. 369-70 and 371-72). On the other hand if he can give up atapi ottappi such evil thoughts without succumbing to them he is the characteristically energetic man (*ātāpi ottappī sataṃ samitam āraddhaviriyo pahitatto*). Engrossed in evil thoughts the lazy man spends his time unhappily and loses the all-important purpose of his life, the attainment of release, the fulfilment of the highest good (*sadattha S.* II, 29) here and now (*diṭṭheva dhamme*). The energetic man (*āraddhaviriya*) progressively marches towards the goal. The teaching of the Buddha being only for the wise and the energetic, it appeals to such men only who alone can realize the highest ideal taught there. (*imasmiṃ hi sāsane nibbiriyassa kusītapuggalassa aggaphalaṃ arahattaṃ nāma na hi: araddhaviriyā ca imaṃ dhammaṃ ārādhenti, J.* IV, 131). The path of freedom as taught in Buddhism cannot be followed by the indolent (*Vism.* IV, section 55). It is only the energetic who achieve futherance (*vuddhi*), growth (*virūḷha*) and full development (*vepulla*) in the Buddha's teaching (*A.*V, 153; III, 8). Lazy people naturally seek the company of the lazy for it is people of similar nature (*dhātu*) that flock together (*S.* II, 159).

As moral evil that leads man to his downfall, laziness is frequently combined with several other evil states of mind, lack of faith (*asaddhā*), lack of moral shame (*ahirika*), lack of moral fear (*anottappa*), little learning (*appassuta*), folly (*duppañña*) are the factors usually combined with laziness (*D. III*, 252; *A.* II, 227, 230; III, 7,8, 127, 183, 433; *S.* IV, 242 etc.).

A typical example of how the lazy man's mind works is given at *D.* III, 255, *A.* IV, 332 and *Vibh.* 385, where eight occasions of indolence are instanced (*aṭṭha-kusīta-vatthu*). 1. A person who has to do some work thinks that he would get tired if he does it and therefore he lies down lazily without putting forth effort to attend to his duties. 2. After doing some work he thinks that as he is tired after work he should lie down and does so. 3. When he has to go on a journey he similarly anticipates tiredness and lies down. 4. Having gone on a journey also he lies down because he is tired. 5. He goes out to obtain his food and when he receives only a little he feels lazy to move further. 6. On the other hand when he obtains enough good food also, he feels lazy after a heavy stomach and lies down as if he has nothing else to do. 7. He feels lazy and lies down even when he has only a very slight ailment. 8. After recovering from such an illness also he thinks that his body is weak and lies down indolently. The *Varaṇa Jātaka* (No. 71) also illustrates the evils of laziness.

The lazy man is always lazy. He feels lazy not only before doing some work but even after. He would not do anything without force or compulsion. He cannot summon courage to continue any useful work. Value of energetic work is always emphasised in Buddhism. Even the last words of the Buddha were his exhortation to strive on with diligence (*appamādena sampādetha*). Right kind of effort (*sammā-vāyāma*) is an important aspect of the Noble Eight-fold Path. It is a path of right activity that is taught in Buddhism, the purpose of which is "the attainment of the unattained, understanding of that which is not understood and the realisation of the unrealised (*appattassa pattiyā, anadhigatassa adhigamaya asacchikatassa sacchikiryāya: D.* III 255). The Buddhist way of life is one of constant energy and activity (*akusītavutti: Sn.* 68). Whereas right effort leads to the all-important goal of putting an end to the fresh arising of evil states and for the arising of un-arisen good states, laziness not only leads to the arising of un-arisen evil states but also to the deterioration of the good states already arisen. Hence the lazy and indolent man (*kusītaṃ hīnavīriyaṃ*) falls a victim to the Evil One (*Māra*) like a weak-rooted tree gets uprooted by a strong wind (*vāto rukkhaṃ'va dubbalaṃ Dhp. v.*8), where as the self-confident and energetic man (*saddhaṃ āraddha-viriyaṃ*) remains unmoved like a solid rock remains so amidst a storm (*vāto selaṃ va pabbataṃ ibid. v.* 8).

This Buddhist way of energetic living does not overlook the important fact that putting forth too much of effort is also dangerous. It is as dangerous as not putting forth the required degree of effort. Both extremes are equally bad whereas too much effort (*accāraddhaviriya*) leads to agitation and excitement (*uddhacca*) resulting from overwork and thence to various other psychological and physiological complications such as nervous breakdowns, too slowness in effort (*atilīnaviriya*) leads to indolence (*kosajja*), the state of log-like lethargy. Therefore one should steer clear of these two extremes and master the method of putting forth the requiste amount of energy (*viriya-samata*). This is compared to the strings of a lute which produce the correct sound only when they are evenly tightened (*same guṇe patiṭṭhita: A.* III, 375). Similarly unless concentration (*samādhi*) is coupled with energy (*viriya*) one would feel lazy. Absorption comes when both are evenly balanced (*ubhayasamatāya appanā hoti: Vism.* IV, para 47).

The path of activity as taught in Buddhism should be maintained until the attainment of the goal. One should be careful not to feel complacent when partial revelations in the Path are seen. The journey is to be zealously continued to the end, as shown in the *Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*Sutta* No. 27) by the simile of the elephant's footprint. The elephant-tracker does not come to the conclusion that the foot-prints he sees are those of the king-elephant until he sees the elephant with his own eyes. However strong may be the circumstantial evidence the final conclusion is made only after seeing it with one's own eyes. Similarly the Buddhist ideal is realised only when one finally knows and experiences that one has done what has to be done. (*katakicca, katakaraṇīya*). It is not the lazy man who can achieve this.

The *Appamāda-vagga* of the *Dhammapada* (*vv.* 21-32) emphasises the value of vigilance (*appamāda*) as opposed to laziness (*pamāda*).

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

LICCHAVI - A powerful tribe of India in the itme of the Buddha. They were certainly *khattiyas*, for on that ground they claimed a share of the Buddha's relics (*D.* II. 165). Their capital was Vesāli, and they formed a part of the Vajjian confederacy, being often, referred to as the Vajjis. Their strength lay in their great unity (*DA.* II. 519). They were beautiful to look at and wore brilliantly coloured garments, riding in brightly painted carriages (*D.* II. 96; *A.* III. 239). The Buddha once compared them to the gods of the heaven Tāvatiṃsa. *D.* II. 96).

Though this would seem to indicate that they were prosperous and rich, they do not appear to have lived in luxury and idleness. They are, on the contrary, spoken of as sleeping on straw couches, being strenuous and diligent and zealous in their service. They also practised seven conditions of welfare (*aparihāni-yādhammā*), which the Buddha claimed to have taught them at the Sārandada cetiya. They are (1) They held frequent public meetings of their tribe which they all attended; (2) they met togethr to make their decisions and carried out their undertakings in concorrd; (3) they upheld tradition and honoured their pledges; (4) they respected and supported their elders; (5) no women or girls were allowed to be taken by force or abduction; (6) they maintained and paid due respect to their places of worship; (7) they supported and fully protected the holy men among them (*D.* II, 73 f.).

The young men among the Licchavīs were evidently fond of archery, for mention is made of large numbers of them roving about in the Mahāvana, with bows and arrows, the strings set, and surrounded by hounds. They were a martial people and fond of sport. On one occasion Mahanāma, a Licchavi Elder, complained to the Buddha that the Licchavi youths were quick tempered, rough and greedy and that they looted and ate the rich sweetmeats sent to the elders by the members of their tiribe, and that they slapped the women and the girls of the tribe on their backs (*A.* III, 76). Violation of chastity was considered a serious offence among the Licchavis, and the assembly would even give its consent to a husband's request that his unfaithful wife should be murdered (*Vin.* IV. 225).

Licchavīs were devout followers of the Buddha and held him in the highest esteem. Five hundred Licchavīs once gave a garment each to Piṅgiyāni, a brahmin, because he recited a verse in praise of the Buddha (*A.* III, 239). Even careless youngsters, referred to above as wandering about with hounds and bows and arrows, would lay aside their arms when they saw the Buddha seated under a tree, and would surround him with clasped hands, eager to listen to him (*A.* III, 76). There were numerous shrines in Vesāli itself, several of which are: Cāpāla, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Gotama, Sārandada and Udena. In the *Udāna Aṭṭhakathā* (*UdA. 322 f.*) Buddhaghosa says that these shrines were originally Yakkha Cetiyas, where various *yakkhas* were worshipped, but that they were later converted into monasteries for the Buddha and the disciples. Vesāli was a stronghold of the Jains, too, according to Buddhist sources themselves. When Saccaka the Nigaṇṭha, visited the Buddha at Mahāvana, he was accompanied by five hundred Licchavīs, who did not all salute the Buddha as their teacher, but showed him such respect as was due to an honoured guest. (*M.* I. 229).

The Buddha visited Vesali at least three times, and is frequently mentioned as staying in the Kūṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana. The first visit was in order to destroy the threefold pestilence of drought, sickness and non-human foes that afflicted the residents of Vesāli. Though the Licchavīs were at first inspired by the teachings of their kinsman Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta, they were compelled by circumstances, to invite the Buddha and the disciples to visit thier capital Vesāli, and this was during the fifth year after the Enlightenment of the Buddha. As recorded in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, the commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Licchavis deputised Mahāli, friend of King Bimbisāra in whose capital and with whose patronage the Buddha was spending the rainy season retreat (*vassa*). When Mahāli informed King Bimbisara the purpose of his visit to him, the king directed Mahāli to the Buddha. The Budha considered the benefits the Licchavīs would have by his visit to their capital, accepted the invitation. Along with five hundred disciples, the Buddha was conducted from Rājagaha to Vesāli with great pomp and pageantry, and was received by the Licchavis with even greater honour than King Bimbisara had shown him. The Buddha and the *bhikkhus* toured the afflicted city chanting the *Ratanasutta* and in no time there was a torrential shower of rain, the drought vanished, and the city came back to normalcy as if by miracle. Subsequently the Buddha preached the *Ratanasutta* to the people assembled in the Magnificent meeting hall of the Licchavīs called the Santhāgārasālā in the heart of Vesāli and many Licchavis were converted.

The Licchavīs were greatly admired for their system of government. It was a republic (*gaṇa, saṅgha*), all the leading members' of which were called Rājā. According to the Mahāvastu (*Mhvu.* I. 27) there were 68,000 *Rājās* in Vesāli. They held full and frequent assmeblies at which problems affecting either the whole republic or individual members were fully discussed. When the assembly drum was heard, all left other duties and assembled immediately in the Santhāgarasāla (*DA. II, 517 f.*) Sometimes, as appears from the story of the conversion of Sīha, religion was also discussed at these metings. The rules of procedure adopted evidently resembled those followed in the *upasampadā* (Higher Ordination) of a monk. (*Vin.* I. 58).

Besides the *Rājās* there were also numerous *Uparājās*, *Senāpatis* and *bhaṇḍāgārika* (*J.* III.1). There was an elaborate judicial procedure by which any person charged with an offence was handed over, in turn, to the *Vinicchaya mahāmattas* (inquirers), *Vohārikas* (experts in law), *Suttadharas* (experts in tradition), the *Aṭṭhakulakas* (probably a judicial committee), the *Senāpati*, the *Uparājā* and finally to the *Rājā* who would inflict the proper sentence according to the *paveṇipottaka* (*DA.* II. 519).

In their political relationships with their neighbours, the Licchavīs seem to have been on friendly terms with Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, and with Pasenadi, King of Kosala. They were friendly also with the Mallas though occasionally there were rivalries between the two tribes.

[illegible] the death of Bimbisāra, Ajātasatthu in his [illegible] the expansion of Magadha, resolved to de- [illegible] the Licchavīs. In order to discover what the Buddha thought of his chances of success, he sent to him his minister Vassakāra. Buddha predicted that no foe can subdue the Licchavīs so long as the Licchavīs remained united.

The Pali commentaries (*MA*. I. p 258; *KhpA*) Contain a mythical account of the origin of the Licchavis. The queen of Benares gave birth to a lump of flesh, and wishing to avoid disgrace, her ladies in waiting put it in a sealed casket and threw it into Ganges. A deity wrote the King's name on the casket, which was picked up by an ascetic, who tended the embryo until two children, a boy and a girl, emerged from it. The ascetic fed them with milk. Whatever entered the stomachs of the children could be seen as though the stomach were transparent, so that they appeared skinless (*nicchavi*); some said the skin was thin (*linachavi*) that the stomach and whatever entered it appeared skinless (*nicchavi*); some said the skin was thin (*līnachavi*) that the stomach and whatever entered it appeared as though sewn together. From this the children came to be called Licchavi, and as they grew up were brought up by the villagers living near the hermitage. The other children disliked them, saying they were to be avoided (*vajjitabba*) because of their quarrelsome disposition. When they were sixteen years old the villagers obtained land for them from the king, founded a town, and married them together. Their country came to be called Vajji. They had sixteen pairs of twins, and their city had to be greatly enlarged - hence its name *Visālā* or *Vesāla* (s.v. *DPPN*).

LIVELIHOOD. See AJIVA

LOBHA or greed is one of the three roots of evil (*akusala-mula* or *hetu*) as taught in Buddhism, the other two members of the trio being hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). It is their presence or absence that determines the resultant moral (*kammic*) quality of an action. When present the action is unwholesome (*akusala*) and when absent (i. e. as *alobha* etc.) it is wholesome (*kusala*). As taught in Buddhist psychological ethics as one of the fourteen unwholesome mental properties (*akusala - cetasika*) it is to be found with the eight kinds of consciousness given over to greed (*atthasu lobhagatacittesu: Abhs*. pp. 6, 7). Greed is thus a basic defilement (kilesa) of the human mind, very difficult to eliminate. As a mental state it itself is defiled while defiling the other states associated with it (*Vism*. XXII, 49). And it is a stain (*mala*) because it is tainted and stains the other states by its presence like a mixture of oil, lamp-black and mud (*ibid*. 61).

It has to be mentioned here that in addition to this combination of *lobha, dosa* and *moha* there is a more common and an earlier combination wherein *raga* (passion) takes the place of *lobha*. In philosophy and ethics this term *raga* (from *raj* to colour) with its wider connotation than *lobha*, means excitement, passion etc. or more briefly impassioned excitement. And in this sense it almost always occurs in association with *dosa* and *moha*. Thus the idea of covetousness or greed implied in *lobha* is only an aspect of *raga* which includes every kind of impassioned longing. Hence the triad of *raga, dosa, moha* is more meaningful than that of *lobha, dosa, moha*.

Lobha is very much similar to *taṇhā* (which, of course, is the most general term that designates this mental state in Buddhist psychology) and as such even hatred and delusion, the other factors of the trio, can be said to be caused by *lobha*. It is described as an internal taint (*antaramala*) that defiles the mind as a cloud covers the sun; or as an enemy (*amitta*) of the mind as smoke is to the sun; or as an adversary (*sapatta*) of the mind as snow is to the sun; or as an tormentor (*vadhaka*) of the mind like dust is to the sun; or as an opponent (*acchattika*) of the mind like the eclipse (*rahu*) to the sun. (See. *It*. 83-4 and *Nd*. I, p. 15 and *NDA*. I, 68).

As long as a person's mind is not freed from *lobha* his mind is not cleansed and depending on the degree of this *lobha* his suffering (*dukkha*) increases. By producing other harmful states (*anatthajanana*) in the mind it prevents the mind from its further development. The greedy person fails to see what is correct and incorrect; he fails to see the truth (*luddho atthaṃ na janāti-luddho dhammaṃ passati; It*. 85). Greed makes one's mind a cavern of darkness and until and unless one ceases to be greedy in the presence of temptation the mind will not be free from that darkness. (*ibid*).

In the *Visuddhimagga* (XIV, 162) *lobha* is defined as follows: "They are greedy or it itself is greedy or it is just the mere being greedy: thus it is greed. Greed has the characteristic of grasping an object like spider-lime. Its function is sticking like meat put in a hot pan. It is manifested as not giving up, like the dye of lamp-black. Its proximate cause is seeing enjoyment in things that lead to bondage. Swelling with current of craving, it should be regarded as taking (beings) with it to states of loss, as a swift-flowing river does to the great ocean."

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. .. Aṅguttara Nikāya, I-VI, ed. R. Morris, E. Hardy, C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1885-1910.

AA. .. Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, (Manorathapūraṇī), I-V, ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp, *PTS.* 1924-56.

AAWG .. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.

AbhK. .. Abhidharmakoṣa (Nāgari characters), ed. R. Sankrityayana, Banaras, 1930.

AbhKbh .. Abhidharmakoṣabhāṣya, ed. Th. Stcherbatsky, *BB.* XX, 1930

AbhKk. .. Abhidharmakoṣakārikā, ed. L. de laVallee Poussin, Paris, 1931

AbhKvy .. Abhidharmakos´avyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-36

Abhs. .. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1884, 1-84.

Abhsy. .. Abhidharmasamuccaya, ed. P. Pradhan, *VBS.* 12, 1950.

Abhvt .. Abhidhammāvatāra, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* 1, 1915

ABIA .. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute.

ABORI .. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).

Abs Pus´ .. Abhisamayālamkāraprajñāpāramitā-upadesasāstra (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation), ed. Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller, *BB*, XXIII, 1929

Abs Puy .. Abhisamayālamkārālokaprajñāpāramitāvyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-35

Ads´P .. Adhyardhas´atikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. H, Leumann, Strassburg, 1912.

Akanuma 1. .. Akanuma, C,: Indo-Bukkyō, Koyūm-eishi-Jiten (Dictionary of Buddhist Indian Proper Names), Nagoya, 1931

Akanuma2 .. Akanuma, C.: Kam-pa Shibu Agon Goshō roku (The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas), Nagoya, 1929.

AKM. .. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes heraus g. von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

AM. .. Asia Minor

AMG. .. Annales du Musee Guimet

Anagv. .. Anāgatavamsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1886, 33 ff.

Anesaki. .. Anesaki, M.: The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese, 1908

AO. .. Archiv Orientalni: Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute.

Ap. .. Apadāna, I-II, ed. M. E. Lilley *PTS*, 1925-27.

ApA. .. Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā (Visudddhajanavilāsini), ed, C.E. Godakumbura, *PTS.* 1954.

ArtA .. Artibus Asiae (Ascona, Switzerland).

Arvs´ .. Arthavinis´caya, ed. A. Ferrari, Rome, 1944.

AS. .. Aluvihāra Series (Colombo).

ASCAR. .. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report.

ASCI .. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Inscriptions.

ASCMem .. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Memoir

ASIAR. .. Archaeological Survey of India, Anual Report

ASIMem. .. Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir

AsP. .. Aṣṭasāhas´rikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. R, mitra, Calcutta, 1888.

ASWI. .. Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India

Āṭā. .. Āṭānāṭiyasūtra, ed. H, Hoffmann (Bruchstucke des Āṭānāṭiyasūtra), KITurf, V, 1939

Avk. .. Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das, *BI*, 1888-96

Avs´ .. Avadānas´ataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST*, 19, 1958.

BASR .. Bulletin de l' Academie des Sciences Russie

BB. .. Bibliotheca Buddhica (Leningrad)

Bbh .. Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930-36

Bc. .. Bodhicaryāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, Calcutta, 1901-14

Bcp. .. Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, 1902

BD. .. Buddhist Dictionary, by Nyānatiloka (revised edition), Colombo, 1956

Beal .. Beal, S.: The Buddhist Tripiṭaka, 1876

BEFEO. .. Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient (Hanoi)

Bendall .. Bendall, C.: Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge 1883

Bhkav. .. Bhadrakalpāvadāna, ed. S. Oldenbourg, 1884

BHS. .. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary, F. Edgerton, Yale, 1953

Bksk. .. Bhavasamkrāntisūtra (and commentary, reconstructed in Sanskrit from Tibetan translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938.

BI. .. Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)

BibIB .. Bibliographie Bouddhique (Paris)

BLIMEO. .. Bulletino dell' Instituto Indiano peril, Medio ed Estremo Orients (Rome)

BM. .. Buddhadatta's Manuals, I-II, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1915, 1927

BMFJ. : Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise (Tokyo)

BnīPrāt. : Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa), *KITurf.* III, 1926

BOH. : Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapest)

BPrāt. : Bodhisattvaprātimokṣasūtra, ed. N. Dutt, *IHQ*, 7, 1931, 259 ff.

BS. : Buddhistic Studies, ed, B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1931

BSOAS. : Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

BSS. : Bombay Sanskrit Series

BST. : Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga)

Buc, : Buddhacarita, ed. E. H. Johnston, Calcutta, 1935

Bup. .. Buddhaghosuppatti (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London, 1892

Buv. .. Buddhavaṃsa, ed. R. Morris, *PTS.* 1882

BuvA. .. Buddhavamsa *Aṭṭhakathā* (Madhuratthavilāsini) ed. I.B. Horner, *PTS.* 1946

Cabaton .. Cabaton, A.: Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Pāli, Paris, 1907

Catus'. .. Catuḥs'ataka (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts reconstructed), ed. V. Bhattacha- ryya, Calcutta, 1931

CHJ. .. The Ceylon Historical Journal

CII. .. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

CJHSS. .. The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies

CJSc. .. Ceylon Journal of Science - Section G

Ckv. .. Chakesadhātuvamsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1885, 5-6

Cordier .. Cordier, P.: Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain, II-III, 1909-15

Cp. .. Cariyapiṭaka, ed. B.C. Law, Lahore, 1924

CpA. .. Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī), ed. D.L. Barua, *PTS.* 1939

CPD. .. A Critical Pali Dictionary, Copenhagen

Cvisp. .. Cittavis'uddhiprakaraṇa, ed. P.B. Patel, *VBS.* 8, 1949

D. .. Dīgha Nikāya, I-III, ed. T.W. Rhys davids and J.E. Carpenter, *PTS.* 1890-1911

DA. .. Dīghanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgalavilāsini), I-III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, J.E. Carpenter, W. Stede *PTS* 1886-1932

Dāṭhv. .. Dāṭhāvaṃsa, ed. B.C. Law, *PTS.*, 1925

Dbhg. .. Das'abhūmika-sūtra (Gāthā portion) ed. J. Rahder and S. Susa, Extract from the Eastern Buddhist, Vol. V., No. 4, 1931

Dbhs. .. Dasabhūmika-sūtra, ed. J. Rahder, Louvain, 1926

DCBT. .. Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, ed, W.E. Soothill and L. Hodous, London, 1937

DeS. .. de Silva, W.A.: Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts I, *MCM.* series A. No. 4, 1938

DeZ. .. de Soysa, Louis: A Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon, Colombo, 1885

Dhk. .. Dhātukathā (with commentary), ed. E.R. Gooneratne, *PTS.* 1892

Dhmpr. .. Dharmottarapradīpa, ed. D. Malvania, Patna, 1955

Dhp. .. Dhammapada, ed, S. Sumangala *PTS.* 1914

DhpA, .. Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, I-V, ed H. Smith, H.C. Norman, L.S. Tailang, *PTS.* 1906-15

Dhpr. .. Dharmapradīpikā(va), ed. Dharmakirti Sri Dharmārāma (sixth edition), Vidyalankara Press, Ceylon, 1951

Dhs. : Dhammasaṅgaṇī, ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1885

DhsA. : Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī), ed, E. Muller, *PTS.* 1897

Dhscy. .. Dharmasamuccaya, ed. Lin Li-Kouang (first part of Sanskrit text with Tibetan

and Chinese versions), Paris, 1946

Dhsmg. .. Dharmasamgraha, ed. F. Max Muller and H. Wenzel, Oxford, 1885

Divy. .. Divyāvadāna, ed. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886

DPPN. .. Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I-II, by G.P. Malalasekera, London, 1960

Dpv. .. Dīpavaṃsa, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879.

Dpv.2, .. The Dipavaṃsa, ed, B.C. Law, *CHJ.* VIII, Nos. 1-4, Maharagama, Ceylon, 1959.

Dukap. .. Dukapaṭṭhāna, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1906.

EB. .. The Eastern Buddhist.

EI. .. Epigraphia Indica (Calcutta, Government Press).

Ency Bsm. .. Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, ed. G.P. Malalasekera, Ceylon.

ERE. .. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, I-XIII, ed. J. Hastings, Edinburg, 1908-26

EW. .. East and West (Rome).

EWA. .. Encyclopaedia of World Art, I-VIII, McGrawHill.

EZ .. Epigraphia Zeylanica (Ceylon Government Press).

Gg. .. Gaṇḍistotragāthā (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan) ed. Stael-Holstein, *BB*, XV, 1913

GM. .. Gilgit Manuscripts, I-III, ed. N. Dutt, Srinagar and Calcutta, 1939-50.

GOS. .. Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda).

Gst. .. Guhyasamājatantra, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1931.

GV. .. Gandhavaṃsa, ed. J. Minayeff *JPTS.* 1886, 54-80

Gvyu. .. Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, I-IV, ed. D.T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi (second edition), Kyoto, 1949

Hatthv. .. Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa, ed. C.E. Godakumbura, *PTS.* 1957

Hbg. .. Hobogirin, Dictionnaire Encyclopedique du Bouddhisme, ed. P. Demieville, Tokyo, 1929-37

Hetub. .. Hetubinduṭīkā (with sub-commentary), ed. S. Sanghavi and M. Jinavijayaji, *GOS.* 113, 1949.

HJAS. .. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.

HOS. .. Harvard Oriental Series.

Hvp. .. Hastavālaprakaraṇa (reconstructed in Sanskrit from Chinese and Tibetan translations) ed. F.W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1918, 267 ff.

IA .. Indian Antiquary (Bombay)

IAL. .. Indian Art and Letters (London)

IBK. .. Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū (University of Tokyo,Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies).

IC. .. Indian Culture (Calcutta).

IHQ. .. The Indian Historical Quarterly.

It. .. Itivuttaka ed. E. Windisch, *PTS.* 1889.

ItA. .. Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī,I-II, ed. M.M.Bose, *PTS*,1934-36

J. .. Jātaka (with commentary),I-VI,ed. V.Fausboll, *PTS.*1962.

JAOS. .. Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JAs. .. Journal Asiatique.

JASB. .. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBHU. .. Journal of the Benares Hindu University.

JBORS. .. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

JBRAS. .. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JBRS. .. Journal of the Burma Research Society.

JBTS. .. Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.

JCBRAS. .. Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JDLC. .. Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.

JGIS. .. Journal of the Greater India Society.

JIH. .. Journal of Indian History.

Jinac. .. Jinacarita,ed. W.H. D. Rouse, *JPTS.* 1904-5,1-165.

Jinak. .. Jinakālamāli, ed.A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.*1962.

Jināl. .. Jinālaṃkāra (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London,1894.

Jm. .. Jātakamālā, ed. H. Kern.*HOS.* 1 Boston, 1891.

JOR. .. Journal of Oriental Research.

JPTS. .. Journal of the Pali Text Society.

JRAS. .. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JSS. .. Journal of the Siam Society.

Keith. .. Keith, A. B. Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1905.

Khp. .. Khuddakapāṭha ed. H. Smith *PTS.* 1915.

KhpA. .. Khuddhakapātha Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā I), ed. H. Smith. *PTS* 1915

Khs. .. Khuddasikkhā, ed. E. Müller, *JPTS*.1883.

KhT. .. Khotanese Texts, I-II,ed.H. W. Bailey,Cambridge, 1946-54.

Kpm. .. Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, ed. H. Luders (Bruchstucke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitika),*KlTurf.* II,1926

KlTurf. .. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte (Königliche Preussische Tufan-Expeditionen)

Kp. .. Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka, ed. S. C. Das and S. C. Sastri,Calcutta,1898.

Ks'yp. .. Kās'yapaparivarta, ed. H. Staël-Holstein, 1926

Ktr. .. Karatalaratna (reconstructed in Sanskrit from rhe Chinese translation),ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938.

Kvbh. .. (Karmavibhaṅga):Mahākarmavibhaṅga(Lagrande Classification des Actes) et Karma vibhaṅgopadels'a (Discussion sur le Mahākar ma-vibhanga), ed. S. Levi, Paris,1932.

Kvit. .. Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi, ed Dorothy Maskell, *PTS*.1956

Kvu. .. Kathāvatthu, I-II, ed. A. C. Taylor, *PTS*, 1894-95

KvuA. .. Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS*. 1889.1-222

Kvyū. .. (Avalokites'varaguṇa) Kāraṇḍa-vyūha, ed. S. Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873.

Lal. .. Lalitavistara, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST*, I, 1958.

Lank. .. Lankāvatārasūtra, ed.B.Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.

Ligeti. .. Ligeti Louis:Catalogue du Kanjur Mongo, I, *BOH*.III, 1942-44.

Ls'. .. Lokes'varas'ataka, ed. Suzanne Karpeles *JAs*.1919,5.11,XIV,357-465.

M. .. Majjhima Nikāya, I-IV, ed.V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS*. 1888-1925

MA. .. Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papañcasudanī), I-V,ed. J.H.Woods, D. Kosambi, I.B.Horner *PTS*. 1922-38

MBT. .. Minor Buddhist Texts, ed. G. Tucci, *SOR*. IX Part I, 1956.

MCM. .. Memoir of the Colombo Museum.

Mdhvr. .. Mādhyamakavrtti, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin. *BB*. IV, 1902-13.

Mdhvt. .. Mādhyamakāvatāra, ed. L. dela Vallee Poussin. *BB*.IX.

Mgh. .. Meghasūtra, ed. C. Bendall, *JRAS*, 1880,288ff

Mhbv. .. Mahābodhivaṃsa,ed. S.A.Strong, *PTS*. 1891.

Mhm. .. Mahāmāyūri, ed. Oldenberg in Zapiski Vostschnago Otdelenija Imp. Rusesk. Archeol. Obschestva, XI,1899.

Mhps. .. Mahaparinirvānasūtra, ed. H. Waldschmidt, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie,Berlin, 1950-51.

Mhs. .. Mahāsamājasūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstucke Buddhistischer Sūtras, I) *KlTurf.* IV, 1932.

Mhsmg. .. Mahayānasamgraha, I-II, ed. E. Lamotte(La Somme du Grand Vihicule d' Asanga), Louvain,1938.

Mhv. .. Mahāvamsa, ed. W. Geiger (chapters i-xxxvii) *PTS*, 1908; ed. W. Geiger I-II, (chapters xxxviii-lxxii and lxxiii-ci), *PTS*.1925-27.

MhvA. .. Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā (Vaṃsatthappakāsini - Mahā-vaṃsa Aṭṭhakatha), I-II, ed. G.P. Malalasekera, *PTS*. 1935.

MhvE. .. Extended Mahāvamsa, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, *AS*. III, 1937.

Mhvu. .. Mahāvastu, I-III, ed. E. Senart,Paris, 1882-97.

Mhvyut. .. Mahāvyutpattī, ed. R. Sasaki, Kyoto, 1916.

Miln. .. Milindapañha, ed. V. Trenckner, *PTS*. 1962.

Mmk. .. (Ārya) Mañijus'rimūlakalpa, ed. T. G. Sastri, *TSS*. 1920-25.

Moc. .. Mochizuki, S.: Bukkyo-dai-jiten,1-8, Tokyo,1933-57.

Muls. .. Mūlasikkhā,ed. E. Muller, *JPTS*. 1883, 122-32.

Mvibh.. .. Madhyāntavibhāga, ed.S. Yamagucchi, Nagoya, 1934.

Mvyk. .. Maitreyavyākaraṇa, ed.S. Levi, Melanges Linossier,Paris, 1933,381-90.

Nanjio. .. Nanjio, B.: Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, Oxford, 1883.

Nd.I .. Mahāniddesa, I-II ed. L.de la Vallee Poussin and E. J. Thomas, *PTS*.1916-17.

Nd.II .. Cullaniddessa, I-III,ed .W. Stede, *PTS*. 1981.

NdA.I .. Nidddesavaṇṇanā (Saddhammapajjotikā-Mahā-niddesa Aṭṭhakatha), I-III,ed. A.P.Buddhadatta, *PTS*. 1931-41.

NdA.II .. Niddesavaṇṇanā (Saddhammapajjotikā-Culla-niddesa Aṭṭhakatha),ed. Boruggamuwe Sri Revata *SHB*. XIV, 1923.

Nett. .. Nettippakaraṇa, ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1902.

NettA. .. Nettippakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā ed. Widurupola Piyatissa, *SHB.* IX, 1921

NIA. .. New Indian Antiquary.

NR. .. Nagoya Daigaku Bungaku -bu Kenkyū Ronshū (Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University).

Nrp. .. Nāmarūpapararicccheda, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, *JPTS.* 1913-14.

Nrs. .. Nāmarūpasamāsa, ed. P. Dhammārāma, *JPTS.* 1915-16

Nyāb. .. Nyāyabindu, ed. TH Stcherbatsky (Nyāya-bindu, Nyāyabinduṭikā), I-II, *BB.* VIII, 1904:III, 1929

Nyap. .. Nyāyapraves'a (with commentary , ed. A. B. Dhruva, *GOS.* 38, 1930.

OM. .. Otani Daigaku Toshokan-zō Tibet Daizōkoyō Kanjur Kando Mokuroku, Kyoto, 1930-32

Pañc.g. .. Pañcagatidīpanī, ed. L.Feer, *JPTS.* 1884, 152-61.

PB. .. Prabuddha Bhārata.

PBO. .. Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny (The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies, Varsovie).

PED. .. Pali -English Dictionary, T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *PTS.*

Pet. .. Peṭakopadesa, ed. A. Barua, *PTS* 1949.

Phrd. .. Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra, ed. F. Max Müller, Oxford, 1884.

Pjm. .. Pajjamadhu, ed E.R. Gooneratne, *JPTS.* 1887, 1-16.

PMG. .. Publications du Musee Guimet.

PpA. .. Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), Part I, ed. Rerukāne Ariyañāna, *SHB*, XXXVII, 1936; Part II, ed. Rerukāne Canda-vimala, *SHB.* XL, 1938.

Ppiṇḍ. .. Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha, I-II, ed. G. Tucci (Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajñāpāramitā, *JRAS.* 1947.

Prāt. .. Prātimokṣasūtra, ed. L. Finot (Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādins) with a French translation of the Chinese version ed. Huber, *JAs.* XI, 2 (1913), 473ff.

Prgsg. .. Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasañcayagāthā, ed. E. Obermiller, Moscow, 1937.

Prvār. .. Pramāṇavārttikaṃ (with commentary and sub- commentary) ed. R. Sankrityayana, Allaha-bad, 1949.

Ps. .. Paṭisambhidāmagga, I-II, ed. A.C. Taylor, *PTS.* 1905 -07.

PsA. .. Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā (Saddhammap-Pakāsini), I-III, ed C.V.Joshi, *PTS.* 1933-47

PSS. .. Panjab Sanskrit Series (Lahore)

PTC. .. Pali Tipiṭakaṃ Concordance, *PTS.*

PTS. .. Pali Text Society (edition).

Pug. .. Puggalapaññatti, ed. R. Morris, *PTS.* 1883.

PugA. .. Puggalapaññatti Aṭṭhakathā, ed G. Lands-berg and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1913-14 pp. 170-254.

Pvs'P. .. Pañcaviṃs'atisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. N. Dutt, London, 1934.

Pvu .. Petavatthu, with commentary: Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpani), ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1894.

Ratgot. .. Ratnagotravibhāgamahāyānottaratantra-s'āstra, ed. E.H. Johnston Patna, 1950

Rkāv. .. Roruka Avadāna (I: Tibetischer Text und Dt. übersetzung; II: Worterbuch), ed J.Nobel 1954

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SBE. .. Sacred Books of the East.

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SII. .. South Indian Inscriptions (Madras).

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SOR. .. Serie Orientale Roma.

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ThagA. .. Theragāthā, Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha-dīpanī), I-III, ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1940-59.

Thig. .. Therigāthā, ed. R. Pischel, *PTS.* 1883.

Thig. A. .. Therigāthā Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha-dīpanī), ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1893.

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TT. .. Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition, edited by D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 1-165.

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YamA. .. Yamakappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1910-12, 51-107.

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CROSS-REFERENCES OF SPECIAL TITLES TO ABBREVIATIONS

Atthasālinī	..	Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(DhsA.)*
Madhuratthavilāsinī	..	Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(BuvA.)*
Manorathapūrani	..	Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(A A.)*
Niddesa-vaṇṇanā	..	Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(NdA. I, II)*
Papañcasūdanī	..	Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(MA)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(CpA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(ItA)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(PpA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(PvuA.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(Thag A.)*
Paramatthadīpanī	..	Therīgāthā Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(Thig A.)*
Paramatthajotikā I	..	Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(KhpA.)*
Paramatthajotikā II	..	Suttanipata Aṭṭhakatha	..	*(SnA.)*
Paramatthamañjūsā	..	Visuddhimagga Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(VismA.)*
Saddhammapajjotikā I,II	..	Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(NdA. I,II)*
Saddhammappakāsini	..	Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(PsA.)*
Samantapāsādikā	..	Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(VinA)*
Sammohavinodanī	..	Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(VbhA.)*
Sāratthappakāsinī	..	Saṃyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(SA.)*
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī	..	Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(DA)*
Visuddhajanavilāsinī	..	Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā	..	*(ApA.)*

The Tathāgata with his all-seeing insight has pointed out this and the other two roots of evil for the good of the many, for the welfare of the world. (*D.* III, 210). *Lobha* always leads men to decline (*hānabhāgiya*) whereas its opposite *alobha* leads to distinction (*visesabhāgiya; D* III, 275). It is always an obstacle and a veil that blurs man's vision from the correct doctrines (*lobho dhammānaṃ paripantho: S. I, 16*) for his mind being overcome by greed always hankers after more and more accumulations without knowing that suffering too is always following him.

Lobha may be for material things (e.g. wealth in the form of property) or immaterial things such as fame, praise, leadership, enjoyment etc. Whatever be the object the greater is man's greed and the more difficult will be his battle in life. A person who had experienced this fact once came to the Buddha and admitting that he was guided by greed wanted to know as to the way in which the voyage of life (*yātrā*) could be managed with less trouble. To This the Buddha's answer was that by cutting off desire for enjoyment and other varieties of desire grounded on *lobha* and thereby ridding oneself of craving one could continue the journey of life with ease (*S.* I, 16 = 63). The weight of life becomes unbearable when overcome by *lobha* (*Nd.* I, 16). By the removal of *lobha* the weight is removed. And insight is thereby attained (*Sn.* 706) and Mara vanquished (*S.* I, 123)

The fact that *lobha* leads to other forms of evil need not be emphasised. All the major evil actions in the world, as summarised under the ten-fold evil course, (*dasaakusala kamma*) are rooted in *lobha* and hence it is responsible for the production of the entire chain of causal action (*kamma-nidāna*) to which the samsāric individual is inevitably bound; by removing *lobha* one can escape the process (*A.* V, 261). It is the root cause of all the lawlessness among men (*J.* IV, II), for it is the greedy state of the mind that tempts people to steal other's property (*patthanalakkhaṇo lobho: tassa adinnādānaṃ padaṭṭhānam: Nett.* 27). It is also the prime cause of oppression and exploitation of man by man (*A.* I, 201) and hence the cause of social and economic ruin among men (*A.* I, 160). And it was man's greed for taste that deprived him of the free supply of food afforded by the good earth as described in the *Aggaññasutta* (*D.* III, 85 ff.) This unwelcome state of the mind can be broken by the development of mindfulness which is a factor of Enlightenment (*sati-sambojjhaṅga: S.* V, 87). One who practises this factor of Enlightenment is on the way to the conquest of *lobha* (*A.* I, 64), and that is the sure way to complete freedom (*laddhā mudhā nibbutiṃ bhuñjamānā, Sn.* 228).

The *Dhammasaṅganī* (1059) gives a list of 100 synonyms for *lobha*, some of which are descriptive epithets rather than synonyms and this list contains almost all the terms that express *taṇhā* in its diverse forms as understood in Buddhist psychology. See also ABHIJJHĀ

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

LOGIC. The use of logical reasoning is a significant characteristic of the teaching of the Buddha. Apart from it, the development of systematic logic in India owes much to Buddhist logicians. The contribution of Buddhist logic in shaping the nature of Indian logic in general has been widely acknowledged. Therefore the present discussion needs to cover both the historical and the philosophical aspects of the subject. For that purpose the discussion will be organized under three main sub-topics: (i) history of Buddhist logic; (ii) logical reasoning in early discourses; and (iii) the systematic Buddhist logic.

History. According to Satischandra Vidyabhusana (*History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, University of Calcatta. 1909) mediaeval Indian logic is primarily Buddhist and Jaina logic. The latter being relatively a minor aspect of overall Indian logic, the middle period of Indian logic is basically Buddhist. Although it is true that systematic Buddhist logic occupies the middle period of Indian logic, the use of logical reasoning goes as far back as the original discourses of the Buddha. It seems that, by the time of the Buddha logical reasoning had become an accepted mode of rational thinking. Literary evidence belonging to the early Buddhist tradition shows that not only logical reasoning was known and practised but also that people were mature enough even to bring it under criticism.

This philosophical maturity we witness in the discourses of the Buddha did not come abruptly. It is believed that the logical tradition of India started with the *Nyāya-sūtra* of Aksapada Gautama who, according to Vidyabhusana, lived around the 6th century BC. The date is not quite certain. Nevertheless, it may well belong to an era several centuries prior to the common era. As in ancient Greece, in ancient India, too, logical reasoning began with the institution of debate. The

Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṡad records of philosophical discussions that were held between Janaka, the philosopher king and Yajnavalkya, the great Brahmanic thinker. What originally developed as an aspect in sacrificial act, subsequently, seems to have grown to be an institution of its own. In the *Caraka-Saṃhitā*, the great sage Caraka refers to two kinds of debate; namely, debate held among fellow scholars in a frindly atmosphere (*sāndhaya sambhāṣā*) and those held among disputants in a hostile manner (*vigṛhya*). Caraka divides the latter further into two kinds, namely, *jalpa* where two parties try to establish their own theses by refuting that of the other, and *vitaṇḍa* where one tries only to refute the other but does not try to establish one's own view. Caraka's analysis seems to be based on the earlier division in the *Nyāyasūtra* according to which debate (*kathā*) is threefold, *Vāda* or friendly debate, and *jalpa* and *vitaṇḍa*, more or less, understood in the sense described by Caraka (see BK Matilal: *Logic Language and Reality: Indian Philosophy and Contemporary Issues.* Motilal Banarsidas. Delhi 1985. pp. 1-22. for a comprehensive discussion of debate in the Nyāya tradition).

Buddhist discourses testify to the fact that there was a philosophically mature society by this time. The discourses have references to many Ś́ramaṇas and Brahmins who went on arguing with each other in order to establish that one's own view alone was true and those of others' were false, for they held mutually contradictory views (*aññam' aññassa uju vipaccanika vādā M.* I. p. 402). The *Brahmjāla sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* records 62 religious and philosophical views which S'ramanas and Brahmins were clinging to. The holders of such views maintained that theirs' alone are true and what belong to others are false, and it is said that they did so on the ground of logic (*takkañ ca diṭṭhīsu) pakappayitvā - saccaṃ (musāti dvayadhammam'āhu Sn.* p. 173). On the role of debates in the developemnt of logical reasoning in India, AK Warder says; In India the main stimulus to the development of logic came from the practice of debating, great public debates in which rival philosophical schools engaged in argument under the chairmanship of an umpire and sought to uphold their doctrines and refute their opponents (*Indian Buddhism.* Delhi. 1991 p. 416)

In the well-known *Kālāma sutta* the Buddha admonishes *Kālāmas* not to accept any assertion on the ground of *'takka'* (logic) (*mā takkahetu*) or *'naya'* (method) (*mā nayahetu*). We will discuss the precise meaning of these terms later. What is significant to note in the present context is the critical attitude the Buddha held toward logical reasoning. In a well-known remark on the nature of his teaching, the Buddha says that it is 'not grasped by logic' (*atakkāvacara*). In another much discussed discourse in the *Majjhimanikāya*, the *Caṅki sutta*, the Buddha classifies *'takka'* as a means of knowledge which is not totally acceptable. The reason given is that an assertion may be well-argued but false, or ill-argued but true. This shows that the distinction of the validity and the soundness of an argument was well observed by the early Buddhist tradition.

The use of the much discussed four-cornered negation (*Catuskoṭi*) is a prominent characteristic in the discourses. The early discourses refer to it as (in) these four positions' (*imesu catusu ṭhānesu, S.* IV. p. 380). The term *'catuskoṭi'* occurs in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. It is believed that the scheme was originally used by certain Sramana groups, particularly the skeptical tradition of Sanjaya, and was subsequently borrowed by the Buddhists. However the early Buddhist discourses use it widely. This, again, shows an advanced stage in logical reasoning. Nagarjuna who is believed to have lived in the 2nd century A. C. uses this mode of predication. It is mainly his use of the scheme in the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* in order to show the inapplicability of assertions of any form that the system has come to be known as 'negative dialectics'.

There are two works in Pali literature that could belong to a period earlier to Nagarjuna. The *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa*, one of the seven Abhidhamma treatises of the Theravāda tradition is believed to have been compiled during the time of Emperor Asoka. The authorship is attributed to the great elder called Moggaliputta Tissa. The purpose has been to establish the Theravāda view as against the views held by other Buddhist sects. The style of the composition is dialogical, and the language used is the technical language used in debates. Such terms occur quite frequently. The other work is *Milindapañha* (or the Nāgasena Bhiksu Sutra in the Chinese tradition) which is written in the form of a dialogue between a Greek king called Milinda (Menandros who is believed to have reigned from 155-130 A. C.) and the Buddhist monk called Nagasena. It is believed that the book belongs to the early 1st century and there are several versions belonging to the Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda and other traditions. What is significant is that the book

represents a very advanced stage of the art of debate. The following conversation that occurs at the very beginning of the discussion proves this point:

(King Milinda said): Revered Nāgasena, will you converse with me?
I will converse if you, sire, will converse in the speech of the learned, but if you converse in the speech of kings I will not converse.
How, revered Nagasena, do the learned converse?
When the learned are conversing, sire, there is a turning over and an unravelling of the subject; then there is a refutation and an acknowledgement of a mistake; distinctions and contra-distinctions are drawn; yet, thereby, they are not angered.
It is thus, sire, that the learned converse.
And how, revered sire, do kings converse?
When kings are conversing, sire, they approve of some matter and order punishment for anyone who disagrees with that matter, saying, "inflict a punishment on him". It is thus, sire, that kings converse. (*The Questions of King Milinda*. NKG Mendis. *Buddhist Publication Society*. Kandy. 1993. p. 32.)

It is widely accepted that systematic Buddhist logic started with Dinnāga. However, the beginning of the writing of manuals for logical reasoning focussing particularly on the art of debate has a longer history. For instance, in his book *Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (Second edition. Madras. 1981) Tucci includes four works as representing logical treatises prior to *Dinnāga*: (1) ***Tarkasāstra*** (a mere fragment containing a preliminary chapter on the wrong discussion and two other sections on the *jātis* and on the *nigrahasthāna*' p. ix. Authorship is uncertain.); (2) ***Upāyahrdaya***, a treatise written to support the teachings of the early schools, with uncertain authorship; AK warder thinks that the book could belong to Bahusrutiyas. (*Ibid.* 1991. p. 417) (3) ***Vigrahavyāvartani*** by Nagarjuna. The book is basically a response by Nagarjuna to his opponents, and according to Tucci, contains refutation of the theory of *Pramāṇa* and the first of its kind that has come down to us and which is strictly related to *Nyāya Sūtra*' p. xiii). (4) ***Śatasāstra***: the *sūtra* portion has been written by Aryadeva, the pupil of Nagarjuna and the commentary is attributed to Vasubnadhu. According to Tucci, it is a polemical work, 'the scope of which is to establish the exact doctrine of the *sūnya* after refuting other views' (p. xiv). The following account of *Upāyahṛdaya* by Warder reveals the sophisticated character of the philosophical discussion represented by these works:

This work first offers a justification of debate as a procedure necessary to protect truth (against an opponent who suggests it promotes anger and other harmful principles). It then sets out the eight main topics of debate. The first of these is the 'examples' or sense data, data of experience, appealed to by debaters in constructing their arguments. Such an example must be something accepted by everyone. Very important is the seventh topic, 'illusory middle term' i.e., fallacies, which include begging the quêstion, equivocation, contradicting experience, undistributed middle term, etc. The method of argument, or demonstration, which is followed (and which was more or less standard at this time for all schools of philosophy in India) is one of five steps, as follows:

1. (To prove) S is P - 'statement'
2. (We assign the middle term) M, - 'middle term'
3. (All) M is P as (for example) M1 - 'example'
4. (Now) S also is M, - 'application'
5. Therefore it is P. (Q. E. D.) - 'conclusion'

If, of course, the opponent can adduce a counter example, say M2, which is not P (from experience), then the argument is over-thrown, the statement is not established (*Ibid.* p. 417).

Dinnāga, the first systematic Buddhist logician, is believed to have lived around 400 A. C. He was the pupil of Vasubandhu. The dating of Dinnāga has been vexed with difficulties. It has been particularly so due to the uncertainty of dating his teacher Vasubandhu. For a long time modern Buddhist scholars have been suspicious about the belief that Vasubandhu was an indealist. However today almost all Buddhist scholars accept that there were more than one Vasubandhu. The Yogācāra Vasubandhu who was the brother of Asanga is believed to have lived in the 4th century A. C. Vasubandhu who was the teacher of Dinnaga is believed to have lived in the 5th century A. C. and his pupil Dinnaga too is included between the 5th and the 6th centuries. The traditional belief that Vasubandhu and Dinnaga were idealists has been rejected and scholars today think that both of them who wrote on epistemology and logic were Sautrantikas (see Warder 1991. p. 447 ff. for a detailed discussion on the matter). Vasubnadhu has written a critique of Vaibhāṣika in the form of a commentary on the *Abhidharmakoṣa*. Dinnāga has written a commentary on the *Bhas'ya* of Vasubandhu reaffirming the Sautrāntika position of the former. Among the works attributed to Vasubandhu is *Vādavidhāna*, apparently a book on the art of debate.

...ga seems to have written a commentary on this ... but both appear to be lost according to Warder ... p. 448). It is believed that Dinnaga developed in a systematical manner on the logical and debate-related doctrines articulated by his teacher and produced a fully-fledged epistemology.

Dinnaga has been described as 'the father of mediaeval logic' by Satischandra Vidyabhusana. A large number of books have been attributed to Dinnaga. In addition to the *Pramana Samuccaya* which is the greatest work of *Dinnaga* and unanimously accepted to have been authored by him, *Vidyabhuṣana* attributes several other logical works to him, namely, *Nyaya Praves'a*, *Hetu-Cakra Hamaru*, *Pramaṇa samuccaya Vrtti* and *Pramāṇa samuccaya Praves'a*. According to Warder:

'At least fourteen philosophical works are believed to have been written by Dinnaga, besides which he seems to be the author of some hymns in praise of the Buddha and of a commentary on some hymns by a fellow student. It is remarkable that not one of these works seems now to be available in the original Sanskrit, so thorough were the Turks in their holocaust of Indian libraries. Six of the philosophical works are available in Tibetan translations, one of these in Chinese also, and three further philosophical works in Chinese translations. Fortunately about thirty later Buddhist works on Dinnaga's doctrines are extant in Sanskrit (mostly preserved in Tibet), which include numerous quotations from Dinnaga's works. About forty-five more such works are preserved in Tibetan translations, showing the sustained study of epistemological problems in the Buddhist schools over a period of seven or eight centuries in India, before the great Buddhist universities there were destroyed under the Turkish terror (*Ibid*. p. 450).'

Of these works, *Hetucakradamaru*, (*Nyayapraves'a* or) *Nyāyamukha* and *Pramāṇa Samuccaya* are Dinnaga's main philosophical contributions. *Hetucakradamaru* (Drum of the wheel of the middle terms') is a work on logical proof dealing with the validity and invalidity of the middle term in syllogism. *Nyāyamukha* (Introduction to Logic') is a work on proof and refutation. Of *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, it is reported that there are two Tibetan translations, and several scholars (M. Hattori, H. Kitagawa and HN Randle) have collected fragments from various works which quote from Dinnaga and have reconstructed his philosophy. According to Vidyabhusana the book has six chapters: (1) Perception (2) Inference for one's own sake (3) Inference for the sake of others (4) Three characteristics of the middle term (5) Rejection of credible word or verbal testimony and (6) Parts of a syllogism. As suggested by the names of the chapters themselves, in this final grand work more emphasis has been given to epistemological issues.

If Dinnaga is considered the initiator of Buddhist logic, Dharmakirti is the one who brought it to the culmination. It is believed that he lived in the seventh century A. C. According to Warder, he 'took up the doctrine of Dinnaga and in effect completely reworked it, though his main work is presented in the modest guise of a kind of commentary on, or rather a supplement on, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. His object was to meet all the criticisms and difficulties that had arisen in the field since Dinnaga's pioneering work. He was so successful that his seven treatises, regarded as a kind of 'canon', were afterwards taken as the basis for the study of the theory of knowledge by most Buddhist logicians, and Dinnaga was comparatively neglected. Certainly, he is one of the world's greatest philosophers in his own right (*Ibid*. p. 470). Dharmakirti's main work, *Pramāṇavārttikā* has four chapters: (1) inference for one's own sake (2) means of knowledge (3) Perception and (4) inference for the sake of another. This is not to follow the chapter arrangement of Dinnaga exactly. In addition to this main work Dharmakirti had written six other works. They are (1) Pramāṇa-*vinis'caya*, an abridgment of the first work, (2) *Nyāya-bindu*, a further abridgment of the same work, (3) *Hetubindu*, a short classification of logical reasoning, (4) *Sambandhaparīkṣā*, an examination of the problem of relations, (5) *Codanā-prakaraṇa*, a treatise on debate, and (6) *Santānantara-siddhi*, a treatise of the reality of other minds. It is believed that the main work *Pramaṇa-vārttikā* is the body of the doctrine of epistemology and the other six are the six feet. As in the case of seven *prakaraṇas* of the Abhidharma, it is believed that the new study, with its seven works, was thought to become the canon of the new *piṭaka*. According to Stcherbatsky, 'evidently, Dharmakirti thought that the study of logic and epistemology has to replace the ancient philosophy of early Buddhism' (*Buddhist Logic*. Vol. I. First Indian Edition. 1993. p. 37).

Ever since Dharmakirti, it is true to say that the entire study of Buddhist logic was focussed on his works, particularly his main work, *Pramāṇa-vārttikā* Dharmakirti himself wrote a commentary only on the

first chapter of his book. The task of writing a commentary on the rest of the three chapters was assigned by him to his pupil Devendrabuddhi. The Tibetan tradition has it that only the third attempt by Devendrabuddhi received the reluctant approval of the teacher. According to Stcherbatsky, there developed three schools of interpretation of Dharmakirti. The philological school of interpretation owes its origin to Devendrabuddhi who was more concerned about knowing the exact meaning of what has been said in the *Pramaṇa-vārttika*. His pupil Sākyabuddhi and also Prabhābuddhi are included in this school. The origin of one other school which is described as Cashmere school (according to the place it flourished) or philosophic school (according to the character of its interpretation) is attributed to Dharmottara who is highly regarded by the Tibetan tradition and was a kind of a commentator, with a very high capacity, whom Dharmakirti would have wished to have. He did not comment on *Pramāṇa-vārttika* itself but wrote commentaries on *Pramāṇa-viniścaya* and *Nyāya-bindu* which are summaries of the former. The third school which was founded by Prajnakara Gupta had as its aim the revealing of the total religious significance of Dharmakirti's logical and epistemological endeavour. This school seems to receive inspiration from the *Mahāyāna* tradition, and it is an example of how Dharmakirti's newly articulated knowledge was assimilated into the wider Buddhist tradition. The interpretative tradition that developed around this school is so vast that, according to Stcherbatsky, there developed three sub-schools around it. The Buddhist logical studies in India continued till the 12[th] century. By this time Buddhism in India was on the decline and during the next two centuries it disappeared completely. However the tradition started flourishing in Tibet, its new-found home.

Once Tibet became the centre of Buddhism, logic and epistemology became a very important branch of its monastic life. According to Stcherbatsky, "the chief works of Dinnaga, the great commentary on *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* by Jinendrabuddhi, the seven trearises of Dharmakirti, all the seven great commentaries on *Pramāṇa-vārttikā* (namely, Devendrabuddhi's commentary, Sakyabuddhi's commentary, the Tibetan commentary by Rgyal-tshah, Prajñākaragupta's commentary and three sub-commentaries on him by Ravigupta, Jina and Vamari) the works of Dharmottara and many other Buddhist logicians, all this literature has been preserved in trustworthy Tibetan translations" (*Ibid.* p. 55). Stcherbatsky says that there are two stages in the logical studies in Tibet, the old phase of logical studies begins with the 12th century (the first independent Tibetan author of logic being Chaba-Choikyl-senge 1109-1169) and ends with Rendepa Zhonnu-Lodoi (1349-1412) the teacher of Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419) from whom the modern phase begins. In the second phase, in addition to the systematic works on logic, every chief monastery developed its own manuals of logic for the use of its students. The tradition of studying logic as an essential aspect in monastic life continues up to date according to Stcherbatsky.

Buddhist logical studies in ancient China and Japan do not seem to be as extensive as those in Tibet. According to Stcherbatsky, Buddhist logical works were introduced to China at two occasions: one is in the 5[th] century by Paramārtha who translated three works by Wasubandhu, namely, *Ji-shih-lun* (*Tarka-sāstra*), *Fan-chih-lun* (*Paripṛccha-sāstra*?), *To-fu-lun* (*Nigraha-sthāna- sāstra*). But this phase of introduction did not make much effect. The second time was by Chinese pilgrim Hsuen Tsang in the 7[th] Century. He brought *Nyāya-mukha* of *Dinnāga* and *Nyāya-praveśa* of Sankara-swamin, and his pupils wrote commentaries on them. One of the pupils of Hsuen Tsang, Kwei-chi wrote six volumes of commentary to Sankara-swamin's *Nyaya-praveśa* and this work which is the standard logical text in China is known as the 'Great Commentary'. "*Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, the fundamental work of Dinnaga, as well as the seven treatises of Dharmakirti and the enormous literature of commentaries with their division in schools and sub-schools is quite unknown in China and Japan": says Stcherbatsky (*Ibid.* p. 54). Logical studies went to Japan in the 7[th] century. It was the Japanese monk called Dohshoh who studied Buddhist logic under Hsuen Tsang and established a school of logicians called South Hall on returning to his country. Subsequently in the 8[th] century a monk called Gemboh took the Great Commentary and other logical works from China and established another school of logical studies which came to be known as the North Hall. From Tucci's work referred to earlier, we know that some pre-Dinnaga works of logic were translated into Chinese prior to the introduction of formal logical works. It seems that, in the early periods, logical studies were not a very attractive branch of study in these two countries with otherwise very high Buddhist academic activity.

Modern studies in Buddhist logic owes its origin to a few pioneering scholars who braved through the mass of almost unintelligible and untranslated origi-

... Tibetan, Chinese and Sanskrit materials and started reconstructing the lost tradition. Satischanda Vidyabhusana who went to Tibet and researched on the Buddhist literature including that of the Buddhist logical studies, is a pioneer in the field. His *History of the Mediaeval School of Indian* Logic was first published in 1909 by the University of Culcutta and contains a wealth of information though much has been revised by later scholars. Rahula Sankrtyayana is another Indian Buddhist scholar who made several trips to Tibet at the turn of the century and brought a large number of manuscripts to India and started editing and publishing them. His publications of Dharmakirti's works has been commented on by JW de Jong (*A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America*. Varanasi. 1976. p. 73). One of the early European scholars who contributed to the field is Louise de La Vallee Poussin (1869-1938) who edited the Tibetan text of the Nyäya-bindu together with Vinitadeva's commentary (*Bibliotheca Indica*. Calcutta. 1907-13). Theodore Stcherbatsky published a Russian translation of Dharmakirti's *Nyāya-bindu* and in 1909 he published a study of Buddhist logic in Russian. It is an enlarged version of this that appeared in English in two volumes as Buddhist Logic in 1930-32. Giuseppe Tucci's *Pre-Dinnaga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* was published in 1929. *Fragments from Dinnaga* (Royal Asiatic Society, London. 1926) by HN Randle is an effort to collect and interpret the fragments from Dinnaga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* which Vidyabhusana had attempted earlier. More recently E. Frauwallner and Hattori Masaki have attempted to reconstruct Dinnaga's epistemology and logic (see de Jong *ibid*. p. 73 for bibliographical details). Still there is a large number of ancient books on logic available in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan languages to be edited, translated and interpreted. It is an area where considerable amount of research is being done and needs to be done.

An important aspect of Logic in Buddhism which has attracted the attention of scholars is the so-called tetralemma or the four cornered logic. According to Jayatilleke, St. Schayer has examined it early in the century (see KN Jayatilleke. *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, George Allen and Unwin, London 1963 p. 350 for bibliographical details). Richard H Robinson (*Philosophy East and West (PEW)*. January 1957 and *Early Madhyamaka in India and China*. Delhi. 1967), KN Jayatilleke (the above-mentioned work and *PEW* 1967), BK Matilal (*Logical and Ethical Issues of Indian Religious Beliefs*. Calcutta. 1982 and other works) and more recently RD Gunaratne (The Logical Form of Catuṣkoṭi: A New Solution' in *PEW* 1980) are some noteworthy scholars who have endeavored to understand the meaning of the four-cornered proposition system available mainly in early Buddhism and Madhyamaka.

Use of Logical Reasoning in the Discourses: At the beginning of this discussion we noticed that the society in India in which Buddhism arose was one with a high philosophical maturity. Inter-religious debates where philosophical and logical reasoning was the norm, were quite a common occurrence during this period. Early discourses of the Pali canon bear evidence to this. The nature of the Buddha's participation in these events has to be understood carefully. On the one hand, we have clear evidence in the discourses to show that the Buddha did not wish to take part in debates where participants were simply trying to win over others. On the other hand, there are many instances of the Buddha's getting into situations where he clearly has to prove his point. The examples for the first situation will be such discourses in the *Suttanipāta* as *Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka*, *Pasūra*, *Cūlaviyūha* and *Mahāviyūha*. The central message in these discourses is that debates arise due to dogmatism in views and therefore one must give up such tenacious grasp on views which result in unfriendly debates. The sage (*muni*) has been described as one who does not enter into any controversy that has arisen (*vādañca jātaṃ muni no upeti*' 780). The proper attitude has been summarized in the following admonition: These disputes arise among recluses and as a result of them there is elation and depression. Seeing this, avoid disputation. There is no value in it other than the praise won thereby" (828). This disapproval of debate where logical reasoning was used in all kind of manner does not necessarily prove that the Buddha did not like logical reasoning itself. However, there is a clear statement made by the Buddha denying that he is one of traditionalists (*anussāvika*) who base their religious knowledge on the three Vedas or one of the reasoners (*takki*) or metaphysicians (*vimaṃsi*). The Buddha identifies himself with those who profess the basis of a religion after finding a final and ultimate insight in this life by gaining a higher knowledge personally (*sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatva*). According to this admission the teaching of the Buddha is neither one received through the tradition nor one based on mere logical reasoning. It is significant to note that none of the basic teachings of the Buddha, the four noble truths, the three signata etc., which include his insight into human existence is

found through logical reasoning or metaphysical speculation. Why logical reasoning was not recognized as a means of gaining religious knowledge has been explained in the *Sandakasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*. According to this discourse, *takka* or logical reasoning does not necessarily guarantee the truth, for it is possible that one's view is well-reasoned or ill-reasoned and true or false. According to this characterization the following four situations can be obtained: (1) well-reasoned truth, (2) well-reasoned falsehood, (3) ill-reasoned truth, and (4) ill-reasoned falsehood. Because the procedure is liable to error the Buddha has not taken it as a reliable source of religious knowledge. We may connect the well-known epithet '*atakkāvacara*' to this context. In the *Ariyapariyesenasutta* (of the *Majjhimanikāya*) the Buddha has described his teaching ('*dhamma*') as something outside the scope of pure reason'. According to the commentary, '*dhamma*' in this context refers to the four truths, and they are outside the scope of pure reason for they cannot be grasped and penetrated by logical reasoning but can be grasped only by knowledge (*atakkāvacaroti takkena avacaritabbo ogahitabbo na hoti ñāṇeneva avacaritabbo MA*. I. p. 174). What this means is that the realization of the vision of the four noble truths is something that requires more than mere logical reasoning. By '*ñāṇa*' the commentator must be referring to the 'insight knowledge' (*vipassanā ñāṇa*') through which the actual realization of truth occurs.

This rejection of logical reasoning as a reliable source for the ultimate knowledge does not mean that it was totally rejected by the Buddha or by the early Buddhist tradition. The message of the *Sandakasutta* is that it could be either true of false. In so far as it leads to correct conclusions the Buddha does not seem to have rejected logical reasoning. A suggestive example occurs in the *Saṃyuttanikāya* where the comments on Ananda: *Sādhu sādhu Ānanda, yāvatakaṃ kho Ānanda takkāya pattabbaṃ anuppattaṃ tvayā* (*S*. I. p. 56): 'Ananda, it is very good; you have reached as far as you can reach by logical reasoning'. The context of the statement is that a divine being comes to the Buddha and makes a statement. Judging by the content of the statement, Ananda concludes that it must be Anātha Piṇḍika (the foremost lay supporter of the Buddha) who was born as a divine being after his death. As far as Ananda was concerned his conclusion was based on evidence he had. It is this procedure that is referred to as '*takka*' or logical reasoning, and it has been clearly accepted as a means with a limited validity.

In this connection it is important to note that the Buddha had not shunned discussion with people who came to argue with him on matters of religious importance. In these discussions it is generally true to say that the Buddha was more concerned about establishing his own view than disproving those of others. But whenever it was necessary to show the futility of the meaninglessness of the others' views the Buddha was not hesitant to do so. A good example occurs in the Buddha's discussion with Upali, a lay supporter of Jaina Mahavira (*Upālisutta: Majjhimanikāya* I. pp. 371-387). In the course of the discussion Upali announces that, in Jaina's view, physical act is more weighty than mental or verbal acts. The Buddha asks a few simple questions from Upali in answering which he contradicts himself and commits to the position that mental acts are more weighty. At this juncture the Buddha says: what you said later does not connect with what you said earlier and *vice versa* (*na kho te sandhiyati purimena vā pacchimaṃ pacchimena vā purimaṃ*). The demonstration of this self-contradictory situation is taken as defeating conclusively the opponent's argument. In the Buddha's discussion with *Ambaṭṭha* (*Ambaṭṭhasutta*: *Dighanikāya* I. pp. 87-110) too there is a similar occasion where Ambaṭṭha is warned against trying to escape from the logical consequences of his position in the following words: *Ayaṃ kho pana te Ambaṭṭha sahadhammiko pañho āgacchati, akāmā vyākātabbo. Sace na vyākarissasi, aññena vā aññaṃ paṭicarissasi, tuṇhi vā bhavissasi pakkamissasi vā ettheva te sattadhā muddhā phalisssati* (p. 94): '*Ambaṭṭha*, I have a fundamental question for you, which you will not like to answer. If you don't answer, or evade the issue, if you keep silent or go away, your head will split into seven pieces'. (*Thus Have I Heard*. Maurice Walshe. Wisdom Publication. London. 1987. p. 115).

KN Jayatilleke has noticed that almost all the arguments used in the discourses against the holders of different views is of the form of *modus tollens* which is to demonstrate that the opponent's view results in a proposition which is obviously false. In the *Culadukkhakkhandhasutta* of the *Majjhimanikaya* (I. pp. 91-95) the Buddha shows to Niganthas that if their practice of undergoing suffering in order to destroy the past *karmas* is meaningful, those who have entered religious life under Jaina must be those who were born as human beings due to their bad past *karmas* (*evaṃ sante āvuso nigaṇṭhā ye loke luddha lohitapāṇino kururakammanta manussesu paccājatā te nigaṇṭhesu pabbajantiti* p. 93.) The implication is that since all

those who enter religious life in Jainism cannot be of that character, the practice must be misguided. Among the examples discussed by Jayatilleke, one from the *Therīgāthā* (which also occurs in the *Dīghanikāya*) is clearer: If water-baptism can free one of evil *karma* (p) then the fishes, tortoises, frgos etc. .... straight to heaven will go (q)' (*op.cit.* p. 409). Since q is obviously false p is false, too.

The Buddhist discourses refer to instances of 'two pronged questions' (*ubhatokoṭikaṃ pañhaṃ*) put forth to the Buddha. One such instance occurs in the *Abhayarājakumāra sutta* (*M*.I.pp.392-6). Abhayaraja's question is as follows: Would the *Tathāgata* make statements which are displeasing and unpleasant to others (=P)? If yes, then how is he different from the ordinary individual who makes similar statements (=q)? If the *Tathāgata* would not make statements which are displeasing and unpleasant to others (r), then why has he pronounced about Devadatta that he is doomed to hell(=s)? It is clear that the intention of the questioner is to commit the Buddha either to q (that he is not different from an ordinary person) or to r (which is equal to accepting that he is a liar). The Buddha escapes from the dilemma by admitting p (that he uses unpleasant words) in a qualified sense. The example is illuminating not only for the awareness of a complex logical rule it betrays, but also for the Buddha's refusal to yield to the rigidity of linguistic concepts and the rules of logic themselves.

The above example shows that the early Buddhist tradition did not take logical rules based on strict true-false dichotomy as inviolable and sacrosanct. Nevertheless, the rational thinking which is characterized by clear demonstration of advantages and disadvantages in a given situation has always been upheld. In the *Apaṇṇakasutta* (*M*. I. pp. 400-413) the Buddha compares the advantages and the disadvantages of accepting and rejecting survival of life and moral responsibility and demonstrates that it is always more advantageous to accept the two views rather than rejecting them. The argument has been addressed to a group of open-minded people who do not wish to believe in things beyond their immediate perception. The entire argument rests on the assumption that any rational person will like to maximize one's opportunities of happiness.

The instances of use of logical reasoning in the Abhidhamma seem to be more technical than those in the discourses. According to some interpreters, the *Kathavatthu*, one of the treatises belonging to the Abhidhamma Piṭaka contains even more advanced forms of logical reasoning. The entire book has been presented as a dialogue between the Theravādin and those who held views different from him, namely, those who belonged to Buddhist sects other than the Theravāda. The language used contains certain technical terms used in the professional debates in which logical reasoning was employed. For instance '*niggaha*' refutation, '*paṭikamma*' rejoinder are two such terms that occur frequently. More importantly, scholars like KN Jayatilleke have shown that, if the statements in the *Kathāvatthu* are interpreted as dealing with propositions and not with terms, the author of the book shows that he knew the two theorems of propositional calculus namely, the rule of implication (p>q = ~(p. ~q) and contraposition (p>q = ~q>~p) Jayatilleke. *Op. cit.* p. 415). More recent scholars like DJ Kalupahana have argued that this way of interpretation is wrong and have suggested that the relevant statements have to be understood as efforts to clarify the relationship between the two key concepts '*sacchikaṭṭha*' and *paramattha*' (truth and reality) (*A History of Buddhist Philosophy: Continuities and Discontinuities*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu. 1992. p. 135).

Apart from the logical reasoning of this nature, early Buddhist literature is quite outstanding in its exercises in conceptual clarification and analysis. Conceptual analysis is a very significant aspect in the teaching of the Buddha. KN Jayatilleke thinks that the Buddha claimed himself to be an analyst and not one who makes categorical statements (*op. cit.* p. 278). However, as Y. Karunadasa has pointed out, in his analysis Jayatilleke has not noticed a very important limiting term '*ettha*' which means 'here' or 'in this context' Thus the statement has to be understood not as the Buddha identifying himself with one who makes analytical statements exclusively but one who makes both kinds of statements depending on the situation. In the same discussion the Buddha admits that he has made both categorical and non-categorical statements. Thus although it is true that the Buddha did not identify himself to be an exclusive analyst, analysis, clarification and calssification of concepts has been key characteristics in the discourses of the Buddha. One can find plenty of examples for this in a discourse like *Saccavibhaṅgasutta* where all the key concepts related to the four noble truths have been analyzed and explainded.

Connected with conceptual clarification is the use of definitions which is a very important characteristic in early Buddhist literature. The Buddhist mode of definition does not follow the Brahmanic method of defining concepts or things according to genus and species, for such a definition would go against the idea of non-substantiality which is a fundamental teaching in Buddhism. In early discourses we find definitions which are made by way of basic character (*lakkhaṇa*) of what is defined. It is in the later commentarial literature that we find a fully worked out theory of definition with four aspects: *lakkhaṇa* (characteristic), *rasa* (function), *paccupaṭṭhana* (antecedent condition) and *padaṭṭhana* (resultant condition). In the early discourses we find definitions which are not obviously etymological or historical. For instance, in the *Dhammapada*, the three concepts, '*brahmaṇa*', '*samaṇa*' and '*pabbajita*' have been defined in the following manner: 'Because he has discarded evil, he is called a *brāhmaṇa*; because he lives in peace he is called *samaṇa*; because he gives up the impurities, he is called *a pabbajita*-recluse (*bahitapapoti bramaṇo samacariyā samaṇoti vuccati - pabbājayamattano malaṃ tasmā pabbajitoti vuccati* 388). These are obviously not historical or etymological definitions. The reason behind doing so has to be understood not necessarily as resulting from 'the absence of a clear conception of definition' as KN Jayatilleke has suggested (*op. cit.* p. 297), but as a way of fulfilling a religious requirement. In the case of the Buddha it is clear that he had to use the already available language in order to express his radical religious views. In this endeavour he had to re-define these terms underscoring the new meanings attributed to them. One way the Buddha challenged the existing social, religious and philosophical systems was to question the meanings, which were held in high esteem and believed to be unchanging, attributed to the key concepts. The above example amply demonstrates this. This shows that for early Buddhist discourses, defining terms was not a precise grammatical function but a religious requirement. In a system which has *anattavāda* (non-substantialism) at its heart there cannot be one rigid way of defining.

The Buddha's attitude to language has been aptly summarized in the following statement: *Itimā ..... lokasamaññā loka-niruttiyo loka-vohārā loka-paññattiyo yahi tathāgato voharati aparamasaṃ*: 'These are general agreements, general ways of speech, general uses and general conventions which the Tathāgata would use without clinging' (*Dighanikāya* I. p. 202). In this very statement several terms (*sāmañña, niruttiyo, paññattiyo* and *vohara*) have been used to refer to language, and a closer look would show that they are not strictly synonymous, nor are they totally different from one another: a collection of more or less overlapping terms carrying the meaning while retaining the complexity of experience. This is a characteristic that can be seen regularly in the early discourses.

Abhidhamma Piṭaka is a good example of conceptual analysis and classification. In this regard the work to be studied is the *Yamaka*, one of the *pakaraṇas* (treatises) belonging to the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. The entire *Yamaka* is constituted by pairs of statements which are meant "to convey to the reader the exact logical boundaries of important concepts in the light of their actual technical usage" (KN Jayatilleke, *Op. cit.* p. 309). For example the following analysis is intended to clarify the boundaries of the two concepts, '*rūpa*' (form) and '*rupakkhandha*' (aggregate of form):

Rupaṃ rūpakkhandhoti? (Is *rūpa rupkkhandha?*)
Piyarūpaṃ satarūpaṃ rupaṃ na rūpakkhandho; rupakkhandho rūpañceva rūpakkhandhoca: (What is *piyarūpa* (attractive) and *satarūpa* (pleasant) is *rūpa* but not *rupakkhandha*; *rūpakkhandha* is *rūpa* and is also *rūpakkhandha*).
Na rupakkhandho na rūpanti? Āmantā: What is not *rūpakkhandha* is also not *rūpa?*
Piyarūpaṃ satarūpaṃ na rūpakkhandho, rupam. Rūpañca rupakkhandhañca ṭhapetvā avasesa na y'eva rupaṃ na ca rupakkhandho (*Piyarūpa* and *sātarūpa* are not *rupakkhandha*, but *rūpa*. Apart from *rūpa* and *rupkkhandha*, the rest are neither *rūpa* nor *rūpakkhandha*). (See also *Buddhist Analysis of Matter.* Y. Karunadasa, Colombo 1967. pp. 4-5 for a penetrative discussion.)

In this manner all the key concepts in the *Dhamma* have been analyzed in relation to other related concepts. The exercise attests to the existence of a very advanced sense of precision and the limits of the concepts among the early Buddhists.

In discussing the early Buddhist application of logical reasoning one cannot ignore the four-fold predication which later came to be known as '*catuskoṭi*' or the four-cornered predication or negation in the later Buddhist tradition. Before we hear much about the systematic development of the Brahmanic logic we come across many Śramana traditions which adopted systems other than the bivalent propositional system. In Buddhist literature, for example, Sañjaya

Belatthiputta, the skeptical philosopher among the famous six contemporaries of the Buddha, has been attributed with a five-fold system of negation: *evampi me no=I* do not say so; *tathā pi me no*-I do not say thus, *aññathā pi me no*=I do not say otherwise: *notipi me no*=I do not say no; and no notipi me no=I do not say `no, no', KN Jayatilleke has shown that this five-fold negation can be interpreted as negating the four positions adopted in the *Catuskoti*, namely *is, is not, both is and is not and neither is and nor is not* (p. ~p, p. ~p, ~(p. ~p)). What is significant in this assertion is that it shows that the four-fold predication was initially adopted by *Sañjaya* and the skeptics and the Buddhists shared this scheme with the skeptics for, in some very important respects, early Buddhism too shares some of the attitudes of the skeptics. On somewhat similar (but not identical) grounds, the Jainas held *syād-vāda* or *anekānta-vāda* (a system of non-categorical assertions) which is characterized by not making any conclusive assertion. Being *s'ramanas* and not holding a dogmatic attitude to truth Buddhists adopted the four-fold predication in making claims. The distinction in the Buddhist system is that it is not relativist as in the case of the Jaina and not inconclusive as in the case of the skeptics. Even though the Buddhists used the four-fold predication it is a two-valued system in which only one assertion is true and the other is false. However this is not applicable for claims on certain matters on which we are not in a position to assert any position. In such situations all the four claims may be rejected as not applicable. An example of this sort of claims is the well-known four positions regarding the after-death existence of the liberated person (*arahant*). They are: does the *Tathāgata* exist, dose not exist, both exist and does not exist and neither exists nor does not exist after death. When these questions were raised the Buddha rejected all the four positions as irrelevent (*na upeti*). The reason given is the following: since a liberated person is not truly obtained even in this very existence itself, how can he be considered as existing after his death?

After the early Buddhist discourses. It is in Nagarjuna that we find extensive use of *catuskoti*. The fact that Nagarjuna has used the four-cornered logic in order to negate all the four positions, has given the name `negative dialectic' or `four-cornered negation' to the system. Many have tried to understand Nagarjuna's use of the system. In particular the rejection of the fourth position has been understood as indicating a rejection of any possibility of verbal expression. For instance, BK Matila has described this fourth one as `leap negation that asks us to look beyond' (*Logical and Ethical Issues of Indian Religious Belief.* Culcutta, University Culcutta Press, 1982. P. 124). Matilal's opinion is that the rejection of the forth position is an indication towards what is ineffable in religion. However, judging by the nature of the claims, what seems more plausible is that the forth position was rejected on the ground of the limits of empirical knowledge and the meaningfulness of the concepts used. In fact an examination of Nagarjuna's use of the *catuskoti* shows that his application is confined to the kind of themes either that were set aside by the Buddha as unanswered or themes similar to them in nature (for example: at XXII-11 the four positions empty etc. with regard to *Tathāgata*, at XXII-12 eternal etc. with regard to the peaceful state (*nirvāna*), at XXV-15, 16 eternal etc. with regard to Nirvana, at XXV-17, 18 again exists etc. on liberated person, at XXV-21 on finite etc. and eternal etc., at XXV-22, 23 finite etc. and eternal etc. rejected on everything and at XXVII-29 again eternal etc. are rejected). Therefore by rejecting all the four positions as not applicable Nagarjuna is not making any new use of of the *catuskoti* but he simply seems to be following the early Buddhist example. (For a fuller discussion, see *Nirvāna and Ineffability: A Study of the Buddhist theory of Reality and Language*, Asanga Tilakaratne. Colombo. 1993. pp. 125-134). Apart from his use of *catuskoti* Nagarjuna's most important philosophical as well as religious contribution is to reveal the erroneous character of dividing reality into mutually contradictory (eg. going and not going) or contrary (eg. going and standing still) binary categories and attributing substantiality to them. By showing that these concepts are always other-dependent Nagarjuna also showed that they are empty of *svabhāva*, a concept used by certain later Buddhists to attribute substantiality to reality which is soul-less (*anatta*).

Systematic Buddhist Logic: Systematic Buddhist logic starts with Dinnaga. In his *Pramāna Samuccaya* (Compendium of the Theory of Knowledge) (PS) Dinnaga discusses the following subjects: perception, inference (for oneself and for other), the middle term (*hetu*), verbal testimony and syllogism. The main topics discussed by Dinnaga become the content of subsequent logical studies of both Buddhists and others. With Dinnaga the concept of *`pramāna'* or means of knowledge starts occupying the centre of the stage of Indian logic. The logic itself became known as the *`pramāna-s'astra'* or the study of means of knowledge, marking a major shift in emphasis from its earlier subject matter, syllogism, proof and debate.

Perception : Buddhists reject the Brahmanic view of four means of knowledge, namely, perception, inference, analogy and sacred word. Instead, Dinnaga asserts that there are only two means of knowledge, namely, perception and inference. This does not go against Dinnaga's description, in the dedicatory versees, of the Buddha as being *pramāṇa* himself for he is the very illustration of these two means. Why there are only two means of knowledge is because there are only two objects to known, namely, own (or particular) characteristic (*sva-lakṣaṇa*) and universal characteristic (*sāmānya lakṣaṇa*) which are known respectively by perception and inference. According to the Buddhist view, there is nothing else to be known. According to this view, except what is known by perception everything else such as memory, recognition or any attempt to connect perception and inference come under inference. Memory and recognition involve what is already known. Any supposition of a new means to know what is already known will lead to infinite regression.

Dinnaga defines perception as 'that which is free from conceptual thinking, unconnected with name, genus etc. (*pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍhaṃ nāmajātyādyasaṃyataṃ*). In perception, it is held, there cannot be any thinking for it is the pure sensation of a sense datum. The *Theravāda* definition of *viññāṇa* (consciousness) as '*dassana-matta*' (mere seeing) seems to correspond to this view. This has been further described by the example 'seeing blue' (*nīlaṃ vijānāti*') as against 'seeing as blue' ('*nilaṃ iti vijānāti*'). In the first instance it is an awareness of mere sense datum, and in the latter, it is to perceive through a menatl construction. The idea of this way of defining is to exclude any room for error in the process of perception. Dharmakirti who commented on Dinnaga refined this definition by adding 'free from error' ('*abhrāntaṃ*') as a characteristic of perception. Dinnaga does not seem to have thought that such a specification is necessary for perception cannot be erroneous by definition.

Perception is four-fold, namely, perception of (the five) senses (*indriya-jñāna*), perception of mind (*mano-vijñāna*) being the knowledge of one's internal psychological characteristics, self-consciousness (*ātama-saṃvedanā*) being the knowledge of one's own knowledge, and knowledge of one who contemplates (*yogi-jñāna*), when not interfered by anyone.

Inference : Inference (*anumāna*) is two-fold, namely, inference for oneself (*svārtha-anumāna*) and inference for others (*parārtha-anumāna*). It is believed that this distinction was first made by Dinnaga. It is said that the former is knowledge based (*jñānātmaka*) and the latter is word-based (*s'abdātmaka*). The inference for oneself is to infer something through a characteristic or cause (*liṅga* or *hetu*) belonging to that object. For instance, 'that hill has fire' is determined by the presence of smoke which is the characteristic or the reason. The reason has to fulfil three requirements, and these have been described as rules of logical reasoning. They are: The reason must be present in the subject of the conclusion (hill, in this instance) (*pakṣa-satva*), it must be present in similar instances (*sapakṣa-satva*) and it must be absent from dissimilar instances (*asapakṣa-asatva*). In order for inference to be complete these requirements need to be fulfilled.

The reason or the characteristic is three-fold, namely, indentity (*svabhāva*), effect (*kārya*) and non-perception (*anupalabdhi*). 'Identity' is to infer the presence of an object by observing an inseparable characteristic belonging to the object. An example is: 'This is a tree, Because it is a Mango' (tree). 'Effect' is to infer the presence of an object by observing the presence of its effect: e.g. Here there is fire. Because there is smoke. 'Non-perception' (or 'negative syllogism' as Stcherbatsky puts it) is to infer the absence of something through non-perception or perception of some phenomenon related to it. This has been described by Dharmakirti as eleven-fold depending on what serves as the reason for the negative judgment.

Inference for the sake of others is to articulate reasons to produce inferential knowledge in others. What is meant by this is to present an inferential argument in the form of a syllogism. Instead of the standard five-member syllogism (of thesis (*pratijña*), reason (*hetu*), example (*udāharaṇa*), application (*upanaya*) and conclusion (*nigamana*), the Buddhists rejected the last two aspects and adopted a syllogism with the first three aspects. Accordingly the syllogism adopted by the Buddhists is of the following form: (1) The hill is fiery. (2) Because it has smoke. (3) All that has smoke is fiery like a kitchen and whatever is not fiery has no smoke like a lake.

The increased awareness of the precision has resulted in an elaborated treatment of logical fallacies ('*ābhāsa*') by Buddhist logicians. As Dinnaga has shown, logical fallacies correspond to the three logical rules mentioned above. The three rules constitute the necessary requirements of correct reasoning. If the first rule is violated the resultant fallacy is called

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asiddha-hetu-ābhāsa' or the fallacy of unreal reason. For instance, in the Buddhist view, any assertion made on 'soul' will suffer from this fallacy, for, it does not exist. Stcherbtsky describes this as the fallacy against reality. The other two fallacies which Stcherbatsky calls 'fallacies against consistency' involve violation of the second and the third rules combined. '*Viruddha-hetu-ābhasa*' or the fallacy of contrary reason is to use a reason, which is against the fundamentals of one's own system of beliefs, to establish one's argument. For instance the following argument of a brahmin suffers from this weakness: The sounds of the Veda are eternal; because they are produced by causes. The third '*anaikāntika-hetu-ābhāsa*' or the fallacy of uncertain reason is to use a reason which cannot be supported by the second and the third rules. For instance, if one tries to establish the eternity of the Veda on the ground that it is audible, it is a characteristic exclusively owned by sound and not shared by all similar or dissimilar cases. Although the treatment of fallacies in the hands of the Buddhist logicians has been an elaborated subject, the above fallacies identified by Dinnāga remain the core.

In the heart of the Buddhist claim that there are only two means of knowledge, namely perception and inference, is the belief that there are only two things to be known, namely, particular and universal characteristics. The distinction between these two knowables is that the former is real, while the latter is not. The same distinction is maintained in the Pali commentaries. While the particular characteristic (variously referred to as '*dhamma*', '*salakkhaṇa*', '*sakabhava*' and '*sabhāva*') is known as a datum of sense perception ('*paccakkha-ñana*) the universal characteristic (*sāmañña lakkhaṇa*') is known through inference ('*anumāna-ñāna*). It is also held that while the particular is real the universal is not (see *The Dhamma Theory*. Y. Karunadasa. Buddhist Publication Society. Kandy. 1996. p. 18). We know that Dinnāga holds that perception of a particular characteristic is devoid of any such concepts as name, species etc. This act of cognition is individual and personal. Knowledge becomes public at the level of inference which has the universal characteristic as its object. The knowledge is made public by means of language. This prompted Buddhist logicians to examine the function of language.

The standard view of language criticized by Dinnaga held that words refer to universals which are real and cognized directly in particulars. In this view, both particular sand universals are real and words directly refer to them. Dinnaga rejected this realist view and came up with a unique theory called '*apoha*' or '*anyapoha*' (exclusion of other) which says that words do not refer directly to objects but they do only by excluding what is other. For instance the word 'cow' refers to a particular cow by excluding all other animals that are 'non-cow'. The word 'cow' does not refer to all cows that are innumerable; nor does it refer to universal cow-ness. But it refers to a line of differentiation between a particular cow and other cows or other animals. In this view the function of words is exclusion. In other words, a word does not refer to any substance; it simply distinguishes one object from the rest. Knowledge is a result of this act of exclusion of other, and being an indirect form of knowledge, it comes under inference. Here lies the Buddhist reason behind the denial of '*sabda*' or word as a separate source of knowledge.

Conclusion : From a historical point of view, systematic Buddhist logic occupies the middle period in Indian logic. It marked a significant shift of emphasis in Indian logical studies by turning what was basically a science of syllogism into an epistemological logic. In the hands of the Buddhist logicians the centre of logical studies shifted to knowledge or the means of knowledge ('*pramāṇa*'). This shift may be understood as determined by the centrality of knowledge (described by such religious terms as '*paññā* and '*pariññā*) in the Buddhist path of purification. In the Buddhist system syllogism became only a part of inferential knowledge. This relatively insignificant place received by syllogism in the hands of Buddhist logicians suggests that they were not very concerned about formalization of logic. The emphasis was not on technicality as such but on the establishment of the validity of knowledge.

The religious goal of early Buddhism is to attain purification by getting rid of defilements. The way to achieve this was through knowledge (*paññāya c'assa disva asava parikkhiṇa honti* (*M* I p. 175) 'having discerned through wisdom his cankers are eliminated'). Since wisdom constituted the ultimate means of purification the Buddhist tradition made no secret of the value it placed on it. As we saw earlier, logical reasoning was accepted only in so far as it helped reach knowledge of truth. However it was made clear that mere logicality would not guarantee the truth. This, no doubt, is a critique of logical reasoning and thereby it represents an advanced stage in human thinking. In a similar spirit the Buddhist tradition did not encourage debates motivated by the desire to win over oth-

ers. Nevertheless, it used the institution of debate in order to prove the truthfulness of the teaching, but the motivation was the discovery of truth and not victory. This is shown by the statement (quoted above) the Venerable Nagasena made at the beginning of his long conversation with king Milinda. The rules and attitudes referred to by the Thera are common features of any form of civilized debate. The subsequent Buddhist literature on the art of debate by such illustrious Buddhist teachers as Nagarjuna, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dinnaga etc. shows clearly that the emphasis was on avoidance of error and discovery of truth but not on victory by any means.

The adoption of the four-cornered system of proposition is an example of the fact that the early Buddhist tradition was not bound by the bi-valent logical system. While the Buddhist system was neither unsure like skepticism and nor relativist like the Jaina system, it still held that certain situations may require us to go beyond the strict 'either-or' dichotomy. Although through the adoption of the bivalent logical system common to all forms of systematic logic the subsequent Buddhist logicians seem to have neglected this original Buddhist position, there is no reason to say that systematic Buddhist logic is a departure from the spirit of the early teaching.

Finally, there is a problem of interpretation to be mentioned even briefly. For a long time there was a belief among the scholars of Buddhism that Vasubandhu and Dinnaga, the pioneers of systematic Buddhist logic, were idealists. However, the contemporary scholarship has favoured the view that there were at least two Vasubandhus and the teacher of Dinnaga is not an idealist but a Sautrantika (a Hinayana school which accepted the validity of the discourses alone). In this manner, the puzzle as to how to understand the legical and epistemological ideas of these teachers in the context of the historically attributed positions to them seems to be gradually being solved. Nevertheless, the debate is far from being over. DJ Kalupahana, a leading interpreter of the Theravada tradition, has recently challenged the traditional interpretation as well as the more recent one and has explained Dinnaga's logical and epistemological theories within the early Buddhist empirical tradition (see his *A History of Buddhist Philosophy: Continuities and Discontinuities.* Hawai i, 1992. pp. 194-205). If Kalupahana's interpretation of Dinnaga is accepted it involves reconsidering all of his main ideas, including, in particular, his interpretation of perception. This shows, in spite of the considerably vast knowledge we have accumulated over the years on the subject, how tentative our conclusions could be.

Asanga Tilakaratne

LOGICAL POSITIVISM. Logical Positivism is a school of Western philosophy which emerged in the first half of the twentieth century on the background of the earlier positivistic philosophy of empiricists like David Hume and Mach. The term "positivism" usually associated with the philosopher Auguste Comte, was used first to designate a scientific method and its extension to philosophy. Positivism became a great and powerful philosophical movement in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century in all countries of the western world. It attempted to rid philosophy of speculative metaphysics and to base philosophy on the date and methods of the natural sciences. Logical Positivisim is the name given to the philosophical ideas put forward by the Vienna Circle. It is a philosophical movement closely linked with British empiricism. The early philosophy of Wittgenstein is believed to have influenced the theories of Logical Positivism. Leading persons associated with the movement are Otto Neurath, Moritz Schlick, R. Carnap and the main exponent of its principles in British philosophy of the twentieth century, A. J. Ayer. Some recent writings on the Philosophy of early Buddhism have proposed that certain insights of the Buddha are comparable with the theories of Logical Positivism.[1] If what they propose is valid the Buddha can be considered as a precursor to important philosophical insights that were popularized by the modern empiricist tradition of Western philosophy that wielded a considerable influence on contemporary philosophical approaches.

Critics of this view seem to contend that this is a modernist attempt to overintellectualize Buddhism which was primarily a religious system governed essentially by ethical concerns. From their point of view the attempt of the former suffers from the defect of being an anachronism.

Despite the fact that Indian thought during the time of the emergence of Buddhism was intermingled with myth there is evidence to the effect that Indian

[1] See K. N. Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London 1963) p. 290 f. and D. J. Kalupahana, *Buddhist Philosophy - A Historical Analysis* (The University Press of Hawaii 1976) p. 158.

thinkers had by this time begun to carry out philosophical investigations at a high level of sophistication. Divergent theories about the nature of ultimate reality were being propounded either on the basis of speculative reason or experience. It is not surprising that within such an intellectual environment certain philosophical theories at least of a rudimentary nature which can be compared with some modern counterparts could have been formed by the Buddha and his contemporaries. There is strong textual evidence to support this. K. N. Jayatilleke points out that Indian materialists rejected theories about the soul and its survival after death on the ground that they were not verifiable in sense experience.[2] The Buddha agreed with the materialists in rejecting the notion of a soul but disagreed with them about their denial of survival after death.

Logical Positivism in the philosophical thinking of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century West was associated with the strong materialistic outlook which recognized the primacy of the knowledge of the natural sciences. Early Buddhism too, like the recent Western empiricist philosophers, rejected authority and revelation as well as speculative metaphysics and adopted an experiential basis in the search for truth. As a consequence certain statements of the Buddha occurring in epistemological contexts seem to agree in principle with the philosophical notions of the modern empiricists and logical positivists. However, Buddhism lacks the materialist or physicalist bias that is evident in the thinking of contemporary logical positivists, probably because unlike the latter it was more interested in applying a seemingly scientific method of investigation to matters relating to the human mind and human experience. One principal difference that is to be observed in Buddhism is the recognition of the data of super-cognitive experience (*abhiññā*). *Abhiññā* is not a means of knowledge which has gained general recognition among contemporary Western Logical Positivists. Early Buddhism conceived of super-cognitive experiences (*abhiññā*) too as varieties of sense experience.

Logical Positivism in the contemporary West became most well known for its denial of metaphysics and its thesis about the way in which language becomes meaningful. Metaphysical utterances were declared by the Logical Positivists not to be false but to be meaningless. Statements with no empirical content cannot be subjected to empirical verification, and if they are not mere analytic statements which are necessarily true like the statements of logic and mathematics, they should amount to nonsense. Thus Logical Positivists rejected metaphysical statements like "The Absolute is Perfect" or "God is the creator of the universe" as meaningless utterances despite their acceptability as grammatically well-formed sentences. The Buddha too seems to have adopted a similar position regarding the limits of the meaningful use of language.

A statement of the Buddha which can be interpreted in terms of the Logical Positivist theory of meaning occurs in the *Sabba Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. Here the Buddha poses the question "What is everything?" and gives the reply that everything consists of the six senses (including the mind as the sixth) and their respective data, visible forms, sounds, tastes etc. This is followed by the remark that if anyone were to speak about anything beyond these, the consequence will be the mere utterance of empty words devoid of meaning because it goes beyond all sense experience.[3]

The statement of the Buddha refered to above is consistent with the position he held regarding all issues of a metaphysical nature. For the Logical Positivists, metaphysics is the attempt to demonstrate that there are entities that lie beyond the reach of any possible experience. If no possible experiences can settle the question between too opponents in a metaphysical debate, the question itself is meaningless. Like the Logical Positivists (e.g. Mach and Schlick) the Buddha too distinguished between answerable and unanswerable questions. The Buddha left certain questions of a metaphysical nature unanswered (*thapanīya, avyākata*) because the questions themselves were lacking in any empirical meaning. In the Pali canonical literature ten such questions are enumerated as follows:

1. Is the world eternal (*sassato loko*)?
2. Is the world non-eternal (*asassato loko*)?
3. Is the world finite (*antavā loko*)?
4. Is the world infinite (*anantavā loko*)?
5. Are the life principle and the body the same (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*)?
6. Are the life principle and body different (*aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ*)?

2. *EBTK* p. 88f.
3. *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. IV, p. 15.

7. Does the Tathāgata (the liberated person who has attained the goal of the religious life) exist after death (*hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā*)?
8. Does the Tathāgata not exist after death (*na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā*)?
9. Does the Tathagata both exist and not exist after death (*hoti ca na ca hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā*)?
10. Does the Tathāgata neither exist nor not exist after death (*neva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā*)?

The questions themselves imply that they are of a metaphysical nature, and that no possible sense experience can resolve them. The rational metaphysicians of the time of the Buddha took definite positions regarding these questions and enthusiastically debated them with rational and metaphysical arguments. The Buddha states very emphatically that any attempt to answer these questions leads to antinomies of reason. The consequence of rational argument to resolve them, according to the Buddha, will be interminable conflict. K. N. Jayatilleke points out that the Buddha had more than one reason for refusing to answer them, one being the pragmatic reason that they do not conduce to turning away from the infatuation caused by a false sense of delight generated by sensuous objects, to dispassion, to cessation (of the cycle of misery), to tranquillity, to enlightenment, and to ultimate peace. Apart from the pragmatic reason Jayatilleke believes that the Buddha's refusal to answer them was grounded on reasons similar to those that led the Logical Positivists to reject metaphysical questions as meaningless.[4] This position is quite consistent with the position adopted by the Buddha in the *Sabba Sutta* referred to above. The reason why these questions cannot be answered is that they are logically meaningless. Jayatilleke also draws attention to the simile of the fire used by the Buddha in the *Aggivacchagotta Sutta* in explaining his reasons for not answering the four questions raised about the destiny of the Tathagata after death.[5] A fire produced by the supply of fuel such as dry grass and sticks continues to burn as long as all the fuel is consumed. If, after the fire goes out due to consumption of all the fuel, one were to ask in which direction the fire went, the Buddha says that the question itself is meaningless.[6] Jayatilleke shows a likeness with the Buddha even in the simile used by Wittgenstein who had a strong influence on the Logical Positivist theory of meaning. Wittgenstein says:

> Thus it can come about that we aren't able to rid ourselves of the implications of our symbolism, which seems to admit of a question like "Where does the flame of a candle go to when it's blown out". "Where does the light go to"[7]

The Buddha, like the Logical Positivists regarded some questions as inappropriate because they are meaningless. Such questions are suggested by the grammer of the language, but give a distorted picture of the nature of reality. In a context in which the Buddha was dealing in his discourses with the nature of Dependent Origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) the question is raised "Who feeds on the nutrient of consciousness" (*ko nu kho viññāṇāhāraṃ āhāretīti*)? The Buddha considers it to be an inappropriate question (*na kallo pañho*). The questioner assumes that there is a real subject apart from the dependently originating process. The Buddha shows that in the case of the activity of touching (*phassa*), sensing (*vedanā*), craving (*taṇhā*) and clinging (*upādāna*) the assumption of an ontological subject of the actions is misleading. The Buddha's rejection of the metaphysical notion of an enduring "I" within the factors of personality was at least partly based on the reason that such a notion of an "I" is due to being misled by the grammer of our language. On similar considerations the Logical Positivists argued against certain theories of ethics which suggested that "goodness" is a non-natural property. A. J. Ayer and R. Carnap argued that ethical utterances are devoid of cognitive meaning.[8] According to them the grammatical form of sentences which have a real subject-predicate connection involving the predication of some real property of a given subject, may be seen in other sentences too which have no such real connection. "This flower is red" is different in logical form from "this action is right", although in grammatical form they are similar. Both Ayer and Carnap re-

4. *EBTK* p. 88f
5. *Ibid.* p. 289-290.
6. *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I. p. 487.
7. *The Blue and Brown Books* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1964) p. 108.
8. A. J. Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic* (Dover Publications 1952) p. 107; R. Carnap, *Philosophy and Logical Syntax* (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London, 1935) p. 24-25.

[illegible] the traditional view that ethical predicates refer [illegible] properties. Ayer suggested that actual moral judgments are expressions of emotion, while Carnap suggested that they are commands in a misleading grammatical form. Although Buddhism agrees with the Logical Positivist objection to metaphysics on the ground that metaphysical assertions are meaningless, Buddhism and Logical Positivism do not seem to agree when it comes to the question of the nature of ethical assertions. Buddhism holds that moral judgments are cognitively meaningful and that one can make true or false statements in morality. We shall come back to this question later in the discussion.

It seems plausible to explain a number of aspects in the Early Buddhist world view in terms of its positivist outlook. Early Buddhism refrained from offering an ultimate explanation for the origin of the material universe. The question regarding origins is answered merely by a description of the cyclic process of evolution and dissolution of world systems.[9] Instead of positing a first beginning for individuated existence the Buddha maintains that samsaric life has no known beginning, that its starting point is not known (*anamataggo ayaṃ ... saṃsāro, pubbā koṭi na paññāyati*)[10]. The Buddha rejected the notion of an omniscient and omnipotent creator God on the ground that there is no empirical evidence for the existence of such a God.[11] According to the Buddha, the utterances of Brahmanical teachers who made references to such a creator, turn out on closer examination to be meaningless (*appāṭihīrakataṃ sampajjati*).[12] The doctrine of a permanent, enduring, substantial Self entity which was accepted by many religious and philosophical systems of the Buddha's time was rejected by him on the ground that there was no empirical evidence for it.

The absence in early Buddhism of two of the fundamental dogmas of metaphysical religious systems, namely the dogma of God and that of an immortal soul may be pointed out in support of the claim that its philosophical stance is comparable in this respect with that of Logical Positivism of modern times. However, one might object to this claim on the ground that Buddhist ideas about other realms of existence in the universe inhabited by non-human beings like *devas, māras and brahmās*, the acceptance of the doctrines of rebirth and Kamma, and of extra-sensory means of knowing (*abhiññā*) involue metaphysics. Such notions played no part in the Logical Positivism of the modern period which was so closely associated with the materialist outlook of modern science. This objection may be answered by maintaining that the notion of experience, which is fundamental to a positivistic philosophy can in principle be extended to include some of the extraordinary cognitive experiences that Buddhism conceives under *abhiññā*. Such experience, it may be maintained, could reveal certain facts that are not evident to the ordinary uncultivated sense-faculties. It may be argued that the facts revealed by such means also come within the sphere of observed facts and that they are not founded on mere metaphysical speculation. In fact some researchers have, in recent times shown an interest in an area of investigation called parapsychological, or experimental findings on the possibility of extra-sensory perception. Reasoning on similar lines, Kalupahana has pointed out that A. J. Ayer, the principal British exponent of the philosophy of Logical Positivism grants the logical possibility of the theory of rebirth.[13]

Another question remains regarding *nibbāna*, the ultimate goal of Buddhism. Even Jayatilleke who made a persistent attempt to show that early Buddhism was empiricist and that it avoided reaching speculative conclusions regarding any metaphysical principles or unverifiable entities conceded that *nibbāna* is a transempirical state "which cannot be empirically described and understood but which can be realized and attained."[14] This is an interpretation of *nibbāna* that leads to the thesis that it is a transcendental reality which is ineffable. Both Kalupahana and Tilakaratne have rejected the ineffability thesis.[15] References to Nibbāna in the Pali Suttas can be interpreted without the supposition of a transcendental reality. The definition that the Buddha himself repeatedly gives for Nibbāna is that it is the extinction of greed, hatred and delusion.[16] Nibbāna is not something that exists some-

9. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. III, p. 84f.
10. *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. II, p. 178.
11. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. I, p. 235 f.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Buddhist Philosophy-A Historical Analysis*, p. 53.
14. *EBTK* p. 475f.
15. *See Buddhist Philosophy - A Historical Analysis p. 69 f.* and A. Tilakaratne, *Nirvāna and Ineffability* (Karunaratne & Sons, Sri Lanka 1993).
16. *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. IV, p. 251.

where, but something that happens to person who fulfills the requirements of the path. In keeping with the early Buddhist teachings it can be interpreted as the attainment of peace or the extinguishing of the fire of the passions.

The most conspicuous difference between Logical Positivism and Buddhism pertains to their interpretation of the logical characteristics of ethical statements. Logical Positivism maintained the meta-ethical thesis that ethical utterances are cognitively meaningless. Buddhism maintained not only that ethical knowledge is possible, but also that it is indispensable for human well-being. However, there does not seem to be any explicit commitment in Buddhism to a naturalist theory of ethics according to which moral predicates and moral statements are reducible to a set of empirically observable properties and a set of empirically verifiable statements or to a non-naturalist theory according to which moral predicates and statements refer to intuitively ascertainable non-natural properties. According to Buddhism, moral judgments can be justified by an appeal to considerations of human well-being and the Golden Rule criterion involving behaving towards others as one would want others to behave towards oneself.

The positivistic features of Buddhist philosophy developed in opposition to the authoritarian doctrines of the Brahmanical orthodoxy and the dogmatic metaphysics of non-Brahmanical rationalist philosophers. However, Buddhist philosophy was governed by a deep ethical concern. Logical Positivism in the recent Western world developed under the influence of the general ideological background which created a dichotomy between fact and value, and maintained that scientific knowledge which is value free is the only valid kind of knowledge regarding what has real existence. This crucial difference between Buddhism and contemporary Logical Positivism is sufficient to conclude that they represent two entirely incompatible world views.

P. D. Premasiri

LOHAPĀSĀDA is the magnificent nine-storeyed building put up by King Duṭṭhagāmini in the 2nd Century B. C. at Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, for the use of the Mahavihāra monks as a Chapter House (*uposathāgāra*). As its roof was covered with copper sheets (copper tiles) it was called Lohapasāda, the 'Brazen Palace'.

The history of this *uposathāgāra* does not begin with king Duṭṭhagāmini. It was King Devānampiyatissa who put up an *uposathāgāra* at this site first, 140 years earlier, but it was not as magnificent as that of Duṭṭhagāmini.

> '*Tato mahābodhigharaṃ lohapāsādam eva ca salākaggaṃ ca kāresi bhattasālaṃ ca sādhukaṃ*
>
> Then (King Devanampiyatissa) built the Mahabodhighara, Lohapāsāda, Salāka House and the Eating House. (*Mhv.* Ch. XV Verse 205

Apparently the author of the *Mahavamsa* has made a confusion by calling the building put up by Devanampiyatissa Lohapāsāda. The term Lohapāsāda came to usage only after Dutthagamini, by reason of his covering the roof of the building he put up, with copper sheets. In the fifth century A. C., when the Mahāvamsa was written, it appears that the term Lohapāsāda has already become a synonym for an *uposathāgāra*. When the author of the Mahāvamsa says, that King Devanampiyatissa put up a Lohapāsāda, what he would have meant was that the king put up an *uposathāgāra*, though he used the term Lohapāsāda which originated after Dutthagamini covered the building (*uposathāgāra*) with copper sheets.

The author of the *Vamsatthappakāsini* apparently had noted the confusion created by calling both buildings (i. e. one put up by Devanampiyatissa and the other by Dutthagamini) Lohapāsāda, and had tried to help the reader out of the confusion.

> "*Lohapāsāda eva ca ti Vihāraparipuṇṇamattakaṃ pāsadaṃ kārāpesī ti attho. Taṃ hi paccā viddhaṃsetvā Duṭṭhagāminī mahā rājā suvaṇṇakhacitaṃ katvā kārāpesi.*
>
> (King Devanampiyatissa constructed) the Lohapasada, too, means that the (king) constructed a building just to complete the (requisites of a) *vihāra*. The King Duṭṭhagāmini later demolished it and constructed (a new) one with gold carvings." (*Mhv. A.* II 364)

Therefore it should be clear that what King Devanampiyatissa put up was a utility building, an essential component of a vihāra complex and it cannot be called a Lohapāsāda. The creator of the magnificent building called the Lohapāsāda was king Dutthagamini in the 2nd century B. C. In the light of

the facts stated above, it is clear that Suravira's argument that the author of the *Mahāvamsa* has attributed the construction of the Lohapāsāda to the King Dutthagāmini in order to give him additional credit, is unfounded (Suravira. A. V. *Anurādhapura Culture*, Saman Press, Colombo 1959 p. 115-116). The site on which the Lohapāsāda is built is a holy spot, according to tradition. The *Dīpavamsa* (chapter xiii verse 55) as well as the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter xv verses 36 and 37) report that Maha Mahinda Thera honoured the site by sprinkling flowers and predicated that the future *Uposathāgāra* would come up there. Both reports say that when the Elder Mahinda sprinkled flowers on the site, there occurred an earth tremor (*paṭhavīkampā*). What we can gather from this report is that the Elder Mahinda, who gave King Devanampiyatissa on outline of the Sacred City that would come up, identified the site as the appropriate site for an *uposathāgāra*. The *Dīpavamsa* does not give the name of the site. But the *Mahāvamsa* says that the site was called Mahāmucala Mālaka, (The place *Barringtonia Acu tangila* tree stood) in the Mahāmeghavana Park.

The *Saddharmālaṅkāra* a Sinhala literary work of the 14th century (edited by Ven. Makuluduve Piyaratana Thera, Colombo 1971 p. 440) provides additional information not given either in the *Dīpavamsa* or the *Mahāvamsa*. The *Saddharmālaṅkāra* reports that the spot was sanctified by the Buddha spending a moment in trance there, on his third visit to Sri Lanka.

The *Saddharmālankāra* does not stop there, but traces the history of the site to the time of the "Three Previous Buddhas: Kakusanda, Konāgamana and Kassapa. Unlike in the case of Gautama Buddha who sanctified the place by spending a moment in trance, the previous Buddhas sanctified it by preaching the Dhamma on the spot. Accordingly Kakusanda Buddha visited the Island of Lanka which was then known as Ojadipa and preached on the site, which was known as "Sirīsamālaka" to 20,000 beings. When the Buddha Konagamana appeared in the world, the island was called "Varadīpa". Konagamana Buddha visited the island and preached at the site, which was known as Nāgamālaka enlightening 20,000 beings. The Buddha Kassapa, too, is said to have visited the island, which was then known as Maṇḍadipa, preached at the Lohapasāda site then known as Asokamālaka, helping 4000 beings to understand the Dhamma.

The author of the *Saddharmālankāra* has not indicated the source of the additional information. The *Saddharmālankāra* is based on the Pali treatise *Rasavāhini* of Ven. Vedeha, also assigned to the 14th century. But the *Rasavāhini* does not contain the said additional information. But the *Rasavāhini* is said to be a revision of a Pali translation made from an original Sinhala compilation by Raṭṭhapāla Thera of Guttavamka Pirivena of the Mahāvihāra (*DPPN* Vol. II 718). It is possible that the additional information were contained in the Ven. Raṭṭhapāla's work, which formed the basis for the *Rasavāhini*. The author of the *Rasavāhini* Ven. Vedeha, did not wish to include this additional information, but the author of the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* who belongs to the same period, took the information direct from Raṭṭhapāla's work to which he too had access. There is also a possibility that the *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās* on which Ven. Raṭṭapāla based his work, were still extant. Therefore it is possible that the author of the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* took the additional information direct from the *Sīnhala Aṭṭhakathā*.

As stated in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter XXVII verses 1 ff) king Dutthagāmini heard of the prediction made to his grandfather by the Elder Mahinda, that his grandson would put up an *uposathāgāra* in the future on the spot. Searching in the place he came across the gold plate where the prediction was engraved. It is said that the king thoroughly rejoiced and applauded and summoned the monks and told that he would put up a building, similar to a divine mansion, for them (*vimānatulyaṃ pāsādaṃ kārayissāmi vo ahaṃ, Mhv.* Ch. XXVII verse 9). The king requested the monks to provide him with a suitable (building) plan from the *Devaloka* (*"dibbavimānam pesetvā tadālekham dadātha me"*. *Mhv.* Ch. XXVII verse 10). The monks sent eight arahants to the *devaloka*. The arahants having seen the Ambalaṭṭhikā pāsāda, the mansion of the nymph Bīranī, copied its plan with vermilion on a cloth and gave it to the king. It is interesting to note here that as far back as the 2nd century B. C. inhabitants of the island were advanced in the field of architecture and were preparing plans for the constructions. It is also clear that at this instance the monks prepared the plan for the Lohapasada, which indicates that the monks were conversant with architecture too. When the construction commenced the king was apparently selfish and wished to accrue all the merit for himself. The king proclaimed that no work shall be done here without payment (*amūlakaṃ kammaṃ ettha na, kātabbam Mhv.* verse 23). The king kept 800.000 gold

pieces (*hiraññāni*), and food and clothes at the gates, assessed whatever the work done and paid the workers in gold and kind. The building was constructed similar to the drawing (*alekhathulyaṃ kāresi lohapāsādaṃ uttamaṃ*. *Mhv.* Ch. XXVIII verse no. 20). Since the building was convered with copper tiles, it was known as Lohapāsāda (*"tambalohiṭṭhakāh' eso pāsādo chādito ahu, lohapāsāda vohāro tena tassa ajāyata" Mhv.* Ch. XXVIII verse 42.

The *Mahavamsa* (Chapter xxvii verses 24-42) provides a detailed description of this nine storeyed building. Geiger renders the *Mahāvamsa* description of magnificence of the Lohapāsāda into English thus:

"The *pāsāda* was four sided, (measuring) on each side a hundred cubits, and even so much in height. In this most beautiful palace there were nine storeys and in each storey, a hundred window chambers. All the chambers were overlaid with silver and their coral *vedikās* were adorned with manifold precious stones, gay with various games were the lotus flowers on the (*vedikās*) and they (the *vedikās*) were surrounded with rows of little silver bells.

A thousand well-arranged chambers were in the *pāsāda*, overlaid with various gems and adorned with windows. And since he heard of Vessavana's chariot, which served as a car for the women (Buddhadatta objects to this translation. According to him it is a vehicle in the shape of a woman not a car for women - Buddhadatta, A. P. *Corrections to Geiger's Mahavamsa,* Ananda Book Company, Ambalangoda Sri Lanka, 1957 p. 34). He had a gem pavilion set up in the middle (of the palace) fashioned in like manner. It was adorned with pillars consisting of precious stones, on which were figures of lions, tigers and so forth, and shapes of *'devatās'*. A bordering of pearl network ran round the edge of the pavilion and thereon was a coral *vedikā* of the kind that has been described above.

Within the pavilion, gaily adorned with the seven gems, stood a shining beauteous throne of ivory with a seat of mountain crystal and in the ivory back (was fashioned) a sun in gold, and a moon in silver, and stars in pearls, and lotus blossoms made of various gems were fitly placed here and there and *Jātaka* tales in the same place within a festoon of gold.

On the exceedingly beautiful throne covered with costly cushions was placed a beautiful fan of ivory, gleaming (magnificently) and a white parasol with a coral foot, resting on mountain crystal and having a silver staff, shone forth over the throne. On it, depicted in the seven gems, were the eight auspicious figures and rows of figures of beasts with jewels and pearls in between; and rows of little silver bells were hung upon the edge of the parasol. The Palace parasol, the throne and the pavilion were beyond price.

Costly beds and chairs, according to the rank, and carpets and coverlets of great price did he command them to spread about. The rinsing vessel and the ladle (belonging there to) were even of gold; what need then to speak of the other utensils in the palace? Surrounded by a beautiful enclosure and provided with four gateways the *pāsāda* gleaned in its magnificence like a hall in the heaven of the thirty-three gods. The *pāsada* was covered over with plates of copper and thence came its name "Brazen Palace". (Geiger Wilhelm *The Mahavamsa or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon* published by the Govt. of Ceylon 1950 p. 184-85)

The ivory throne referred to in this description reminds us of the symbol that represented the Buddha before the Buddha statue was invented, when the *Lohapāsāda* was constructed in the 2nd century B. C. Representing the Buddha with a statue was not practiced yet. It is possible that the empty throne represented the Buddha before the advent of the Buddha statue. In the alternative it would have been for the preachers of the Dharma.

After the completion of the *pāsāda* the king covened an assembly of monks. The monks assembled as in the case of Maricivaṭṭi (vihāra) cosecration festival. The floors of that 9 storeyed mansion were allocated to the monks according to their learning and spiritual attainments. The ordinary monks (*puthujjana*) stood in the first story and the bearers of the *tipiṭaka* (*tepiṭakā*) in the 2nd floor. The *Sotāpanna* etc. were accommodated from the 3rd floor onwards. According to the degree of attainment the upper four floors were adornded by the "arahants".

Although it was primarily meant for an *uposathāgāra* or a chapter house, it had been used for several purposes in the course of its long history. Among the many other purposes it had been utilized, its use as a preaching hall is prominent as seen in the Pali commentaries and other literary sources. Lohapāsāda had been a popular preaching hall for eminent monks.

... ...ated in the *Vamsatthappakasini* (Vol. II 552-55...) ... Cittagutta, resident at Ambapāsāna of ...agāma of Dakkhiṇadisabhāga, while yet being a *puthujjana* (ordinary monk) became an expert preacher. One day he was preaching to an audience of 12.000 monks on the *Rathavinīta Sutta* on the ground floor of the Lohapāsada. In the course of his discourse he tried to describe the beauty of the relic chamber of the Mahācetiya. But he felt that some did not believe him. Consequently he was discouraged and shortened the description. An arahant by name Mahātissa endowed with the analytic insight *(pabedha paṭisambhidā patto)* and the six apperceptive knowledges *(chalabhiñño)*, the preceptor of Asubhakammika Tissa thera resident of Kotapabbata Vihāra in Mahāgāma in the Rohana Janapada, who happened to be close by, said: "Friend Dhammakathika your sermon is deficient, do not get discouraged. Explain it in detail". This not only shows that the ground floor of the *Lohapāsāda* was utilized as a preaching hall, but also it was large enough to accommodate an audience of 12000 participants.

The *Sāratthappakāsini*, the commentary on the *Samyutta Nikāya* (*SA.* II. 276) records an incident of how a certain Brahmin thoroughly got excited and ran home while listening to a discourse describing the *Tilakkhaṇa* by Tipiṭaka Culanāga thera on the ground floor of the Lohapāsāda. The *Samantapāsādikā VinA.* II, 591) describes how two hostile monks were involed in an argument when Tipiṭaka Culābhaya thera got up in the evening after explaining the *Vinaya* to the monks on the ground floor of the Lohapāsāda.

As recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter XXXII verse 42-43) King Dutthagāmini having heard that the gift of the Dhamma (*dhamma dāna*) is much superior to material gifts, tried to discourse on the *Maṅgala Sutta* to the monks on the ground floor of Lohapāsāda. But he was too nervous and could not proceed, and had to end the discourse no sooner he commenced it. *Papañcasūdani*, the *Majjhima Nikāya* commentary (*MA* V, 101) records that maliyadeva thera preached the *Chacakka* Sutta to the monks on the ground floor of the Lohapāsāda and 60 monks attained 'Arahanthood' as a result.

According to a narration in the *Vamsatthappakāsini* (Vol. II. 553-55) King Bhātiya was shown the interior of the *Mahācetiya* with the intervention of Sakka, when he resolved that he would not get up unless he is shown the relic chamber of the *Mahacetiya*. Afterwards when the king wanted to enlighten the monks on the details of the relic chamber of the Mahācetiya, he summoned the monks to the ground floor of the Lohapāsāda. The *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism.* p. 91) describes the Lohapāsāda as a place where one can listen to the *dhamma* as in the days of the Buddha. The *Atthasālini* the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgani* (p. 31) describes how Gāmavāsi Sumana Deva thera tried to answer those who hold the view that the *Abhidhamma* has no origin (*nidāna*) when he was preaching on the ground floor of the Lohapāsāda.

All these incidents show that the ground floor of the Lohapāsāda was often used as a preaching hall or an assembly hall. There is an instance, which records the using of the Lohapāsāda to perform disciplinary acts (*Vinaya Kamma*), during the reign of King Saddhātissa. According to the *Manorathapūraṇi* (*AA* II 247) onec Mahāvyagga thera was attending to a disciplinary matter of bhikkhus in the seventh floor of the Lohapāsāda, saw the body of Kujjatissa thera of Mangana who had attained *parinibbāna*, coming in the air in a *Kuṭāgāra* (pavilion with a peaked roof). Mahavyaggha thera too wished to receive similar honour as the former entered the same pavilion and attained *parinibbāna* and was cremated with the same honour. Here is an instance where the seventh floor was used for a *vinaya kamma* apparently a *vinaya* ritual. Apart from that it is seen that it was used for emergency purposes too. The *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. XLII verses 53-56) describes how when a portion of the Thuparama Cetiya collapsed during the reign of Aggabodhi II (600-611 A. C.) the collar bone of the Buddha that was enshrined there was taken to the Lohapāsāda to be kept there till the repairs to the damaged *cetiya* was effected. Further an inscription discovered by the Dept. of Archaeology in the Ruwanveli Seya premises during the excavations in 1946-47, assigned to the 1st year of King Kaniṭṭhatissa provides valuable information regarding the use of the Lohapāsāda. The inscription commemorated the donation to the Mahacetiya. Though the name of the donor is defaced, it says that documents relating to the donation are kept in the Lohapāsāda. Therefore, it is seen that Lohapāsāda was used as the Record Room of the Mahavihara.

The Lohapāsāda was not an isolated building. There appears to have been a building complex with the Lohapāsāda as the main building. The Ambalaṭṭhika was apparently a building situated to the east of the Lohapāsāda, because the Lohapāsāda is always found mentioned in the context of referring to

the Ambalaṭṭhikā. (*DA*. I. 131, *DA* II. 635). Therefore it could be inferred that it was in the same premises. Pañca Nikāyika Maṇḍala (*DA II* 581 where the bhikkhus used to recite texts or commentaries when they assemble after the rainy season appears to have been a part of the said Lohapāsāda complex .... King Khallathanaga (110-103 B. C.) added 32 *pāsādas* (apparently apartments) to the Lohapāsāda (*Mhv*. Ch. XXIX verse 30). The above facts certify that there had been a building complex with the Lohapāsāda as the main one. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that Lohapāsāda was the center of Buddhist activities during the Anuradhapura period and was more or less the head quarters of the Mahā vihāra.

In the commentaries the Lohapāsāda was treated as an example of luxurios living.

> "*Lohapāsāda sadise pi ca pāsāde bhikkhu sahassamajjhe paññatte vicitta paccattharanupadhāne mahārahe sayane*"......

> In a mansion similar to the Lohapāsāda, in the middle of the Bhikkhu sangha, in a bed covered with beautiful and luxurious carperts, if a bhikkhu lays down to his right side. (*DhA*. III 472)

The *Sāratthappakāsinī the* Samyutta Commentary (*Vin. A.* I 74) takes the Lohapāsāda to explain the size or proportion. It is said that if a rock of the size of the 7th floor of the Lohapāsāda if dropped from the Brahmaloka takes seven months to reach the earth, the commentary to the *Majjhima nikāya* (*MA II* 184) has deployed it to show the extent of space. When the Naga king Mucalinda coiled around the Buddha, in the sixth week after the enlightenment, keeping its hood above, to protect the Buddha from the rain, the space created for the Buddha, within its coil was equal to the ground floor of the Lohapāsāda. In the *Sāratthappakāsini* (*SA* I 148) takes Lohapasada as an example of a *pāsada* surrounded by a wall having four entrances.

> "*So kira pāsādo lohapāsādo viya samantā catu dvāra koṭṭhakena pākārena parikkhitto*" (*SA* I .148)

Lohapāsāda is one of the eight most sacred Buddhist places (*aṭamasthāna*) in Sri Lanka and as the 100th place in the 17th century list of sacred places of Sri Lanka, called "*Nam Pota*" which is used as a basic text for the beginners in the traditional system of temple education. The creator of Lohapasada king Dutthagamini had an immense love and respect for it. According to the *Vamsatthappakasini*, the king, lying in his deathbed, was happy when he saw the Mahacetiya while lying on his right side and the Lohapāsāda when lying on his left side, and the bhikkus in front.

> "*Dakkhiṇa passena sayitva uttamaṃ mahācetiyaṃ passanto vāmapassena sayitvā uttamaṃ nava bhūmikaṃ lohapāsādaṃ passanto bhikkusaṅghaṃ purato passanto sumano ahosi*" (*MhvA*. II 685)

The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* reveals an ancient practice followed during the Anuradhapura period which is important historically as well as politically. The *Vamsatthappakāsinī* includes Lohapāsāda as one of the seven sacred spots from which clay was obtained to make the earthen pot in which the objects used for the king's consecration were kept. Accordingly clay was obtained from the northern flight of steps of the Lohapāsāda (*uttirapada ganthiyā heṭṭābhāgato Mhv. A. I. 307*). This shows the important position given to the Lohapāsāda, and its close relation to the kingship during the Anuradhapura period. The *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini* (Vol. II. 581) records an important information regarding the Lohapāsāda, namely the monks residing to the north of the river (Mahaveli) used to assemble at the Lohapāsāda to spend their rainy retreat. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* (*Mhv. A.* Vol. III 505) says that it is mentioned in the *Aṭṭhakathas* (no doubt the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā*) "that it could be seen from the east by those who are on the summit of the Udumbara Rock (present Dimbulāgala) near Kacchatittha, which is nine *yojanas* distance from Anuradhapura and from the west by those who travel either by sea or by land up to a distance of one *yojana* in the sea. However, apparently what the author of the *Vamsatthappakasini* records is not what he personally has observed, but what was recorded in the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā*. It is possible that when the *Vamsatthapakāsini* was written in the 10th or the 11th century the Lohapāsāda may not have been of that height, but possibly reduced.

This magnificent building in the course of its long history had been subjected to improvements, additions, repairs, destructions, vandalism, plunder etc. Not long after its construction in the reign of the next king Saddhatissa, Lohapāsāda was burnt down accidently by an oil lamp. But the King rebuilt it reducing it to seven floors.

Dīpena Lohapāsādo uḍḍhayhitta susaṃkhato
Kāresi Lohapāsādaṃ so sattabhumikaṃ puna
(*Mhv*. Ch. xxxiii Verse 6)

It could be inferred from this that the original structure would have been a wooden one. As elsewhere mentioned King Khallāṭhanāga (110-103 B. C.) added 32 small *pāsādas* apparently apartments around Lohapāsāda to adorn it.

Lohapāsādaparivāre pāsade'ti manorame
Lohapāsadasobhatthaṃ eso dvattiṃsa akārayi
(*Mhv*. Ch. xxxiii Verse 30)

King Bhātikābhaya (22-7 B. C.) renovated (*kāresi Lohapāsādepaṭisaṅkhāram ettha so. (Mhv.* Ch. xxxiv Verse 39). The King Amandagamini (19-29 A. C.) made varendas (*kucchiājiram .... karāpesi Mhv.* Ch. xxxv Verse No. 3.). King Abhayanāga (231-240 A. C.) constructed a pavilion *Lohapāsādaṅganaṃ hi rājā kāresi maṇḍapam eva ca. (Mhv.* Ch. xxxvi no. 52) in the yard of the Lohapāsāda.

King Sirināga (240-242 A. C.) rebuilt it making it five storeyed. (*Kāresi Lohapāsādo saṅkhittaṃ pañcabhūmikaṃ. Mhv.* Ch. xxxvi verse 25). It appears that it was king Sirināga who reduced Lohapāsāda to the least number of floors on record. According to the available records five storeys is the least number of storeys that Lohapasada has ever had and there is no record of further reduction of floors. Gothābhya (249-263 A. C.) changed the pillars of Lohapāsada (*Lohapasādathambe ca parivattiya ṭhapayi (Mhv.* xxxvi Verse 102).

King Jeṭṭhatissa (263-275 A. C.) son of Goṭhābhaya apparently had done a substantial improvement to the Lohapāsāda.

Pitarā so vippakataṃ Lohapāsādaṃ uttamaṃ
Koṭidhanaagganakaṃ kāresi sattabhūmikaṃ
Saṭṭhisatasahassagghaṃ pujayitvā mahim tahiṃ
Kāresi Jeṭṭhatisso taṃ maṇipāsāda nāmakaṃ

"The king Jetthatissa completed what his father could not finish in the Lohapāsāda. He made it worth a crore and made it seven floored. He donated a gem worth 60 lakhs to it and made it (call) mansion of gems (Manipāsāda (*Mhv.* Ch. xxxvi vv. 124-125)

The most unfortunate period of the history of the Lohapāsāda dawned in the region of King Mahasena (275-301 A. C.). Up to the reign of Mahasena only the natural disasters fell upon the Lohapāsāda. It was subjected to man made disasters for the first time in the reign of Mahasena. A bhikkhu named Sanghamitta of the Abhayagiri fraternity, with the approval of King Mahasena, who was converted to his side, got Lohapāsāda razed to the ground, and the valuable articles there were taken to Abhayagiri.

Bhinditvā Lohapāsādam sattabhūmikaṃ uttamaṃ
Ghare nānappakāre ca ito' bhayagirim nayuṃ

Having demolished the seven storeyed precious Lohapāsāda took the various (valuables) to Abhayagiri.
(*Mhv.* Ch. xxxvii verse No. 11)

According to the traditional view after the demolition, the land was sawn with Flemingia seeds (*Undu*). It is clear that by the time of Mahasena Lohapasada was only seven storeyes. However, his son Sirimeghavanna (301-328 A. C.) rebuilt Lohapasada (*Mhv.* Ch. xxxvii Verse 62). King Dhatusena (455-473 A. C.) repaired it (*Lohapāsādake Jiṇṇe Navakamma akārayi (Mhv.* Ch. xxxviii Verse 54.) King Aggabodhi (571-604 A. C.) built Lohapāsāda (though *Mahāvamsa* says 'built' (*Karetvā*) it would have been either a repair or an improvement) and provided three robes to 36,000 bhikkhus at the inauguration ceremony (*Mhv.* Ch. xlii Verse No. 20). King Aggabodhi IV (667-683 A. C.) repaired the middle pinnacle *lohapasadake sova chādesi majjhakūṭakam* (*Mhv.* Ch. XL v. 30) and Manavamma (684-718 A. C.) repaired the roof (*chādesi Lohapāsādaṃ Thupārāma gharaṃ tathā (Mhv.* Ch. xlvii Verse 65). Apparently the Lohapāsāda was plundered during the Pandya invasion (*Mhv.* Ch. LI verse 25) in the reign of king Sena I (833-853 A. C.)

The reign of King Sena II (853-887) has been an important era in the history of the Lohapāsāda. The *Mahāvamsa* records the improvements effected during the period thus

Kāretvā Lohapāsādaṃ Vejayanta sarikkhakaṃ
Vaḍḍhesi paṭimam tattha suvaṇṇaghanakoṭi mam

Sutvā uposathaghārabhavam sabbemahesinam
Tuccho'yam n'eva hotū ti vāsaṃ saghassataṃ akā

Bhogagāmeca tassādā, rakkhake ca niyojayi
Bhikkhu dvattiṃsamattāni vasantu ti niyāmayi

"King (Sena II) completely restored the pāsāda similar to the Vejayanta mansion (of Sakkha) and placed an image of the Buddha in gold and mosaic.

Having heard that this Uposathāgāra meant for all the monks is now vacant, converted it to a habitable place for monks, assigned villages for its maintenance and stationed guards and arranged 32 monks to reside there (*Mhv*. Ch. Verse 69-71).

It is clear from this report that the Lohapāsāda was not in use at the time, and the king again made it a habitat for monks.

King Sena IV was in the habit of preaching periodical sermons to the monks in the Lohapāsāda which were based on the *Suttas* (*Mhv.* Ch. LIV. v. 4). King Kassapa V (913-923 A. C.) and King Mahinda VI (959-972 A. C.) too are said to have affected some repairs (Hettiarachchi, V. S.; *Mahavihāraya* in Anuradhapura, Colombo, 1996 p. 88 Sinhala script).

Once more Lohapāsāda was destroyed by the Cholas, and it was Parakramabahu I (1153-1186) that effected the last repairs to it. The *Mahāvamsa* (ch. LXXVIII vv. 102 ff) provides a detailed account of these repairs and improvements effected by Parakramabahu I.

Ekeka passato hatthasataṃ hattisatūrukaṃ
Uccato sattakaṃ Lohapāsādaṃ colanāsitaṃ
sahassaṃ ca satam c'eva silāthambhe nidhāpiya
Anekasata gabbhehi kūṭagāra varāhi ca
Sihapañjare pantihi bhūsitam nekabhūmikam
Vimhayāvaha kammantam kārāpesi narissaro

Lohapāsāda destroyed by Cholas which measured in every direction one hundred cubits, one hundred in lengh and breadth and as much in height, which was adorned with many hundred apartments with fine turrets and with rows of cells and which had several storeys whose embellishment call forth admiration. The ruler of men restored by raising again it's thousand and six hundred stone pillars " (*Mhv.* Ch. LXXVII verse 102-104).

This is the first time that such a detailed account of Lohapāsāda is found after King Dutthagamini's episode (*Mhv.* Ch. xxvi) and this is the first instance that records the use of 1600 stone pillars either for the construction or for the repairs of Lohapāsāda. Also, since the accidental burning during the reign of King Saddhatissa, apparently this was the first time that it was restored to it's original nine storeys. In the course of earlier repairs it was reduced to seven or five storeys. It was soon after pillaged again and fell into ruin, in which state it remains to this day.

The Lohapāsāda is also referred to in the ancient Sinhala literary works. As mentioned elsewhere the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* provides additional information on the site not found in any other source. Sinhala *Thūpavamsa* (13th century) which is a translation of the Pali *Thūpavamsa* of 12th century describes *Lohapāsāda* in the context of describing the meritorious acts of Dutthagamini. It is seen that the author of the Sinhala *Thūpavamsa* has followed the *Mahāvamsa* (ch. xxvii) account, or the Pali *Thūpavamsa* account on the *Lohapāsāda*. But there is noteworthy additional information provided in the Sinhala *Thūpavamsa*. The *Mahāvamsa* as well as the Pali *Thūpavamsa* say that the water vessel and the ladle (*ācamana kumbhi*), the king provided for the *Lohapāsāda* were golden. The Sinhala *Thūpavamsa* says the golden vessel could hold 60 posts of water (*Sinhala Sthūpavamsa* edited by L. Lankananda, Colombo 1939, p. 170). The *Pūjāvaliya* another Sinhala literay work of the 13th century, too, contains information on the Lohapāsāda. The *Pūjavaliya* records that the Lohapāsāda was 120 cubits (*Mahāvamsa* 100 cubits) in length and breadth. The *Pūjāvaliya* apparently following the *Mahāvamsa* (ch. LXXVIII verse 102-104) records that King Duṭṭhagāmini built the Lohapāsāda raising 16,000 pillars in forty rows, containing 40 pillars in a row. The *Pūjāvaliya* description does not agree with the original description of the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. xxvii) regarding the Lohapāsāda. But it agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* LXXXVIII account of Parakramabahu's rebuilding of the Lohapāsāda. The *Mahāvamsa* (ch. XXVII) account does not mention Duṭṭhagāmini using stone pillars for the Lohapāsāda. Therefore it would be clear that the author of the *Pujāvaliya* in the context of describing the Lohapāsāda built by Dutthagamini, is actually describing the Lohapāsāda rebuilt by Parakramabahu I (1153-1186) which he might have personally witnessed in the 13th century A. C., but not the original as recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* (ch. XXVII).

The cluster of pillars found to the North of Sri Mahā Bodhi is now identified as the ruins of the Lohapāsāda. There are 1600 stone pillars in 40 rows, each row having 40 pillars. The pillars are of equal height but of different sizes. The platform is 4 1/2 feet from the present ground level. One can see today towards the middle of the cluster of pillars, resting over a wooden deck on top of serveral pillars, an *Uposathāgāra* recently put up for the use of bhikkhus who are attending on the Mahābodhi.

The Lohapāsāda had been subjected to an excavation by the Department of Archaeology in the year 1949. The report of the excavation is found in the

Administration [illegible] the Department of Archaeology for the year 1949. According to the findings, the virgin [illegible] found 4 ft. below the present ground level. [illegible] building activities of different pe- [illegible] observed. According to the report [illegible] stones used for the foundation nor the bricks [illegible] the construction of the retaining walls had been [illegible] made for the purpose, for, most of these parts [illegible] fragments collected form early buildings which had already been ruined when the existing edifice of the Lohapāsāda was put up. The general impression one gets by examining the material of what is left of the retaining wall is that it is a work of very late date, probably the 12[th] century A. C. The pillars form an assortment and like bricks used in the retaining wall and the stones of the foundation had not been specially prepared for the purpose which they were made to serve, when planted in their present position. Some among them are roughhewn, the type used to be embedded in brick or clay walls. Others are well dressed pillars with tenons to keep the capital in position. Some pillars have been planted with the rough base up, just the reverse of how it was originally intended to the set up. The better type of pillar is in the style of which we are familiar with two ruined edifices between the Ruwanveli and Thupārāma chaityas. Stylistically, they can be assigned to a date between the 5[th] and 10[th] centuries. It is thus clear the pillars of the existing edifice called 'the Brazen Palace' (Lohapāsada) have been collected from a number of ruined buildings of different types and that they had been planted in their present position at a later date. See PLATE XXXIX

The excavation also revealed other evidence leading to the conclusion that the existing ruins of the Brazen Palace are those of an edifice of a later date. Just outside the South Western corner of the building was found the circular pond of which the circumference gradually diminish with the depth. (The rubble facing bespeaks to an early date for the pond, and as it was close to the main entrance of the Bo Tree enclosure it must have been of considerable importance though the name and the history of it has not yet been discovered). For, if the earlier edifice that must have stood while the pond itself was functioning occupied exactly the same position as the Lohapāsāda of today, the Southwestern corner of the (original) building must have abutted the side of the pond. The ancient Sinhalese architects did not favour the locating of their buildings in such a cramped position.

Moreover there is literary evidence to show that the original Lohapāsāda was located somewhat to the North of the existing ruins of the Lohapāsāda. The *Mahābodhivamsa* (p. 137-138) tells us that in the lay out of the principal edifices of the Mahāvihāra, Lohapāsāda, and balanced with the Sannipātasālā. The ruins of the latter are today populary called Ransimāligāva, and a line drawn east to west bisecting the Lohapasada, if continued would have run through the center of the eastern entrance of the building. The reference to literature would also confirm the later date of the existing building. As already cited the *Mahāvamsa* (*Culavamsa* ch. 78 verse 102-104) records the reconstructon of the Lohapāsāda destroyed by the "Cholas", by Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A. C.) erecting 1600 stone pillars. The ruins of the Lohapāsāda as we see them today are therefore of the building of that name erected at the instance of Parakramabahu I (1153-1186). This also is in accordance with the obvious fact that ruins existing today of an edifice with a long history must be of its latest phase (Department of Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Administrative Report 1949 p. 11-12).

Recent excavations has revealed remnants of a wall re-inforceed with palmyrah (or similar timber) plastered and decorated with paintings and the signs of its destruction by fire. Also a stone capital bracket (*pekaḍa*) with paintings has been discovered (Hettiarachchi V. S. *Mahāvihāraya Anuradhapura* Colombo 1996 p. 86 ff). This confirms the *Mahāvamsa* description that the walls of Lohapāsāda was decorated with paintings depicting *Jātaka* stories. (*ibid*).

The copper tiles have been discovered at the excavations of Jetavana and Mirisaweti complexes. Therefore it is possible that the Lohapāsāda might have been roofed with coper tiles as reported in the *Mahāvamsa*.

Lohapāsāda is the most important and magnificent building mentioned in the annals of Sri Lanka apparently the masterpiece of ancient Sri Lanka architecture.

K. Arunasiri

LOKA : According to the *PED*. "*Loka* is not a fixed and definite term. It comprises immateriality as well as materiality and emphasizes either one or the other meaning according to the view applied to the object or category in question. Thus a translation of 'sphere, plane, division, order' interchanges with 'world'. Whenever the spatial element prevails we speak of its 'regional' meaning as contrasted with 'applied' meaning. The fundamental notion however is that of

substantiality, to which is closely related the specific Buddhist notion of impermanence (*loka lujjati*)". It is in this latter sense that *loka* has been defined in the *Saḷāyatana Saṃyutta* as, *"Lujjatīti kho bhikkhu tasmā loko ti vuccati"* – Loka is so called because it breaks up, because it dissolves. (*S.* IV. 52). Taken in this sense the term can go back to the Sanskrit root *ruj* meaning destruction, (*vināsa*). The same source suggests another derivation from *ruc*, to shine, to light up. It is this sense that is found in the Vedic explanations of the world as the place of light.

In the early Buddhist texts the term *loka* describes the entire Universe including all the imaginable and the unimaginable substantiality. Although its primary meanings seem to be that which describes it as the habits of gods and men. According to a frequently repeated passage found in the early canonical texts, the Buddha is described as one who has understood the world, "with its *devas*, with Māra, with Brahmā: the whole creation with recluses and brahmins, the world of men and *devas* – *imaṃ lokaṃ sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakaṃ sassamṇabrāhmaṇiṃ pajaṃ sadevamanussaṃ*."[1]

The phenomenal world has formed the subject of serious concern in early Buddhism only as far as it had direct relevance to the incividual human being. It is important to note here that of the ten *avyākata* (unexplained) questions, the first four concern the nature of the phenomenal world, viz. (i) *Sassato loko* (the world is eternal), (ii) *Asassato loko* (the world is not eternal), (iii) *Antavā loko* (the world is finite) and (iv) *Anantavā loko* (the world is infinite).[2]

In these, as well as in other similar passages '*loka*' has been described as all that which comes within the sphere of the six senses.[3] This sense in which the world has been defined can best be described as analytic in contrast to the cosmographic sense, which though not considered relevant for Buddhism is not altogether absent from the Pali canonical texts.

In this latter sense, *loka* seems to include the entire cosmos. A *lokadhātu* on the other hand seems to indicate a smaller unit within the *loka* a unit which may reasonably be described as a solar system. Such a *lokadhātu* extends 'as far as the moon and the sun move in their course and light up the quarters with their radiance (*yavatā candimasuriyā pariharanti disā 'bhanti virocanā tava*).[4] Such a unit (i. e. *lokadhātu*) consists of the following: the moon and the sun: Mount Sineru; the four continents, viz., Jambudīpa, Aparagoyāna, Uttarakuru and Pubbavideha; the four great oceans; the four Great Kings; and the seven heavenly spheres viz. *Cātummahārājika, Tāvatiṃsa, Yāma, Tusita, Nimmāranati, Paranimmitavasavattin* and *Brahmaloka*. A thousand of the above consists of the system of the thousand – fold lesser world system (*Sahassī culaṇikā lokadhātu*). A system which is thousand times the size of this is the twice-a-thousand middling world system (*Dvisahassi majjhimikā lokadhatu*). A system which is thousand times the size of the above (i.e. *dvisahassi majjhimikā lokadhātu*) is the Thrice-a-thousand mighty world system (*Tisahassī-mahāsahassī lokadhātu*.[5]

Thus, in its immensity *loka* is unlimited. It is not possible therefore to reach the end of the *loka* by traveling (*Nāhaṃ taṃ gamanena lokassa antaṃ ñatayyaṃ daṭṭhayyaṃ pattayyaṃ ti vadāmi*[6] and its immensity cannot be grasped by thinking either, hence *lokacintā* is one of four unthinkables.

The term *cakkavāla* in the post-Nikāya literature seems to have come into use in the same sense that the term *lokadhātu* is found in Nikāya texts, of course with more details of cosmographic nature. Therefore, the observation of the *PED* that, "the distinctions between the Universe (c.p., *cakkavāla*) as a larger whole and the world as a smaller unit are the fluctuating and not definite"[7] ignores the nistorical development of the two concepts. Also, its explanation of the word *loka* under the three meanings, the spatial, the regional and the applied, seems to be misleading although it is true that the word *loka*, as we have already seen, is used to mean the entire cosmos as well as the world of beings.

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1. *D.* I. 87, III; *D.* II. 150, 224; *D.* III. 77 etc. Trevor Ling, *Buddhism and the Mythology of Evil*, 1962 p. 96 F; Marasinghe M. M. J., *Gods in Early Buddhism*, 1974, p. 43.
2. *A.* V. 193; Marasinghe, M. M. J. *op. cit.* p. 57; Jayatilleke, *K. N., Early Buddhist Theroy of Knowledge*, 1963, pp. 243, 470 f.
3. *S.* I. 61; *A* II. 47; *Gods in EArly Buddhism, p. 57*
4. *A.* I. 227; A. V. 59
5. *A.* I, 227, *A.* V. 59; *Gradual Sayings* I. p. 207; See also *D.* II. 139. 253 where ten *lokadhātus* are referred to. Also see *AA.* II. 341
6. *S.* IV. 93; *Gods in Early Buddhism* p. 57 *DPPN* I. 834
7. *PED*

Cakkavala according to these post-canonical accounts is. 'The name given to a whole world system, there being countless such systems. Each *Cakkavāla* is twelve hundred and three thousand four hundred and fifty *yojanas* in extent and consists of the earth, two hundred and four thousand *nahutas* of *yojanas* in volume. surrounded by a region of water four hundred and eight thousand *yojanas* in volume. This rests on air. the thickness of which is nine hundred and sixty thousand *nahutas* of *yojanas*. In the center of the *Cakkavala* is Mount Sineru, on hundred and sixty-eight *yojanas* in height. half of which is immersed in the ocean [8]

The world (*loka*) being constituted of impermanent and transcient entities is itself transcient and impermenant. As we have already noted, it is in this sense that it is called loka (*lujjati ti kho loko ti vuccati*). Buddhism does not accept that it is the work of a creator deity like Brahmā, nor is it the product of the interaction between two or more immutable, eternal substances like the *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣas* of the Sankhya system.[9]

Although the Jains too, like the Buddhists, deny a creator deity and governor of the things of the world, unlike the Buddhists Jains hold the world and its constituents to be eternal and imperishable.

The present state of the world according to the *Aggañña Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[10] is the result of a process of evolution. A first beginning either of the world or the living beings in it is not spoken of in Buddhism. The point of the first beginning of any individual series of existsence (*saṃsāra*) is said to be inconceivable. (*Anamataggāyaṃ bhikkhave saṃsāro pubbākoṭi na paññāyati*.[11] The beginning spoken of in the *Aggañña Sutta* is not the first beginning of the world, although as E. J. Thamas observes, "here we have the nearest approach to a beginning as represented in the Brāhmaṇas".[12] It is only the beginning of a single cycle of the world. Such an evolutionary process of the world is only one in a long series of such processes.

The duration of any such single evolutionary process is an aeon or a world cycle, a *kappa*, which is sub divided into four as a dissolving phase (*saṃvaṭṭa kappa*), a static phase after dissolution before the beginning of the next evolving phase (*saṃvaṭṭo tiṭṭahati*).[13] The length of time of any one of these four phases of a *kappa* cannot be determind,[14] and a *kappa* therefore is an incalculably lengthy period of time, and is sometimes illustrated by a simile, like the Jain illustration offered to explain their measure of cosmic space which is the *rajju*.[15]

It may be noted here that the *Aggañña Sutta* account is more important as a description of the evolution of human society, than purely as an account of the evolution of the physical world. Its emphasis is on the gradual transformation which takes place in the physical surroundings of man as a result of his degradation which resulted from his succumbing to lust, greed and hatred leading to conflict. The physical surroundings and the changes that took place in these are described only as far as and in so far as these have direct ralation to the human being. Also, it may be noted here that this account of the evolution of human beings from the pre-food gathering phase through the next food-gathering phase to the next food-producing phase with the evolution of corresponding social institutions, seems to be far closer to knowledge gathered by social-anthropologists on the evolution of human societies than either the Jain[16] or the Brahmanic[17] accounts. Of special interest in this direction are the accounts of the functional origin of the four social classes, which

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8. *DPPN*. I. 834
9. Smart, R. N., *Doctrine and Argument in Indian Philosophy*, p. 76 f.; Dasgupta, *Indian philosophy*, I. 238; Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, 1951, p. 270; *Gods in Early Buddhism*, 270; p. 44.
10. *D*. III, 80f. ; *Dialogues of the Buddha* III. p. 77 F.
11. *S*. II. 178; *Kinderd Saying* II. 118 f.
12. Thomas, E. J., *History of Buddhist Thought*, 1953. p. 88
13. *A*. II, 142; *Gradual Sayings* II p. 145; *Gods in Early Buddhism* p. 45
14. *A*. II. 142
15. *Rajju* is the distance travelled in six months by a god who goes at the rate of two million miles in an instant - *Gods in Early Buddhism* p. 45, n. 7.
16. According to the Jains, the four castes are derived and are determined by the inequality of human beings - inequality which had grown with passing of time.
17. According to the Brahamin theory, the entire social order as divided into the four castes was derived from the Creator Brahma. the brahamins being the first to be created from his mouth. *M*. II, 148 f.

later developed into castes and the account of the election of the first (tribal) chieftain by common consent, before it came to be determined by heredity.[18]

The *Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta* account of the gradual deterioration of moral standards in the world resulting in the decline and near total loss of social harmony, followed by a gradual improvement thereof, bringing in more harmonious social conditions, is, though less elaborate similar in some respects to the Jain theory of the historical evolution of society, according to which each cycle is divided into six periods.[19]

In a discourse on the impermanence of all component things (*saṁkhārā*), there is a description of the destruction of the world by the gradual appearance of seven consecutive suns. Details are given of the havoc caused by each subsequent sun. On the appearance of the seventh sun, the entire earth with everything in it, is consumed by a great conflagration.[20]

As we have already seen, a *lokadhātu* consists of the Four Continents, the Purgatories, the sevenfold realms of the *deva*[21] etc. Although different spheres of beings are spoken of, it is important to note here that these are not spoken of in spatial terms as in the case of the Jain and the Brāhmanic accounts. In other words, the *Nikāya* texts do not say either that the Purgatories are situated below the surface of the earth or that the realms of the *devas* are placed above the earth. Although it is said that the realm of the *Tāvatiṃsa devas* is superior to the realm of the *Cātummahārājika devas*, it is not said that the realm of the *Tāvatiṃsa devas* is placed spatially above the realm of the *Cātummahārājika*, and so on.[22] Also, it is important to note that in almost all contexts where heavenly birth is spoken of in terms of brith into a particular realm of the gods, it is always said that one is reborn into the companionship of these particular *devas*, not into that *deva* world, thereby not necessarily implying spatially definable compartments in space. For example, in the *Saṁkhāruppatti Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, it is said that a *bhikkhu* having heard that the *Cātummahārājika devas* are long-lived, full of splendour ..... aspires thereto and consequently is reborn into the companionship of these gods.[23] The only exception to this is in the reference to the realms of the *Brahmās* which are referred to as *Brahmakāyika deva*[24] and also as *Brahmaloka*.[25] As the use of the term *devaloka* to describe the realms of the gods is post-canonical, the term *Brahmaloka*, if understood in a cosmographical sense, which it inherited from Hinduism, seems to fall in line with the post-canonical readings into Buddhist cosmological material contained in the earlier texts, than with the distinctive Buddhist cosmological thinking of the Nikaya texts.

Thus the word (*loka*) according to the Buddhist conception is not a storeyed structure where the realms of the gods are placed one above the other in ascending order, located above the surface of the earth, with the purgatories located below its surface, where the suffering increases the deeper one moves. The realms of the gods and the purgatories are best understood, according to the early texts, as conditions into which beings can be reborn than as spatially defined compartments in space.

But these non-cosmographical descriptions of the world in the earlier texts of the Pali cannon have been almost submerged by the deluge of post-canonical cosmological matter which has borrowed profusely from the contemporary Jaina and Hindu cosmologies, bringing Buddhist cosmological material almost in line with these, despite its distinctly different cosmological thinking quite clearly discernible in the early texts of the Pali canon.

As we have already noted the first four of the ten unexplained questions according to the Pali texts are regarding the nature of the phenamenal world. These ten questions which seem to have been quite popular in the sixth century B. C. religious debates were left un-answered by the Buddha, as such knowledge did not contribute to one's maturity in the path to Nibbana.

18. We see evidence of heredity determining leadership in the Sākyas as well as among such other monarchial peoples as the Magadhas during the time of the Buddha.
19. These are: *Susama - Susama; Susama; Susama - dusama; Dusama - susama; Dusama* and *Dusama - dusama.*
20. *A.* IV. 100f. *AA.* IV. 50; *Gradual Sayings* IV. 64 f.; *DPPN* II 1256.
21. *Gods in Early Buddhism* p. 44
22. *ibid.* p. 93 f.
23. *M.* III 100 f.; S. IV. 306; *A.* III. 192; *Gods in Early Buddhism.* 56 f.
24. *D.* I. 220; *D.* II. 69; *S.* V. 423; *A.* I 210
25. *D.* I. 34; *D.* III. 281; *M. I.* 34; *A.* I. 227

[illegible]*ra Sutta*, as Prof. Oldenberg observes, [illegible]ly what Buddhism is and what it is not. "It [illegible] not purport to be a philosophy which inquiries into the ultimate ground of things, unfold to thought the breadths and depths of the universe.[26] For it is little interested in metaphysical questions and in constructive speculations of the universe, which have not immediate relevance and reference to the problem of salvation. Hence questions concerning the first and final causes or the original germ of all things are set aside. Speculative questions on the infinity and duration of the world are among those brought under the heading '*avyākata*' (not explained). The reason for this attitude is that knowledge of such questions, whether they can be known or not, is another question is not essential for one to work out one's own salvation".[27]

We have also noted that the world view of Buddhism is individual centred or individual based. As the maturity of the individual to the attainment of enlightenment depends on his correct grasp of external stimuli which flow in through the sense-doors, the external world becomes of serious importance and therefore of concern to Buddhism. This is brought out quite eloquently in several textual contexts were it is said that, "where there is eye, where there is visible (*rupa*), where there is visual consciousness .... there lies the world ...." The same formula is extended to the other sense-organs and the corresponding sense-objects.[28] This has sometimes been understood as countenancing a phenomenalistic interpretation of the external world: The external world has no independent reality but is dependent on the activities of the senses. Taken in itself the quotation does point to such a conclusion. However, it seems doubtful whether it was meant to be an exhaustive definition on the nature of the external world. It seems more proper if we understand it as an attempt, made in the interest of the Buddhist practical doctrine and discipline, to show what 'world' (*loka*) means for each individual. As far as each individual is concerned, his knowledge of things, mental as well as material, is gained through the activities of his six sense-spheres (*Saḍāyatana*). And all his ideas of attachment and repugnance and the desire to satisfy the feelings so excited, function within this (his) 'world'. Since the Buddhist practical doctrine and discipline advocates the elimination of all ideas of attachment and repugnance, it is understandable if the texts say that, as far as each individual is concernend, the world is synoymous with the activities of his six sense-spheres. This, it seems to us is the context in which the above and similar statements should be understood. The severely practical approach of Buddhism seems to be responsible for their presence. It is also not without significance that the abovementioned definition of the world is often accomapanied by the words, *ariyassa vinaye*, i.e, in (according to) the noble discipline. That it was made in a narrower context is therefore fairly obvious".[29]

It is the same idea which is further emphasised when it is said in a Saṃyutta discourse which is repeated in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* as well: "Verily I declare to you, my friend, that within this very body, mortal as it is and only a fathom high, but conscious and endowed with mind, is the world and the waning thereof and the way that leads to the passing away thereof".[30]

Although the Buddha set aside the questions regarding the eternality or not, and the finiteness or otherwise of the phenominal world, he did in fact explain that there is both the arising and the end of the world as far as it is to be understood in the discipline of spiritual culture taught in Buddhism. And this feat of reaching the end of the world is tied up with the ending of the *saṃsaric dukkha*. The correct grasp of the external world and tthe adoption of the correct attitude to the stimuli which flow into the individual through the six sense-doors is essential to the realisation of the end of *dukkha*. Hence the statement that the end of *dukkha* cannot be reached without reaching the end of the world.[31]

26. Quoting Oldenberg, H. *Buddha, his life, his doctrine, his order*, London, 1882, p. 205.
27. Karunadasa, Y. *Buddhist Analysis of Matter*, 1989, p. 173.
28. *yattha ..... atthi cakkuṃ atthi rūpā atthi Cakkhuviññāṇam .... atthi tatthaloko* - S. IV. 39
29. *Buddhist Analysis of Matter* p. 172
30. *Api Khvāham āvuso imasmim yeva vyāmamatte Kalevare saññimhi samānake lokañca paññāpemi lokasamudayan ca lokanirodhan ca lokanirodhagāminim paṭipadañ ca* S. I. 62: A II. 48: *Buddhist Analysis of Matter*, p. 171
31. *Na kho panāhaṃ āvuso appatvā lokassa antaṃ dukkhassa antakiriyam vadāmi* S. I. 62

Thus, not only is the existence of the phenomenal world not denied in Buddhism, it is also emphatically stated that its comprehension is essential to the attainment of *Nibbana*. "If we base ourselves on the Pali *Nikayas*, then we should be compelled to conclude that Buddhism is realistic. There is no explicit denial anywhere of the external world. Nor is there any positive evidence to show that the world is mind-made or simply a projection of subjective thoughts. That Buddhism recognises the extra-mental existence of matter and the external world is clearly suggested by the texts. Throughout the discourses it is the language of realism that one encounters. The whole Buddhist practical doctrine and discipline, which has the attainment of *Nibbāna* as its final goal, is based on the recognition of the material world and the conscious living beings living therein."[32]

Thus the Buddhist text contain two distinctly discernible descriptions of the world (*loka*). The first is the distinctly Buddhist description of the world which is man-centred, according to which the human being claims supremacy of place as only it is by being reborn as a human being that one can attain *Nibbana* and thereby put an end to the recurring cycle of births and deaths. The *loka* and everything contained within it are subject to the same normal laws of impermanence (*aniccatā*), unsatisfactoriness (*dukkhatā*) and non-substantiality (*anattatā*). The second is the one which describes the world as comprised of innumerable solar systems each of which houses the realms of the different types of beings such as human beings, *devas*, *brahmas*, and denizens of the purgatories. These are described as conditions of birth, and not as mini-*lokas*, and therefore in non-cosmographic terms when compared with the cosmographic descriptions of the world contained in the Jaina and the Hindu religious texts.

M. M. J. Marasinghe

LOKADHAMMĀ, AṬṬHA. The Buddha, addressing a group of monks, told them that there are eight worldly phenomena *(aṭṭha lokadhammā)* hat all human beings have to face and experience throughout their lives. These eight worldly phenomena are unavoidable and they prevail in the world as long as the world continues to exist (*yāva lokappavatti tāva anivattikā dhammā ti vuttaṁ* hoti (*KhpA* .p. 153). These eight worldly phenomena are gain *(lābha)* and loss *(alābha)*; glory or fame (*yasa*) and ill - fame (*ayasa*); censure *(nindā)* and praise *(pasaṅsa)* and happiness *(sukha)* and sorrow (*dukkha*). The Buddha told the bhikkhus that all human beings - the average worldly people who are uninstructed in the *dhamma* as well as the mature and spiritually advanced disciples of the Buddha - have to experience them; but, he told them very emphatically, that there is a great difference in the way the ordinary uninstructed persons react to them and in the way the mature and spiritually advanced disciples of the Buddha react to them. When ignorant and uninstructed ordinary persons face situations of gain or loss, fame or ill fame, censure or praise, pleasure or pain they do not consider the arisen phenomena as evanescent *(anicca)*, unsatisfactory *(dukkha)* and subject to change and dissolution *(viparināma-dhamma)*. Thus, not looking at these phenomen objectively *(yatha bhūta)*, the ignorant and the uninstructed ordinary persons become elated, jubilant and excited when faced with situations of gain *(lābha)* fame *(yasa)* praise (pasamsa) and happinesss *(sukkha)*; and they become dejected, down hearted, defeated and resentful when they face situations of loss *(alābha)* ill fame *(ayasa)* censure *(nindā)* and sorrow *(dukkha)*. On the contrary, when mature and well instructed disciples of the Buddha are faced with the above eight phenomena, they look at them objectively *(yathābhūta)* as evanescent, unsatisfactory and subject to change and dissolution. Looking at them objectively thus, they do not become agitated and disturbed. They maintain balance of mind, mental equilibrim and equipoise.

The training of a disciple of the Buddha aims at creating in him this ability to maintain balance of mind and psychological composure. The Buddha and the arahants had developed in them this ability to maintain mental equilibrium and equipoise. In the life of the Buddha incidents are many illustrating these eight vicissitudes. When he made the great renunciation, he left behind a fabulous wealth along with his loving parents, the wife and the new born child, with a view to achieving a more sublime state, the Buddhahood, he gaveup everything without any attachment to them. When the Buddha established the *sāsana*, luxurient parks and magnificent buildings were offered to him by the devoted lay disciples and he accepted them only as common property of the Sangha without any desire and clinging to them. The Buddha's fame as a revolutionary religious teacher spread far and wide and many young and intelligent men volunteered to join

32. *Buddhist Analyis of Matter*, p. 172.

his disciples. His cousin Devadatta, envious about his fame and the honour the Buddha received in many places, plotted to kill him several times, and the Buddha's foot was cut and injured by a splinter of rock in one such attempt. Several rival religious groups, plotted and planned to slander the Buddha and the bhikkhus calling them womanisers and murderers. But whatever challenges the Buddha had to face, he was always pacified and undisturbed.

The ability of a mature and intelligent person to maintain balance of mind and psychological equipoise is extolled in several Buddhist discourses. The *Mahāmangala Sutta* extolls this ability in a person to maintain balance of mind in all situations as an auspicious thing *(mangalam uttamam Sn. v* 268). The *Dhammapada* (*v*. 81) says that the wise man (pandita) is not shaken by censure and praise (*nindapasamsā*) like a solid rock withstands the wind coming from all directions. *Sutta Nipatā (V. 229)* says that the mind of virtuous persons who clearly understands the four Noble Truths is like unto a firmly buried door post *(indakhīla)* which can withstand wind from all four directions.

W. G. Weeraratne

LŌKĀNUVARTANA literally means conformity *(anuvartana)* to ways of the world *(loka);* the term is used in Buddhist Sanskrit literature with reference to the Buddha's appearance and behaviour in the world of human beings,since the deification of the Buddha required the explanation of his appearance, existence and death as a human being.

The origin of Buddha - deification may be traced in the Pali *Suttas* themselves. According to the *Mahāpadāna Sutta,* and the *Acchariyabbhuta dhamma Sutta*, the bodhisatta (the Buddha-to-be) arose in the Tusita-heaven and remained there quite mindful and clearly conscious, he descended from that heaven and entered *Māyā's* womb quite mindful and conscious *(D. II, 12, M. III, 119)*. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta,* the Buddha made his appearance in assemblies of different categories of beings; when he was among men he looked and spokes like a man: when he was among gods he looked and spoke like a god (*D. II*, 109).

There were intermediary schools of Buddhism which held similar views by the time of Asoka in the third Century B.C. According to the *Kathāvatthu* and its commentary, the Vaitulyavādins held the view that the bodhisatta, on being born in the Tusita Heaven, dwelt there while visiting this world only in a shape specially created (*KVU. XVIII,* 1; *KUVA. XVIII,* 1). The created shape taught the doctrine to Ananda, while the Buddha lived in the Tusita Heaven (*ibid*. XVIII. 2). The Mahāsanghikas thought that a Buddha exists in the four quarters of the firmament changing his habit from one sphere of beings to another (*ibid*. XXI. 6). The Andhakas were of the opinion that the bodhisatta goes to an evil doom, enters a mother's womb, works penance under alien teachers and so on, of his own accord and free will (*ibid*. XXIII, 3).

Although these views were vigorously combatted by the early Theravādins (see *Kuv*. XVIII, 1, 2; XXI. 6; XXIII, 3) the later Theravādins seem to have entertained such views as is evident from the Pali commentaries. According to the *Jātaka Nidāna*, for instance, the bodhisatta, while at Tusita heaven, decided to descend to earth at the request of other deities and made his choice of the place, the time and the parents.

These docetic tendencies were fully developed to a theory which is best known in the *Mahāvastu* which expressly claims to be drawn from the *Vinaya* of the Lokottaravādins, a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas (*Mhvu*. I, 2; III, 461). The ideas are also found in the *Lalitavistara* and *Divyāvadāna*.

The chief principle is that the Buddha is supramundane (*lokottara*), above the laws and conditions of normal human existance. His behaviour as a human being is, therefore, merely a convention and an illusion.

Nothing in the fully enlightened Buddha, says the *Mahāvastu*, is comparable to anything in the world; everything connected with him is supramundane (*Mhvu*. I, 159). But he acts like a human being just in order to conform to the customs of the world. It is for this reason that he allowed himself to be conceived in the womb of Māya, and be born after ten months (*ibid*. 167-70). He is, however, not really born from mother and father at all, but arises as an apparitional being by the force of his own qualities (*ibid*. 145, 170). He allowed himself, as an infant, to be taken to the temple, although he was the god of all gods (*devātideva*): *Lal*. 83, 93 f). He becomes fully conversant with all human arts and crafts at his very birth; there was no need for him to learn them from others, although he allowed himself to be taught in them (*Mhvu*. I, 153). He is free

from passions while he was at Tusita Heaven (*ibid.* I, 147 f). He does not, therefore, indulge in sexual acts. Rāhula was not the result of his intercourse with Yasodharā (i. e., *Bhaddakaccānā*); he, like the Buddha, descended on his own accord, to Yasodhara's womb (*ibid.* 153). When he first saw an old man, a sick man and a corpse, he asked his charioteer what they were, although he knew them (*Lal.* 83, 93 f). He eats, drinks, takes medicine and sleeps only in order to conform to the ways of the world (*Lokānuvartana*): he was, in fact, not subject to hunger, thirst disease or any human needs and infirmities (*Mhvu.* I 167 ff; *Divy.* 48 ff; 128, 203 ff).

The process of deification, i. e., that the Buddha is a supernatural being who, out of compassion for all beings, descends to earth and partakes of all human experience, was complete before the period at which Mahāyāna can be called a separate system. In the Mahāyāna the Buddha is not only a divine being whose sojourn on earth and entry into *nirvāna* are purely and simply sportive, but he is also the ultimate reality.

The purpose of *lokānuvartana*, i. e., of the Buddha appearing and acting like a human being, is to win the confidence of human beings and also to make them self-confident that if the Buddha is a human being, all human beings are capable of attaining enlightenment. Had he descended to earth in his true form, i. e., god, the human beings would be discouraged thinking 'We are mere men, and are unable to reach the state of the God' (*Lal.* 64).

Thus, *Lokānuvartana* is a fine example of *upāya-kaus'alya* (*q. v.*), Buddha's skill in expedients. See BUDDHOLOGY, DOCETISM.

Upali Karunaratna

LOKAPĀLĀ See CATTĀRO MAHĀRĀJĀ

LOKAPAÑÑATTIPAKARAṆA is a Pali treatise by an unknown author (*DPPN.* Vol. II p. 787). It is mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa*, a Pali work written in Burma, which relates in brief the history of the Pali Canon. The *Gandhavaṃsa* does not give the name of the author, but says that it was written independently (*attano matiyā*). *Lokapaññatti Pakaraṇa* is referred to in the *Jinālankāra Vaṇṇanā* written in verse to describe the life of the Buddha, by Ven. Buddharakkhita of Rohana in Sri Lanka, 1700 years after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha (*Jinālankāra vaṇṇāna* edited by W. Dipankara and B. Dhammapala, Alutgama, Sri Lanka, 1913), which shows that the treatise was known to Sri Lankan scholars as far back as the 12th century A. C. But it is not extant in Sri Lanka at present.

Ven. Buddharakkhita refers to *Lokapaññattipakaraṇa* in the *Jambudīpa vaṇṇanā*, the introductory chapter, before he proceeds to describe the life of the Buddha. The Chapter (*Jambudipavaṇṇanā*) describes not only Jambudīpa, but also the other four great continents (*Cattāro mahādīpā*), namely Uttarakuru, Aparagoyāna, Pubbavideha and Sinerupabbata, apparently to describe the environment the Buddha was born in. The quotations such as '*Lokapaññattipakaraṇe sinerupabbato udake asītiyojana sahassaṃ ṭhito ti kathito*' (It is said in the *Lokapaññattipakaraṇa* that the mount Sineru is immersed 84000 leagues in the ocean), *Lokapaññattipakaraṇe pi assa vaṭṭatā yeva vuttā* (its roundness is also stated in the *Lokapaññattipakaraṇa*) shows that *Lokapaññattipakaraṇa* dealt with Buddhist cosmology.

Cakkavāladīpanī of Ven. Sirimangala, which deals with Buddhist Cosmology and which was published in Thailand in Thai script, refers to *Lokapaññattipakaraṇa* several times. No manuscripts of his works were found in Sri Lanka. However, it is reported that a manuscript of it was found in Myanmar (Burma).

K. Arunasiri

LOKAPPADĪPAKASĀRA is a Pali treatise written in mixed prose and verse (*campu*). As per its colophon, it was composed by Ven. Medhankara Sangharaja of the 'forest Dwelling Fraternity of Sīhaladipa' (*Sīhaladipa araññavāsīnaṃ*) who was the preceptor of queen Susaddhā, the mother of king Setubindu, the reigning king of Muttimanagara of Burma. It is said that Ven. Medhankara came to Sīhaladipa and received the higher ordination once more from the Forest Dwelling theras (*araññavāsī*) and went back to Burma, residing at the monastery built by the king's mother, and wrote *Lokappadīpakasāra*. He is identified as Sangharāja Vanaratana Medhankara of Kāragala in Sri Lanka (Jayawickreme, N. A., *Epoches of the Conqueror*, *PTS.* 1968, p. 129). As stated in the *Lokappadīpakasāra Lokappadīpaka* means the origin of the three-fold world, *Saṅkhāralōka*, *Sattalōka* and *Okāsaloka* which he proposes to discuss. Accordingly Ven. Medhankara describes in the ascending order *niraya* (hell), *petayoni* (realm of the

petas: *tiracchānayoni* (animal world), *Devayoni* (realm of devas), *brahmaloka* (realm of brahmas) and finally the *okāsaloka* (the cosmology).

Under the heading *manussagati* the author describes the genealogy of kings from the first king Mahasammata (popularly elected), life of the Buddha, three Buddhist Councils, establishment of the Buddhasasana in Sri Lanka and the history of Sri Lanka up to the reign of king Saddhatissa. The author was repeating what was already said in the *Mahavamsa*. It is seen that the author was following the pattern of the *Mahavamsa* giving a religious tone at the end of each chapter.

It is interesting to note that it is stated in the *Lokappadipakasāra* that emperor Asoka and Mahānāma the Sakya were born in Sri Lanka.

K. Arunasiri

LOKĀYATA See CĀRVĀKA

LOTUS SŪTRA See SADDHARMAPUṆḌARĪKASUTRA

LOVE The emotion of love that has driven men to ineffable heights of achievement in music, poetry art and religion is one of the most potent of human impulses. Rare acts of sacrifice, valour and devotion have been prompted by love. It has often made men transcend their own nature. Yet love is lacking in any specific connotation and therefore escapes precise definition. Love has been described as 'a sentiment of intense devotion, affection, concern and involvement directed towards a person, place, object, activity or idea.[1] It has also been given the meaning of 'that state of feeling with regard to a person which arises from the recognition of attractive qualities, from sympathy or from natural ties and manifests itself in warm affection and attachment, ... that feeling of attachment which is based upon difference of sex ....., religious sense 'the paternal benevolence and affection of God, the affectionate devotion due to God from his creatures and to the affection of one created being to another thence arising .....[2]. The Greek word eros represents the sensual aspect of love and *agape* its spiritual aspects. The difficulty in confining love to a definition is that love has so many facets ranging from an ecstacy of love to God to the most profound love between man and woman. These facets include love of parents, filial love, love of children and love for fellow-men. Love is in reality 'a continuum of emotions' containing within itself a blending of fine shades and distinctions.

In the sphere of religion love assumes an added significance. Love becomes a necessary pre-condition in every religious system. In pantheistic systems like Brahmanism love is based on the hypothesis that all beings are part of a divine cosmic principle (*tattvaṃ asi* that - thou art) and that in the ultimate analysis there is a mutual identity among all beings. In thiestic systems like Islam love springs from the principle of Muslim brotherhood (Ye people ! Hearken unto my speech and comprehend it. Know that every Muslim is the brother of every other Muslim. All of you are on the same equality: ye are one brotherhood).[3] In Christianity the object of unconditional love is the creator and from the love for the creator emanates the love for the beauty of creation. You love your fellow men because all men are children of God, and God you should love "with all thine heart, with all thy soul and with all thy might. "-Deuteronomy 6.5 [4] 'God is love, and he who abides in love abides in God and God abides in him.....' John 4:16:12 'Let us love one another, for love is of God, and he who loves is born of God and knows God. He who does not love does not know God; For God is love. John 4:7, 8. In John 13 34-35 it is stated 'A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another; even as I have loved you, that you love one another.[5] The first commandment of love in Mathew 22-37 is followed by the second. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. 'Love for God is extended to God's creatures. "It is the 'Fear of God' and the 'love of christ' which in the whole Biblical literature determines the behaviour toward other human beings."[6]

1. *The New Caxton Encyclopaedia* vol. 12
2. *Shorter oxford English Dictionary*
3. From Mohamed's last speech. Traditions *'The eleven religions and their proverbial lore* - p. 193 No. 442
4. This is repeated by Jesus as a First commandment in Mathew 22. 37. It is praised in the First Epistle to the Corinthians and First Epistle of John. I. John 4.16 20. - *Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, p. 91.
5. Cited by Paul Tillich in *'The New Being'* pp. 26-27
6. Paul Tillich in the *'Dynamics of Faith'* p. 112

In Buddhism the concept of love is not derived from a divine or theistic hypothesis. Basically it is derived from a recognition of the inescapable fact that there is nothing dearer to a person than himself. The *Saṃyutta Nikaya* (1.74) narrates the episode of king Pasenadi of Kosala who once asked Queen Mallika whether she held anyone dearer to her than herself. The queen replied that there was no one and the king agreed with her. Later the Buddha when informed of the conversation approved of what the queen had said and added.

> 'Traversing over all regions with my mind I have in no place found any one dearer to me than my own self. The self is equally dear to others and therefore let a man who regards his own self as dear not injure others (*S*. I, 75: *Ud*. 47). The same idea is repeated in the *Dhammapada* (v. 130) which emphasises that life is dear to eveyone (*sabbesaṃ jīvitaṃ piyaṃ*) and enjoins that one should not hurt or kill, taking oneself as an example (*attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā*). Altruistic love in Buddhism is therefore an extention of love for oneself. This is held out to be an undeniable fact.

Mettā: Many terms are used in the texts to denote different shades of love. Some of them are *pema, kāma, rati, hita, sineha* and *avera*. The greatest stress however is on love in the sense of friendliness, amity, benevolence and goodwill as represented by the Pali word *mettā* or state of friendliness. In this sense the Buddha himself was a repository of love (*mettāvihāri*). In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 369) Jivaka, a lay disciple, states, "I have seen with my own eyes how full of love the Blessed One is." The *Ariyapariyasana Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* refers to the Buddha's compassion towards beings when in response to Brahma's entreaty to preach the Dharma, he surveyed the world with the eye of an Enlightened one (*sattesu ca kāruññataṃ paṭicca Buddhacakkhunā lokaṃ vilokesiṃ* (*M* I, p. 169). Out of compassion for beings surveyed the world with the eye of an Enlightened One. The *Majjhima Nikāya* again refers to the compassion and benevolence with which the Buddha preached the *Dhamma*. *Anukampako bhagavā hitesi anukampaṃ upādāya dhammaṃ desesi M*. II, p. 238 (The Buddha preached out of compassion and benevolence). The *Sagāthā Vagga* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* records the Buddha's feeling of love and compassion towards those whom he instructs - *Hitānukampī sambuddho yadañca anusāsati*. Love and compassion doth the Enlightened One feel towards another when he teaches him.

The importance of *metta* in the context of Buddhist ethics is clear from the *Itivuttaka* (19.21) where the Buddha stresses that 'None of the good works employed to acquire religious merit, O monks, are worth a fraction of the value of loving kindness (*mettā*).

This is reminiscent of the words of the poet Coleridge who wrote:-

He prayeth well, who loveth well Both man and bird and beast. He prayeth best who loveth best All things both great and small.

Again in the *Kakacūpama Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 129) it is stressed that even if ruffians were to seize you and cut you limb by limb with a double handled saw, you would not have carried out my bidding if you felt the slightest anger towards them. Herein you should train yourselves thus: 'Neither will our minds become perverted, nor will we utter an evill speech, but kindly and compassionate will we dwell, with a mind of friendliness, void of hatred; and, beginning with him we will dwell, having suffused the whole world with a mind of friendliness, that is far reaching, widespread, immesureable, without enmity, without malevolence. The same sentiment is expressed in the *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 189) ..... *tatrāpi yo mano padoseyya na me so tena sāsanakaro* .... The *kakacūpama* or the simile of the saw later became the norm for curbing thoughts of anger. The *Theragathā* (V. 445) admonishses that 'if anger arises in you, reflect upon the parable of the saw. '*Uppajje te sace kodho āvajja kakacūpamaṃ*'. Reference is also made in the *Dhammapada* (V. 368) to the monk who lives in loving kindness delighting in the teaching of the Buddha (*mettāvihāri yo bhikkhū pasanno Buddhasāsane*) as attaining the pacification of all compounded things.

In the scheme of Buddhist religious values love has two aspects. On the one hand the practice of love is part of the individual training (*sikkhā*) leading to the Buddhist goal of emancipation. On the other it contributes to the attainment of social harmony and equilibrium in society. The Buddhist texts are replete with references to the pacification of the mind *upasammati* by the generation of wholesome (*kusala* - skilful) thoughts of love and the elimination thereby of thoughts of hatred and ill-will (*dosa-vera*). The morally unwholesome (*akusala*) qualities of *lobha*, 'greed', *dosa*, 'hatred' and *moha*, 'delusion' generate unwholesome actions. Conversely *metta* is the direct

consequence of the antithesis of these qualities viz. *alobha, adosa* and *amoha*. In this regard the virtue of *mettā* has two aspects the functional aspect and the reward aspect. In the aspirant under training the functional aspect of love is a protective shield against thoughts of hatred and makes him advance into an equanimous enrichment. In the Arahat, thoughts of love perform no function. Feeling of love is a reward for the training that is accomplished. At the same time love as an integral part of the Buddhist social philosophy is advocated in no uncertain terms as contributing to the attainment of 'the weal and happiness of mankind" (*bahujanahita, bahujanasukha*). In this sense *mettā* becomes socially relevant not only in the control of negative traits of personality and the appeasement of social conflict. It has a more positive role in that it contributes to the transformation of personality and the establishment of harmony and equilibrium in society.

That *Mettā* is not a mere attitude of goodwill, but a conscious expression of positive universal love, is clear from the *Metta Sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta* (*Sn.* p. 8) which advocates the suffusion of every sentient being in every niche of the universe with glowing thoughts of loving kindness. Every kind of sentient being, weak (*tasa*), strong (*thāvara*) of all dimensions *dīghā, mahantā, majjhimā, rassakā, anuka thūlā*, seen and unseen (*diṭṭha* and *adiṭṭha*) dwelling far and near, born or awaiting birth is to be enveloped in limitless (*aparimānaṃ*) love. A conscious radiation of uninhibited love (*mānasaṃ bhāvaye*) to all the world (*sabbalokasmiṃ*) encompassing all directions (*uddhaṃ adho ca tiriyañca*) is to be practised bereft of any vestige of obstruction, hatred or enmity - *asambādhaṃ averaṃ asapattāṃ*. This quality of boundless love precludes the development of thoughts of ill will to others and the wishing of harm to each other - *byārosanā paṭighasaññā naññamaññassa dukkhamiccheyya*. The epitome of the practice of universal love is reached in the following admonition -

Māta yata niyaṃ puttaṃ
Āyusā ekaputtamanurakkhe
Evampi sabbabhūtesu
Mānasaṃ bhāvaye aparimānam (*Sn.* v. 149)

Just as with her life
A mother shields from hurt
Her own her only child,
Let all embracing thoughts
For all that lives be thine.

This is the ideal of total sacrifice for others even at the risk of one's life.[8] The practice of love entails pervading and permeating (*Pharati vyāpetvā tiṭṭhati PvA* 52) all beings with thoughts of benevolence. It constitutes a constant (*satataṃ*) development of the mind (*mettaṃ cittaṃ bhāvayaṃ*) day and night (*rattindivaṃ*) (*Sn.* v. 507).

Similarly *mettaṃ karotha mānusiya pajāya* occurring in the *Ratana Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* is an injunction to the *devas* (gods) to show benevolence to all mankind. The practice of love by the denizens of celestial regions takes it beyond its earthly confines and marks a cosmic integration of *mettā*.

Mettā is also the first of the four *Brahmavihāras* or sublime states, the others being *karuṇā*, 'compassion', *muditā* 'sympathetic joy' and *upekkhā* 'equanimity'. Literally translated 'abodes', but more meaningfully 'modes' of life the *Brahmavihāras* are referred to in the *Dīgha Nikāya* as the four immeasureables - *appamañña* (*D. III*, 223). They were part of pre-Buddhist brahmanical practices as is evident from the legend of king *Makhādeva* of Mithila who was reborn in the Brahma-world as a result of practising the *Brahma-viharas* (*M. II.* 76). In Buddhism the practice of *Brahmavihāras* is not aimed at birth in the Brahma world and thus goes beyond the aims of the brahmanical practice. The practice of the first

8. 'Motherly love is often taken as the very analogy of selfless devotion and sacrifice. Against the background of this homily anything like the Freudian oedipus complex stands rejected ..... Of course there is definitely no attempt in Buddhism to prove that the parent-child relationships are of erotic arigin. In fact any such phenomenon would be counter to the very grain of the *Sigālovāda Sutta* .... Padmasiri de Silva in *Buddhist and Freudian Psychology* p. 105. But in an instance where was incest between mother and son the Buddha exclaims.

'What monks, does this foolish man think that a mother would not lust after her son or son after his mother' (*kinnukho bhikkhave mōghapuriso maññati na mātā putte sārajjati putto va pana mātari A.* III, 68). The possibility of such incestuous relationships is therefore recognised in the texts.

brahmavihāra *mettā* as an antidote to hatred is described in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (I, 250) in the following words:

"The monk abides pervading one quarter having his mind accompanied by love. Likewise the second, third and fourth. Thus above, below, around, everywhere, he abides pervading the entire world with his mind accompanied by love, with abundant, great immeasureable freedom from hatred and malice." (*Vide* s.v. BRAHMAVIHĀRA).

In the Buddhist scheme of values loving kindness (*mettā*) and its concomitant *avihiṃsā* non-injury spring from the basic consideration that all life desires to preserve itself in happiness and security. Deriving its validity from this position *mettā* in Buddhism transcends the confines of human life and extends to all forms of life including birds and beasts. The harmony between man and man and the peaceful co-existence of man and beast enunciated in the Buddhist doctrine of *mettā* out of the very root of the experience of "separateness" which as indicated by Erich Fromme is the source of all anxiety.[9] The fallacy of ego-consciousness or *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* is the source of this notion of 'separateness' as well as of narcissism. It is in the context of the eradication of these wrong traits of personality that the practice of *mettā* and the other *brahmavihāras* assumes its real importance. In other words attachemnt to the ego and the wrong constructions of "I" and "Mine" are at the root of all anxiety and there is no better antidote to this anxiety and the accompanying experience of 'alieanation' than the understanding of the fallacy of egoism and the conscious extension of self love to universal love by the practice of *mettā*. It is the practice of *mettā* that breaks down the barriers between man and man and demolishes the erroneously constructed walls that isolate one from another.

Pema: Love denoted by the word *Pema* is affection to another person and '*pemañiya*' describes a nature that is affectionate or amiable. The distinction between *mettā* and *pema* is that while *mettā* is all-embracing and limitless in its scope as well as detached and non-specific, *pema* is exclusive and directed towards a specific individual or individuals. *Sutta Nipāta* (v. 41) *puttesu ca vipulaṃ hoti pemaṃ* describes the affection one has for one's children. The word *pema* has also a quasi-sexual connotation when it refers to conjugal love or love between husband and wife. *Pema* was thus outside the pale of a monk's life and confined only to lay life. Yet even for the layman *pema* is emphasised as generating grief (*soka*) and fear (*bhaya*) and delaying the attainment of ultimate release. Release from *pema* (*pematovippamutta*) is therefore stressed as ensuring release from grief and fear- *Dhammapada* (v. 212). As a generator of *soka* and *bhaya*, *pema* is categorised with *piya*, *rati*, and *kāma* = *Dhammapada* (vv. 213, 214) Although Buddha acknowledged the dignity of marriage *pema* as well as *sineha* (affection) and *piya* (clear) was depicted as a product of the fallacious notion of self and that which belongs to the self. The emotions of *pema*, *sineha* and *piya* are directed towards particular individuals and to direct such emotions on particular individuals is to perpetuate the false notion of "I" and "Mine". The possibility of expression of such personalised love even in the spehre of religion is countenanced in Buddhism where it is said that such restricted love of a lower emotional nature does not lead a devotee to a height greater than births in the heavenly world (*Yesaṃ mayi saddhā mattaṃ pema mattam sabbe te saggaparāyanā* - *M.* I, 142). *Mettā* on the other hand is all-encompassing and therefore bereft of any tinge of the possessive. Yet in the context of married life *pema* was accepted within a legitimate framework. The episode of king Pasenadi of Kosala and Queen Mallika in *Samyutta* (I, 74) makes it abundantly clear that love of self is pre-eminent and from this it follows that love for those whom one holds dear is not to be under-rated. The Buddhist attitude is that love in marriage is not lukewarm. The value of conjugal love in the Buddhist teaching should be understood in the background of the sanctity that marriage had acquired in the Indian social context of the time of the Buddha. The Buddha accepted this sanctity of the marital relationship. The *Sigālovāda Sutta* (*M.* III, 281) accepts congual love and domestic happiness as a basis for a healthy society. Even the *Mahamaṅgala Sutta* accepts the ligitimacy of conjugal love and espouses the validity of domestic responsibilities of (*puttadārassa saṅgaho*). Conjugal love in the Budhist context is an integration of qualities that go beyond exclusive physical attachmeant. The general attitude to personal endearments and attachments is based on the more or less cautious forewarning given by the Buddha to grieving Ananda in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D. III*, 48).

9. Erich Fromm - *Art of loving* Unwin Books London 1962 p. 13 by Padmasiri de Silva in his *Buddhist and Freudian Psychology*, p. 104.

 LOVE

[illegible] nature - Nowhere in the whole range of Pali [illegible] the feeling of love for nature more articulate than in the use of the '*ramati*'. *Ramati* from *ram* reflects love in the sense of delighting in or finding a stimulus in. *Ramati* is used to express love of nature or to describe the emotion aroused by the beauty of nature. In the texts '*ramati*' expresses an almost mystic ecstasy at the sight of natural beauty and portrays a keen sensibility to the movement and sound of natural phenomena. Love of nature finds its finest expression in the ecstatic utterances of the monks of the *Theragatha*. Indeed the consequent control and stilling of the passions seem to have elevated the *theras* to a higher dimension - aesthetic appreciation. The sylvan haunts have a special appeal to these contemplative elders. *Ramanīyāniaraññami yattha na ramati jano*[10]. Delightful are the forests where the vulgar worldling takes no delight. *Dhammapada* (v. 99) reveals a secret bliss which only the *vītaraga* (those without passions) can experience due to their possession of unfettered minds. There is a delight in the withdrawal from the maddening crowd to the silent sanctuaries of quiet contemplation (*Vanante ramito si vā,* In the forest find thy bliss' (*Sn. v.* 709). Similarly mountains and glades - *pabbata kandara*, plains covered by musk-rose trees (*kāverimala*) and rain-washed up lands (*abhivuṭṭharammatalā*) have a special appeal to them, these mountains charm me' is an oft-repeated expression in the *Thera gatha*. The splendour of the night sky with a resplendent full moon is described in *cando yathā dosinapuṇṇamāsiyā* (*Thag.* 1119). Love for the variety of the colour in nature is expressed in the description of the clouds and the denizens of the air *nānādijaṅganā*) particularly the peacock (*mayūra*) with its multi-coloured plumage flying majestically against the background of a blue sky-*nīlabbhavaṇṇā*.

Sunīlagīvā susikha supekhunā
Sucittapattacchadanā vihaṅgamā (*Thag.* 1136)

"The birds with deep blue necks, comely crests and beautiful wings, with a covering of variegated plumage illustrate the force of his imagery. Similarly the noises and sounds that arise from the stillness of their forest retreats had a special melody for them. The sonorous trumpeting of elephants (*Thag.* 1062) the strident sounds of singing birds (*Thag.* 1070) and the reverberating thunder of the skies are music to the ear of him who has subdued his senses and whose flame of fire is extinct. The sweet medody of the incessant patter of rain, the croaking of frogs from a nearby pond and the gentle rustle of the wind through leaves, the sound of the breaking of twigs seem to reflect a delight arising from contact with the natural elements. So is his wish for contact with open spaces as well as his preference for a couch on a rocky slope amidst the mountain which to him is as soft as cotton wool. Loving all loveliness the monk experiences a suffusion of rapture within him. This entire body is engulfed in rapture. It is an efflorescence of rapture that makes him see the world draped in a new veil of loveliness.

Love of natural beauty as reflected by the word '*ramati*' constitutes love in its most refined form. It is the expression of love without the desire to possess the object of love. In the Buddhist scheme of things it is the sublimest form of detached love that lends itself to collective enjoyment. It is love untainted by any desire for possession or claim to individual ownership. Ecstasy is a reward that the monk has won, an ecstasy which makes him see all phenomena within and without as alike in nature, fleeting and void. This records a total or near total reduction of the vicious trait or *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* or ego consciousness. This is clearly set out in the *Theragāthā* (1101).

Kadānu kaṭṭhe ca tine latā ca
khandhe ime' ham amite ca dhamme
ajjhattikāneva ca bāhirāni
samaṃ tuleyyaṃ yadidaṃ kadā me
'When shall I see all alike
wood, grass, plants which creep, the aggregates
the infinite, within and without
As fleeting and void of self'

Love of nature in the full realisation that all the loveliest things are transient and perishable has released a new aesthetic faculty that makes the monks delight in the grotesque, see beauty in conventional ugliness, be indifferent to what is repulsive, and find security in

10. The use of the word '*ramanīya*' to describe natural beauty is also found in the Buddha's address to Ananda in the last days of his life - '*Ramanīya Ananda Vesāli ramanīyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ*' *ramanīyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramanīyaṃ sattambakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramanīyam Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramanīyaṃ sarandadaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaniyaṃ capalaṃ cetiyaṃ - Mahaparinibbāna Sutta. (D. II,* 118).

conventional sources of fear. Slippery and sticky moss and lichen 'disfiguring' rugged surfaces of craggy rocks awakens a rapture in him, leprous finger fallen into his bowl of rice causes him no revulsion (*Thag*. 1054) living in the company of leopards and tigers causes him no fear, living alone in fearsome rocky cavern (*Thag*. 189) causes him no fear or dread or terror. He is indifferent to cold wind and sun. The monk finds comfort in what is conventionaly not comfortable and sees beauty in what is not obviously beautiful.

Removed from the blazing conflagration that is the world of sense the monk has a new perspective of loveliness, a delight (*ramaṇa, rati*) without desire, a love without lust that makes him see evanescense in a passing cloud and fading beauty in a wild flower.

To sum up - love in Buddhism does not *derive* from any divine or theistic sanction. It derives from the basic premise that one loves oneself more dearly than any other and that universal love is a corollary to self-love. Love towards oneself and one's own reaction to pain are taken as the criterion of universal love. The Buddha himself was an embodiment of love. Indeed even his initial decision to preach his doctrine was motivated by boundless love to all beings (*sattesu karuññataṃ paṭicca* i.e. compassionate love). Yet love towards the Buddha's physical form or that of any other is abjured. To Vakkhali who was charmed by the Master's personality the Buddha says, 'Let be Vakkhali, what have you to do with seeing this poor frame of mine? He who sees the Dhamma, he is it that sees me, he that sees me is he who sees the Dhamma.' There is nothing comparable in Buddhism to the effusions of love to Christ by some mystics in Christian literature. Even Māgandiyā, a reputed beauty of her day, is described by the Buddha as a 'vessel of filth. In the Buddhist teaching the function of love is two-faceted. It neutralises negative qualities of hatred and it also promotes social harmony. To the one who has attained his religious goal (*vītarāga*) love has only a rewarding aspect and is not functional in purpose. The *acme* of universal love and self-sacrifice is analogous to a mother's love for her only son. All things endearing-*piya* and *manāpa*-have within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution and separation and the very conception of *piya* and *appiya* is the result of fallacious subjective constructions relating to "I" and "mine". The importance of conjugal love is stressed and the warmth of domestic relationship is upheld in no uncertain terms. The importance of the family unit and domestic stability in the social structure is recognised. The expressions of the love of nature reach the heights of ecstasy.

The torment the mind suffers from alluring pleasures (*kāma*) is graphically portrayed - *kāmā hi citrā madhurā manoramā - virūparūpena mathenti cittam* (*Thag*. 787), 'for by the charm, sweet and diversity of sense desire - one way or other, the mind is unbalanced'. Yet sense pleasure is not without, but within oneself-

Na te kāmā yāni citrani loke
Saṅkapparāgo purisassa kāmo
tiṭṭhanti citrāni tatheva loke
attettha dhīrā vinayanti chandaṃ (S. I, p. 22)

'The manifold objects in this world
This in itself is not desires of sense
Lustful intention is man's sense desire
that manifold of objects doth endure
The will thereto the wise exterminate.'

The stress is therefore not on the external object but on one's reaction to it, on its impact on one's mind. The stress is not on the external stimulus but on the thoughts it generates.

The importance of the view one takes of what is seen is best illustrated by the Buddhist attitude to beauty. In the Buddhist scheme of things there is no derogation of the love of beauty. There is only an adjustment of the lenses that are focussed on the kingdom of beauty. In the words of the *Sutta Nipāta* the Buddha has lifted and rolled back the veil - *vivattacchada* (*Sn*. 372) that mars and distorts the correct view. The distortants are the cankers viz. the greed for name and form-*sabbaso nāmarupasmim vītagedhassa asava'ssa na vijjanti (Sn* 1100), lust for forms, sounds and tastes, scents and things of touch-*rūpesu, gandhesu atho rasesu, gandhesu phassesu sahetha rāgam (Sn* 974) and the perception of self by the self-*yo attanā 'Attānam' nānupassati (Sn*. 477). In the Buddhist texts a distinction is made between two world-views. Two levels of the view of the world and its beauty are clearly enunciated - the lower and the higher, that of the worldling and the monk. One is the view of the common people (*jano*), the lower and the vulgar. The other is that of the Ariyan, noble and sublime. The forests that the vulgar avoid give delight to the *vītarāga ramaṇīyāni araññāni yattha na ramati jano (Dhp*. v. 99). The worldling is often depicted as one who is immersed in sensual pleasure - *kāma hi citrā madhurā manoramā avidasū yattha sitā puthujjanā* (*Thag*. 1112).

The *vītarāga* is attuned to the rhythm of beauty on an entirely different wavelength. His selfless love is an exclusive prerogative that is almost a contradiction in terms. His fires are extinguished. He is *upasānta* and *nibbuta*. Bereft of egoism and longing - *amamō nirāso (Thag.* 1092) he does not isolate a thing of beauty as something to be utilised. His love of beauty is without the alienation or individuation of the object of beauty from its true context as part of all being which is a flux - *aniccato sabbabhavaṃ vipassaṃ (Thag.* 1091).

He looks at beauty without any 'gross visual apetites' and any 'nagging visual curiosity'. He is not engaged ....in a struggle with the image on his retina .... (His) minds's eye does not snatch greedily at what the physical eye offers it'.[11] When the curtain is lifted - *vivattacchada* - he sees the world as it truly is - *yathāvadassi* (*Thag.* 1096). He has purged the self as silversmith the dross (*Sn.* 962) and finds joy in what is lovely (*kalyānapīti-Sn.* 969). He sees the universality of the process of becoming in all things of *samaṃ tuleyyaṃ* both within and without. His is a passive silent reaction to things beautiful with no desire to participate in beauty.[12]

Still like the waveless depths of the ocean (*majjhe yathā samuddassa ūmi nō jāyati' - ṭhito hoti, Sn. 920*), like a wind not caught within a net or a lotus bloom unsoiled by water (*vātaṃ va jālamhi asajjamānaṃ padumaṃ va toyena alippamānaṃ - Sn.* 213), the monk reacts to beauty in a harmony of synthesis that equates beauty to the rest of being without seeping to dissect or measure beauty on worldly criteria. Being a true 'artist of life' his reaction to beauty is a passive communion with the object of beauty. For the monk appreciation of beauty is not a process of intellection. A thing of beauty is just part of its background viz. the broad canvas of the world which he knows is void and lacking in anything substanatial (*suññato avekkhamāno attānudiṭṭhiṃ ūhacca-Sn.* 1119). To him beauty is really in the eye of the beholder. He is not soiled by beauty as the lotus is not soiled by the mud.

Elambujaṃ kantakavārijaṃ yathā
jalena paṅkena c'anūpalittaṃ
evaṃ muni *santivādo agiddho*
kāme ca loke ca anūpalitto (Sn. 845)

Love is not depreciated in Buddhism. On the other hand love based on a true understanding of the nature of things is elevated to a higher level where it is transformed and transmuted into a new dimension of experience. Love is scrubbed of its gross nature until it receives a transparent refinement. In other words love acquires in the Buddhist teaching a supramundane transcendence that is set aglow by a true appreciation of the nature of reality. For the monk knows no greater delight than to be aware of and be attuned to reality. Not the most exquisite musical symphony will give him the same rapture-

Na pañcaṅgikā turiyena rati me hoti tādisi
yathā ekaggacittassa sammā dhammaṃ vipassato
(Thag. 1070)

M. D. H. W.

LOVING KINDNESS See BRAHMAVIHĀRA, METTĀ

LUMBINI (1). The holy birth place of Gautama Buddha is now known by the name of Rummindēi. In the accounts given of the holy nativity of the Buddha, the geographical location of Lumbinī is not very clear. It was within the Sakyan country, in the vicinity of Hima-

11. 'Eric Newton's description of the Oriental artist on p. 41 f. of his *European Painting*
12. The idea of pariticpation or empathy is an intellectual interpretation of the primary experience, while as far as the experience itself is concerned, there is no room for any sort of dichotomy. The intellect, however, obtrudes itself and breaks up the experience in order to make it amenable to intellectual treatment, which means a discrimination or bifurcation. The original feeling of identity is then lost and intellect is allowed to have its characteristic way of breaking up reality into pieces. Participation or empathy is the result of intellectualization. The philosopher who has no D. T. Suzuki in *Mysticism, Christian and Buddhist*, p. 104
Notes of position given by Fuhrer on lumbini are inaccurate and misleading. In his capacity as the Archaeological surveyor of North-western provinces and Oudh, he made an exploration in the Nepalese Terai in 1896. But his work entitled, *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth Place in the Nepalese Terai'*, Allahabad 1897, pp. 22-124 has been withdrawn from circulation by the Govt. of India. Smith contends that some of Fuhrers descriptions are of fertile imagination. (Smith, Mukherji *op. cit.* Introduction; *Indian Antiquary* vol. 34 p. 1)

According to Smith approximately E long. 85.11', north lat. 25.58' (Smith, Early History of India, 4th ed. Oxford 1957. p. 117/8)

layas - *Himavanta - passato* (*Sn. Pabbajjasutta, v.* 18). The *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* refers to Lumbini as situated between the two cities, Kapilavastu and Devadaha. Some of the Buddhist scriptures - the *Kathāvatthu*, the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu*, etc. refer to Lumbini without any location. The present geographical bearing of Lumbninī is to be taken from the eastern Himalayan range, the peaks of which stand back towards the plateau of Tibet. Towards India, the mountains fall away to a long valley in which the small and independent kingdom of Nepal had grown up later. In the lap of the foot-hills of eastern Nepal, in the present forest belt of Terai, there was Lumbinī a grove of flowery trees, many centuries ago (Sukumar Dutt, *The Buddha and Five After Centuries*, London, 1957, pp 17-18; Nalinaksha Dutt and Bajpai, *Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh,* Lucknow, 1966, pp. 327/28). According to Mukherji and Law, Lumbinī is ten miles to the east of Kapilavastu (Modern Tilaura - Kot), about six miles north-east of Bulha in the British District of Basti, and two miles north of Bhagwanpur which is the headquarters of the Nepalese Tehsil (Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India,* Calcutta, 1954, p. 104; Mukherji, *Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Terai, Nepal, ASIAR*, Imperial Series, No. XXVI, part I, Calcutta 1901, p. 34), and about a mile north of Paderia (var. Pararia) village, Mukherji notes, a very high ground extending east to west for about two furlongs and about a furlong north to South, and according to him it represents the site of an acient town. About five hundred feet on the north of this site and beyond a long tank, now dry, is another rectangular plot about four hundred feet long, and three hundred feet broad, which appears to have been once surrounded by a wide ditch and access to which was had from the south east, and that elevated ground is the sacred site of Rummindeī who is known throughout Terai as a local goddess of some celebrity and hill-men call her Rupa-dei (Mukherji, *op. cit.* p. 34).

The present name Rummindeī refers to the shrine dedicated to Māyadevī, the mother of the Buddha who has been made a localised goddess, and for whom various offernings are being made by hill-men. The name Rummindeī means the goddess (deī<Sansrit *devi*) of Rummin (Lummini of the Asokan pillar edict). But it is not clear what Lummini is and in what connection it stands to the Pali and Sanskrit form Lumbinī. There are various forms of the word in the Pali canon and in other works in Buddhist literature. The oldest passage in the Pali canon which refers to the holy native place of the Buddha is found in the *Nālaka Sutta* of the *Suttanipata.* There, the birth place of the Buddha has been referred to as *Sakyānam game janapade Lumbineyye* (*Sn.* III, II, 5). Oldenberg (*Buddha*, Berlin, 1881 p. 423 n.1) suggests that the two words *gāme* and the *Janapade* of the above passage should change places, which construed accordingly, means in the country of the Sākyas in the village of Lumbineyya. *The Kathāvatthu* (*Kvu* vol. II. p. 559) and the *Nidānakatha (Jātaka*, vol. I p. 52) have the form Lumbini. But in the *Lalitavistara (Lal).* and in the *Mahāvastu (Mhvu.* ed. Senart, Paris, vols. I & II) there are variant forms such as Lumbinivana and Lumbiniya.

The *Mhāvastu* has (vol. II. p. 99) *Lumbodyāna* which gives a word *Lumba* 'apparently connected, but not identical with Lumbinī' (Charpentier, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 43, 1914, p. 17) and in the same text occurs the word *Lumbini* in a position which gives the right to assume with Senart (*op. cit.* vol. I p, 453) that it is not a *nomen proprium* but merely an adjective (cf. also, Jones, trsl. *Mhvu* 1949, vol. I, p. 78 n. 1). Charpentier (*op. cit* p. 18) assumes that *lumba* is the simple word from which Lumbinī is derived. A Prakrit word *lumvi, lumba,* occurs in Hāla's *Sattasai* (Weber, *uber das Saptaśatakam des Hala,* Leipzing, 1881, v. 322, pp. 117-18) and it means *valli* or *latā* i. e. 'a creeper', and also a cluster, a bunch of flowers, for that word had been annotated as *stabako latā ca.* (*Desīnāmamālā* of Hemachandra, ed. Pischel *BSS* XVII. Poona, *varge* 7, v. 28, p. 283). With the addition of the possessive adjectival suffix *inī* (feminine)[2] to *lumba* i.e. *lumbainī* the word *lumbini* is derived and it would stand beside *lumba* just as *kumudinī* ('a place where water-lilies grow',) *puskaraṇī* (a lotus-pool) etc. stand beside *kumudu* and *puskara*, and thus *lumbinī* would mean a place where creepers grow, it also can mean a wood of creepers, or a grove of flowery trees. This would be the connotation of the word *lumbinī*, but later, when the original sense of the word was uncertain, it was necessary to suffix vana to convey the idea that *lumbinī* was a grove, or, a park. In this context *lumbini* has been treated as a *nomen proprium.* This is evident from the same kind of treatment found in *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* which takes *lumbinī-vana* as a proper name and qualifies it by *Maṅgalasālavana.*

2. (Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammer*, Leipzig, 1878 para 438, p. 145).

(*lumbinī-vanam nama maṅgalasālavanam-Jataka*, ed. Fausböll, vol. I, p. 52) to convey the idea that it was a park, a pleasure grove of *sal* trees, a royal garden of *sal* trees. A secondary development in Sinhala Buddhist literature is to regard *lumbinī* and *maṅgalasālvana* as two distinct places, i. e. *lumbinī* was the park in which there was a pleasure grove of *sāl* trees.

Emperor Asoka, in his pillar inscription in Lumbinī has used *lummini (gāma)*. But the *Sutta Nipātha (ibid)* which is older than the inscription has *lumbineyya* and therefore it is possible that *lummini* may be a local dialect form from Lumbini with the assimilation of b to m just as Sanskrit *amba* giving the derivation *amma* in Pali and Sinhalese. And the *lummini gama* (Skt. *lumbini* grāma) which was declared tax-free by Asoka refers not to the park but to the adjoining village - the ruins of which are to be found in the mound described by Mukherji (*op. cit.* p. 34) as representing the site of an ancient town.

Lumbini, at the time of the birth of the Buddha, was a pleasure grove of *sāl* trees. (*maṅgalasālavanaṃ*) and it was the common property of the people of both cities Kapilavastu and Devadaha. At that time it was one mass of fruits and flowers; and amidst the blossoms and branches swarms of various coloured bees and flocks of birds of different kinds roamed warbling sweetly. The whole of the Lumbini grove was like a wood of variegated creepers, or the well decorated banqueting hall of some mighty king. (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, p. 153; Fausböll, ed. Jātaka vol. I p. 52). The *Lalitavistara* refers to lumbini as *udyāna* 'a park' and *kridāudyāna bhūmi* 'a playing field in the park' (*Lal.* pp. 78, 79, 81, 91). The *Mahāvastu* refers to it as *lumba* park carpeted with flowers and filled with sweet notes of the cuckoo and *lumbinī* is mentioned as a tree (vol. I p. 99) and also as a grove (vol. III p. 18) All accounts given of Lumbini in Sinhalese are consistant in taking the description as found in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* but with a slight development as discussed earlier. Thus it was not a forest in which the Buddha was born, for the suffix *vana* in Veluvana, Jetavana Lumbinīvana Meghavana etc. means a park or a grove.

The Nepalese and Tibetan sources agree with Pāli sources as to the location of Kapilavastu and Lumbinī near the Himalayan mountains. But the origin of the Lumbini park according to *Dulva* III p. 446-47, as quoted by Rockhill (Rockhill, *The life of the Buddha*, London, 1907, p. 14) was that king Suprabuddha had a beautiful queen by the name of Lumbini with whom the king used to visit a beautiful grove near the city and which belonged to a wealthy citizen. As the queen loved that park very much the king had her made a more beautiful garden a grove of *plaksa* trees and called it lumbinī's grove[4]

Lumbini, the park, gained recognition and became a sacred spot after the birth of Gautama Buddha at the place. Legends recorded in Buddhist literature, have it that queen Māyā was on her way with her attendants to Devadaha, to her parental home, for the delivery of her first child, when she saw, the beautiful Lumbinī park. Seing the *sal*-trees in flower she was anxious to pass a few moments there and she took hold of a branch of a *sāl* tree. Then, as she was experiencing the pangs of labour she stood leaning against the tree and in that position she gave birth to the child. It was Lumbinī, that was first to be sanctified by the foot-steps of the Buddha and at which he made his first utterance of supremacy. During his life time, after the attainment of Full Enlightenment, the Buddha once visited lumbinī, on his way to Devadaha, stayed there for a short time and preached the *Devadaha Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikaya* (*M. II.* p. 214). In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D.* II p. 140), which lists four holy places of pilgrimage, the birth place of the *Tathāgata*, has been described by the Buddha as a place which the believing clansmen should visit with feelings of reverence. But until Emperor Asoka's visit, Lumbinī, had only a legendary fame. There was no monument put up to mark the spot. It was during the 20th year of Asoka's coronation, (ie. after 316 years from the Buddha's birth) that Asoka by his imperial visit, restored the legendary fame of Lumbinī. The *Divyāvadana* (*Divy.* p. 389/90) narrates, that Emperor Asoka who was desirous to worship the places where the Buddha lived, and set up memorials there for the later generations, was taken by his precepter Upagupta, first to Lumbinī, when Upagupta pointed out the place and said 'Lo, and behold, here was the Buddha born'. On his word the Emperor worshipped the spot and gave away hundred thousand (*śatasahasram*) on the spot in charity to the kinspeople of the Buddha and erected a memorial mound (*caitya*) to mark the spot.

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4. Rhys Davids, *Buddha*, p. 52, says that Suprabuddha's wife was Amrta.
Beal, *Romantic Legends*, p. 42, note has that the Lumbini garden was so called after the name of the wife of the chief minister of Suprabuddha.

Lumbini, after receiving official recognition and imperial patronage was a favourite place of pilgrimage. It prospered from the lavish donations from Buddhist pilgrims from all quarters. But with the fall of Kapilavastu, the glory and grandeur it had was obliterated by the Terai forest that advanced slowy upon it, and finally it was fully covered from the vision of the faithful pilgrims, and the legends, once again, had to nurse Lumbinī, as seen in the records of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-shien (400A. C.) and Hsuantsang (636 A. C). It is purely a story of Lumbinī falling into oblivion, along with the passage of time, that we can glean in those records.

In the year 400 A. C. Fa-hsien visited Lumbinī. When he visited Kapilavastu, the city was a deserted area, 'having neither king nor people and it was like a great desert. There was simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of lay people. Fifty *li* to the east of the city is the royal garden of Lumbini' (Samual Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western world* vol. I, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 29-30). Fa-hsien records the holy nativity of the Buddha in Lumbini and his description of the place is vague. He does not mention at least the 'monolith' set up by the Emperor Asoka to mark the spot for later generations. Perhpas, he could not locate it in the heart of the Terai forest and therefore he does not seem to have seen Lumbinī-the holiest of holy places.

After the lapse of nearly 230 years, Fa-hsien was followed by another pilgrim, Hsuan-tsang (636 A. C). From his record it is clear that he had seen the ruins of the vanished city of Kapilavastu, and heard only the legend that was Lumbinī; the holy birth place of the Buddha and the memorial monolith erected by Asoka. His account was a hearsay about Lumbinī. 'There is an Asoka-flower tree, which is now decayed; this is the place where the Bodhisattva was born ..... East from this is a *stupa* built by Asokarājā and the ancient Asokan memorial which had been a great stone pillar on the top of which was the figure of a horse[5] and that after-wards, by the contrivance of a wicked dragon[6] it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. By the side of it is a little river which flows to the south-east. The people of the place call it the *river of oil* (Tilar-nadi).

After Hsuan-tsang and until the year 1894, i.e. for 1258 years, there was nothing mentioned of Lumbinī. it was a dense forest infested with wild beasts. While falling timber in the Terai forest, some wood-cutters noticed a yello pillar of sand-stone cleft down to the middle by the stroke of lightning and the top of it shattered and embeded in accumulated debris. The ruined pillar also showed an intelligible inscription which attracted the attention of Fuhrer an archaeologist in 1894 A. C. In 1895 it was identified as Emperor Asoka's monolith i.e. after 2175 years of its inception. The lower girth of the pillar is 7' 9 and 2' 7 1/4" in diametre and 21 feet in height. The capital of the pillar was bell shaped in form and it was broken into two halves and was found in the compound of the Rummindei temple. Now the pillar has been restored. The inscription in the pillar was deciphered and edited by Buhler in 1898. The language of the inscription was an eastern dialect-Māgadhi, of which the principal peculiarity was the tendency to convert medial or initial r of Sanskrit into *l*. In the inscription the word *'Rājina'* (by the king) is modified as *'Lajina'*. The convertion of *r* into *l* was the phonological tendency that helped to indentify the local name Rumin (dei) with Lumbinī. Several archaeologists were detailed for work at Rummin-deī by the governments of India and Nepal. The temple occupies the highest plateau of the big mound on the north-west of the elevated area enclosed by the ditch. About one hundred feet south of the temple is a small tank with clear water. About fourty-five feet west of the north west corner of the temple Rummin dei and about twenty-five feet below the top of the mound stands the Asokan pillar. On the north face of the pillar and towards the present top, there are several pilgrim's marks among which the Tibetan formula *Om mani padme hum* (O', the jewel is in the lotus) inscribed in bold characters which shows that Tibetans have kept a recollection of this site and pilgrims used to come here with great respect.

Mukherji's excavations in Rummindeī have made several discoveries. In the foundation of the temple of Rummindei was found a very beautiful bay (*rathaka*) masonary in carved bricks, and the temple has been built according to the *Saptaratha* 'seven bayed one' plan. (Mukherji, *op. cit.* p. 36). On the east of Rummindeī was an ante-chamber in which was found

5. Pischel suggests that the horse image was intended to represent the legendary steed Kanthaka which the Buddha rode when leaving Kapilavastu.

6. Hsuan-tsang is correct. Dragon in Taoist mythology refers to the lightning. Edkins, *Religion in China*, 4th edition p. 105.

... of broken sculptures. In this chamber, the sculpture depicts the nativity scene. The sculptured group of Māyādevi is about 5 1/2' x 3 1/4' height and breadth. It appears to be once an excellent example of the ancient art, being of that style of workmanship which is generally associated with the time of Asoka the Great. It is probably the earliest period of Buddhist sculpture. Māyā-devi is represented standing in a graceful attitude holding the branch of a *sāl*-tree with her right hand while with her left she adjusts her lower garments. Her three attendants are helping her in different ways. Below and between them stands the infant Bodhisatva. According to Mukherji, the temple of Mayadevi must have been built subsequent to the decay of the original one, but long before the visit of the Chinese pilgrims in the 5th and 7th centuries, during which it was all in ruins.

At a certain stage of its defaced history, Lumbini was the dwelling place of a *sannyāsi* who had cleared a portion of the mound and destroyed some of the *stūpas*. The *Babaji's* Math was discovered by Mukherji about sixteen feet north of Māyādevī's temple. Some fragments of ancient sculpture-the statue of Gauri-Saṅkara indicate that this holy place was once occupied by non-Buddhists.

The Asokan pillar inscription at Lumbinī has three sentences running into five lines viz:-

(A) Devana (pi) yena Piyadasina lajina visati-vasabhisitena atana agacha mahiyite hida Budhe jate Sakyamuniti.

(B) Sila Vigadabhi Cha kalapita sila-thabhe cha usapapite hida Bhagavani jate ti.

(C) Lummini - game ubalike atha-bhagiye cha.
Trsl. A. When king Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Sakyamuni was born here.

B. (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?) and caused a stone pillar to be set up (in order to show that the Blessed one was born here)

C. (He) made the village lummini free from taxes and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).

(Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Corpus Inscriptionum vol. I Oxford 1925, new edition pp. 164/65.) See PLATES XL, XLI

M. Karaluvinna

LUMBINI (2) a South Western remote village in the present Kingdom of Nepal, is the sacred Birth Place of Prince Siddhartha, who later became the Buddha. Devotees far and wide visited this sacred place and left a rich heritage of monuments, including the Māyādevi Temple with its famous Māyādevi sculpture depicting the Birth of Prince Siddhartha. A Pillar erected by Emperor Asoka in the 3rd Century B. C. authenticates the spot where the birth of Prince Siddhartha took place. The ancient inscription on the Pillar reads, "The Buddha the Sage of the Sākyas was born here." Emperor Asoka declared the village of Lumbini exempt from Taxes and presented 1000 Gold Coins to its people. Close to the Asoka Pillar stood the famous Māyādevi Temple, upto about the year 1995, which is believed to have been built in the 3rd Century B. C. to honor the Queen Māyādevi. The temple since then has been demolished for carrying out archaeological excavations. A proposal advanced by the Tribhuvan University of Kathmandu, Nepal, to re-erect the demolished Māyādevi Temple, over the excavated ruins, so as to enable both the Māyādevi temple as well as the ruins underneath to be seen, has now been accepted, and a construction programme is underway.

Two pilgrims from China, Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsiang, who visited Lumbini in the 5th and 7th Centuries A. D. have written detailed descriptions of the Monuments found in Lumbini. King Ripu Malla of Nepal who visited Lumbini in 1314 A. D. has inscribed his name on the Asoka Pillar.

The rebellions of the medieval times have brought immense damage to this Holy Place of the Buddhists, and Lumbini was lost to the world for about six centuries. It was re-discovered in the year 1895; the Asoka Pillar was half buried in mud, in the remote Terrai Plains of South Western Nepal. The re-discovered Lumbini was virtually inaccessible to the devotees of the world due to total lack of facilities.

The first effort toward restoration of the re-discovered Lumbini was by King Mahendra who donated one Million Rupees, on being deeply moved by what he saw during his visit in 1956. However, it was only

a decade later that Lumbini caught the attention of the world. The late Mr. U Thant, the Secretary General of the United Nations, a devout Buddhist, visited this Holy Place in 1967, and decided that it should be opened to the world for the restoration of world peace through Buddhism. The response to his call was encouraging, and by the year 1970 the International Lumbini Development Committee comprising thirteen nations was formed in New York, under the Chairmanship of Nepal's Permanent Representative to the United Nations. The thirteen member Nations were: Afghanistan, Burma, Democratic Kampuchea, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Singapore, Sri Lanka and Thailand. Later these thirteen nations also served as the Advisory Panel to the world renowned Japanese Architect Professor Kenzo Tange for the preparation of a Master Plan for the Development of Lumbini. Since then Bangaladesh, Bhutan and the Republic of Korea, have also joined this historic effort. The Master Plan was finalised at a tripartite review meeting of India, Thailand and Nepal held in Tokyo in 1978, and received the approval of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, for implementation. The Lumbini Development Trust of Nepal now administers and coordinates the effort of many nations to develop Lumbini as a place of Worship, Research, Learning, and Practice of Buddhism for achieving world peace.

Lumbini Development Master Plan

The Master Plan of Professor Kenzo Tange transforms three square miles of flat marshy land into a sculptured landscape of repeating squares and circles, in a rectangular form developed on a central North-South Axis. The Project Area has three zones namely: The Lumbini village, The Monastic Zone and the Sacred Garden inter-linked by a Central Spine. The Spine is a 1,474 meter long pedestrian walkaway placed on either side of a central canal.

The Lumbini Village

This is the Gateway to the outer world where the visitors to Lumbini are provided with tourist facilities. Visitors will find a wide selection of accommodation to fit one's budget and liking here. The Sri Lanka Pilgrims Rest with multi-bedded rooms, financed by the Government of Sri Lanka, is located in this zone.

The Monastic Zone

This is the Central Zone where forty-one plots of land are set aside amidst lush green forest for development by the interested nations as an international worshipping zone. The Central Spine divides the zone into East and West sectors for the development of Theravāda and Mahāyāna Monasteries respectively. Sri Lanka has leased two plots, each approximately 80m x 80m in the East Monastic Zone, close to the historic Telar River, approximately one km. to the North East of the Asoka Pillar, for a Monastery Complex, whose construction work has just begun. The other Monasteries presently being developed on the East Monastic Zone are by the Indian Mahābodhi Society, Burma, Thailand, and Nepal. The West Monastic Zone presently has Monasteries of Japan, China, South Korea and Vietnam at various stages of construction. After perhaps a decade or two when all the plots have been fully developed, this zone would present to the visitors a rich variety of Art and Architecture, and a unique place on earth for the practice of Buddhism.

The Sacred Garden

The Sacred Garden is a Circular Zone at the southern end of the Project Area with the historic Telar River flowing on its eastern border. The Central Spinal Walkaway focuses on the Asoka Pillar at the center of the Sacred Garden, with the Māyādevi Temple and the Sākya Tank by its side.

Sri Lanka Monastery (Sri Laṅkārāmaya) at Lumbini - Design of the Monastery

The entire design is based on Buddhist Philosophy and is intended to remind the visitor of two of its fundamental teachings, namely the Noble Eightfold Path (*Ariya aṭṭhangika magga*) and the doctrine of Dependent Origination (*Paṭiccasamuppāda*). While one site designed as a Meditation Center is for the learning and Practice of Buddhism (*Pratipatti pūjā*) the other incorporating a Stūpa and Monks' Residence (*Saṅghavāsa*) provides for the worship of the Buddha, Dhamma and the Sangha (*Āmisa Pūjā*).

The Meditation Center

This site is approached from a Garden Reserve in the North through a 4m. wide access road. The visitor will enter the complex from the road, facing south-

wards, through a Traditional Entrance Portal of Legendary Deities and Art Forms (Makara Toraṇa). On either side of the Entrance Portal are two Decorated Lion Pillars, each containing 3 lions on its top and bearing the Buddhist Flag, and the Country Flags. A flight of steps at the Entrance Portal takes the visitor to the lowest floor of the Meditation Center containing a Reflecting Pond in the Center and two *Sāla* Trees (*Shorea Robusta*) on either side, symbolizing the Sal Garden where the Birth of Prince Siddhartha ensued. Behind the Reflecting Pond on a Podium is placed a Statue of Prince Siddhartha Gauthama, uttering the famous Proclamation '*aggohamasmi lokassa* having taken seven steps on lotus flowers that arose from the ground. The visitor will see Prince Siddhartha on the seventh lotus, with the Prince's utterance inscribed on marble, and a painting depicting His Birth in the background. An open Colonnaded Pavilion crowned with a traditional two-tier roof named after Prince Siddhartha (Siddhartha Pavillion), provides cover to the ensemble on the Podium.

The central feature of the Meditation Centre is Lord Buddha in the Meditation Posture (*Samādhi Mudra*) under a Bo-Tree (*Ficus Religiosa*). The Bo-Three is placed about thirty feet above the lowest floor level, and the Samādhi Buddha Statue is placed at such an elevation at the foot of the Bo-Tree, so as to present to the visitor approaching from the Entrance Portal, a glimpse of both Prince Siddhartha and Lord Buddha at the same time; Prince Siddhartha at normal Eye-level and Lord Buddha in an elevated position.

As the visitor approaches closer and closer, the curious visitor will find Lord Buddha gradually disappearing from the visual field due to the high retaining wall behind Siddhartha Pavillion, supporting the elevated center. In order to rediscover Lord Buddha the visitor is now made to follow eight Flights of Steps placed symmetrically on either side of the Siddhartha Pavillion, symbolizing the Noble Eightfold Path followed by Prince Siddhartha, to attain Buddhahood.

The visitor climbing the stair way will observe each step of the Noble Eightfold Path inscribed on the decorated balustrade walls at very Landing, giving him the feeling that he is now treading this Noble Path to worship Lord Buddha. On reaching the eighth landing containing the inscription '*Sammā Samādhi*', the visitor will see Lord Buddha in *Samādhi* Mudrā under the Bodhi Tree, directly in front of him.

The visitor is now in a spacious terrace containing a semi-circular open colonnaded shelter (Bodhi-ghara) designed for meditation. From this terrace a narrow ladder of steps leads to the highest level of the complex containing the Bo-Tree. Two semi-circular lower terraces are also available for the meditators with paved platforms under trees. All the terraces are interconnected by easy stairways. The Meditation Center also has a rear entrance marked by a pavilion. Entry through this pavilion leads the visitor through a paved foot path to the Main Entrance.

The Stūpa and the Monks' Residence (Saṅghāvāsa)

The second site is to be developed as a place of worship of the Buddha, Dhamma and the Sangha. Lord Buddha's relics enshrined in a Stupa built on a spiraling ring of Hexagonal Chambers (Dharma Mandir), will enable the worship of the Buddha. The spiraling Hexagonal Chambers are to contain specially selected Dhamma related to the Principle of Dependent Origination (*Paṭicca Samuppāda*), and a Monks' Residence (Saṅghāvāsa) placed behind with facilities for the worship of Saṅgha and the preaching of Dhamma.

Lalith Muthukumāra

L'Y QUOC SU' : The Ly' Quoc Su' pagoda is in the district of the Cathedral in the centre of the Capital City of Hanoi. In ancient times the place was known as the hamlet of Tiên-thi belonging to the canton Thuân.

The porch of the pagoda has three doors with small superposed roofs and richly decorated pylons. It stands near a big century old banian tree.

The court of honour of the pagoda is behind the porch and has a small garden on the left. On the right of the porch is the court of service where there are outhouses of the pagoda, such as library, bonzery, storehouse, kitchen.

There is an old commemmorative pillar which has very old calligraphies. They tell of the history of the pagoda and the life of the famous monk to whom the pagoda was dedicated.

A square kiosk called Huong dinh is at the back of the court of honour. There are two annexed lateral edifices which are on the two sides. One is called the Bonzery and the other the Diên Maū or Altar of the mother goddess.

Newly built big galleries with flat roofs join three parts of the edifice to the square kiosk which has been the reception hall resulting in a remarkable transformation. The reception hall is built of wood. Its roofs are superposed and the eight angles turn up towards the sky in harmonius line. The main frontage has just been partitioned and one has to pass by the galleries in order to go to the inside of the hall.

It is clear that the pagoda is composed of three compartments: The Tiên duóng ngoai khách (external pavilion of reception), the Nôi cung Phât tei (interior pavilion of the Buddhist altar) and the Hân Cung (sanctuary). The Tiên duong is a pavilion of three bay-windows. Among the three bay- windows, the one in the middle is bigger than the other two.

The Noi cung is also a pavilion. Its breadth is identical to that of the Tiên duong, but its roof is perpendicular to that of the latter. Four lateral central columns in wood and two lateral walls without windows support the two frames of the roof. The Buddhist altar is at the back of the median bay. The Cuô long statue depicting the birth of the Buddha is in its usual place. A statue of Quon âm is in front of it.

The altars of the Hân are in the lateral bays. On the right there are three statues of gentlemen dressed in costumes of high officials and on the left, four statues of noble ladies. These groups of statues including the one representing the holy monk L'y Quôc Su constitute the artistic treasure of the pagoda.

At the back of these bays there are the statues of Duc ong and Duc Thanh. Duc ong is the guardian genius of the pagoda and Duc Thanh (Ananda?) the disciple of the Buddha.

The great statue of the sedent Buddha is placed on the highest grading of the altars. The standing statues of his two disciples are placed on his two sides. After the Buddha is the statue of the holy monk seated in the same position. He is wearing a monkish diadem taking in the right hand a lotus flower. There are also the statues of Giac Hai and Tu-dao hanh who were the famous colleagues of the holy monk Ning Khong. The lateral altars are dedicated to the parents of the holy monk and his two famous colleagues. The statues of these four personages are sculptured in stone and painted in multicolour.

The pagoda is called Ly-Quoc Sú which means the master of the kingdom of Ly'. The pagoda has been dedicated to the cult of a second master of the kingdom, Ven. Ngvyn Chi Thanh.

The Ly Quoc Su pagoda has been preserved as a historic monument of the Buddhists in Viet Nam.

N. T. Thai

MACCHARIYA, (Var, *Macchera*, *Skt. Mátsarya*). The PED gives the following meanings to this term, namely, avarice, stinginess, selfishness and envy and calls it one of the principal evil passions and the main cause of rebirth in the *Petaloka*. *Macchariya* is reckoned as an unwholesome or immoral psychological factor (*akusala cetasika*). Its characteristic is hiding or concealing one's own fortune (*attano sampattīnaṃ nighūhana lakkhanaṃ*)

There are five kinds of *Macchariya* namely, (1) Stinginess or avarice about dwellings (*āvāsamacchariya*); Stinginess or Avarice regarding families (*kula macchariya*); Stinginess or avarice about gains (*lābha macchariya*); Stinginess or avarice about knowledge or *dhamma* (*dhamma macchariya*); and Stinginess and avarice about fame and praise (*vaṇṇa macchariya*).

In the *Dhammapada*, *Macchera* or avariciousness is called a stain (*mala*) in a donor (*dadato macchera malaṃ* - *Dhp. V.* 242). It is one of the evil psychological conditions, which have to be renounced by force of intelligence. "With the stain of avarice vanished' is frequently mentioned as a feature of the blameless life and a preparation for arahantship.

D. Saddhasena

MACCHERA See MACCHARIYA

MADA - Infatuation. The *Vibhaṅga* (p. 345) defines it as infatuation, conceit, self-imagining, conceitedness, loftiness, haughtiness, flaunting a flag, assumption, desire of the heart for self-advertisement. (*Yo mado ..... māno maññanā maññitattaṃ unnati unnamo dhajo sampaggāho ketukamyatā cittassa, ayaṃ vuccati mado* - *Vib.* p. 360). Infatuation could arise due to birth (*jāti*), lineage (*gotta*), health (*arogya*), youth (*yobbana*), life (*jīvita*), gain (*lābha*), hospitality (*sakkāra*), honour (*garukāra*), devotion (*purekkhāra*), retinue (*parivāra*), wealth (*bhoga*), colour or beauty (*vaṇṇa*), learning

... ntelligence (*paṭhibhāna*), recognition ...*ññu*), food (*piṇḍapāta*), arrogance ...*aññattiṃ*), postures (*iriyāpatha*), psychic pow... *iddhi*), reputation (*yasa*), virtue (*sīla*), meditation ...*hāna*), knowledge (*sippa*), height (*āroha*), girth (*parināha*), shape (*saṇṭhāna*) and fulfilment (*pāripuri*)

Jātimada rises in the mind of a person due to his birth in a princely house, etc. He gets intoxicated with the pride of birth thinking that he is born to a princely house while others are not born in such families.

Gottamada is intoxication with the pride of the clan to which one belongs. *Ārogyamada* is to get intoxicated with the pride of health, thinking "I am of good health, the rest are suffering from various illnesses". *Yobbanamada* is to get intoxicated with the pride of one's youth thinking that he is in his teenage and others are like old trees that are ready to fall. One is said to have *jivitamada* when he is intoxicated with the pride of his living conditions comparing them to the lower living conditions of others.

Lābhamada - Here the person becomes unduly conscious of his gains comparing himself with those whose gains are less.

Sakkāramada - To be infatuated with the kind of hospitality one gets e.q. "I get better robes than others.

Garukāramada - It arises when one is honoured by others and others are not so honoured.

Purekkhāramada - It could arise in one when one gets priority over others.

Parivāramada - Here the person thinks that he is surrounded by hundreds and thousands when he was a layman and as a monk also he is surrounded by other *bhikkhus* in hundreds and thousands, whereas the others have little retinue.

Bhogamada - "Others are not gaining even for their daily expences, whereas I am having much wealth which is incalculable". The person who thinks thus becomes intoxicated with the pride of wealth.

Vaṇṇamada - Here the Complexion and other features of beauty are taken into consideration. The person thinks that he is handsome and others are ugly; he is popular than others, etc.

Sutamada - Here the person is intoxicated with the pride of his learning comparing it to the lesser education of others.

Paṭhibhānamada - Here the person is intoxicated with the pride of his intelligence thinking that he is more intelligent than others.

Rattaññumada - This is intoxication due to a person's recognition, experience etc.

Piṇḍapātamada - The person is introxicated with the pride of getting his meals regularly while others are getting their meals occassionally.

The other possible grounds for the arising of *mada* are: The superior way one is treated over others (*avaññattim mada*); one's pleasant postures (*iriyāpatha mada*); possession of psychic powers (*iddhi mada*); reputation due to such factors as superior skills in advising others (*yasa mada*); cultivation of virtue (*sīla mada*); ability to attain jhānic experience at ease (*jhāna mada*); accomplishment in craft (*sippa mada*); height of the body (*āroha mada*); growth of the body (*pariṇāha mada*); physical appearance or shape of the body (*saṇṭhāna mada*); having a physical body free from deformities (*pāripūri mada*).

The *Aṅguttaranikāya* refers to three main kinds of *mada*: *yobbana - mada* (infatuation by youth), *ārogya-mada* (infatuation by health) and *jīvita-mada* (infatuation by life). And it goes on to observe that the ignorant worlding infatuated by these three *madas* pursues an evil course in bodily activites, speech and thought and thereby at the dissolution of the body, after death, passes to a lower world, to a woeful Course of existence, to a state of suffering and hell (*A.* I p. 146).

It is on realizing Nibbāna that all forms of *mada* (conceit, intoxication) come to a complete end. (*nimmadā amadā honti vinassanti*). Hence *mada nimmadana*, which literally means "disintoxication from intoxication", is used as another expression for Nibbāna.

D. Saddhasena

MADHURATTHAVILĀSINĪ : The commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa* written by Buddhadatta Mahā Thera of Uragapura (in the Kāvīrapaṭṭana) in the Coḷa coun-

try of South India, under the patronage of Accutavikkama.[1] Buddhadatta is said to have had his education at the Mahāvihāra monastery which was the principal centre of Buddhist education in Sri Lanka.

The *Buddhavaṃsa* is the fourteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and is a narration of the biographical details of the twenty-five Buddhas of whom Gotama was the last. The last chapter deals with the distribution of Gotama's relics.[2] The *Buddhavaṃsa* is a poetical work consisting of an introductory chapter of 81 verses, followed by the story of the *Bodhisattva* Gotama making his first resolve under the Buddha Dīpánkara as Sumedha to become a Buddha in 187 verses.[3] It is for this reason that Dīpánkara becomes the first Bhddha whose biographical details are narrated in the *Buddhavamsa*. This is followed by individual chapters on the twenty-four former Buddhas ending up with the chapter on Buddha Gotama which is the shortest of the biographical chapters, consisting of 24 verses. The *Buddhapakiṇṇaka kaṇḍa* which follows the chapter on Buddha Gotama is followed by the story of the division of the relics of Buddha Gotama in 13 verses. The Buddhavaṃsa contains a total of 1310 verses.

The *Madhuratthavilāsinī* is the commentary on this text of 1310 verses. It opens up with the *Nidānavaṇṇanā* which after a few introductory remarks starts to comment on the first chapter of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, verse by verse. According to the author, the *Buddhavaṃsa* was expounded by the Buddha when he was residing at Nigrodhārāma in Kapilavatthu of the Sākyan country, cosequent to a request by the Venerable Sāriputta. Althought it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty when the *Buddhavaṃsa* was written, the references made by the author to the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jatakaṭṭhakathā* goes to show that it is posterior to the *Jātaka* commentary, probably pointing to a period later than that of Buddhaghosa.

It is with the declaration by the Buddha Dīpánkara that the ascetic Sumedha, who had laid himself face down on the muddy stretch of the path he undertook to clean, in order to allow the Buddha to walk across untouched by the mud, would become a Buddha in a future birth, that he becomes a *Bodhisatta*. The commentary on this chapter which follows the *Nidānavaṇṇanā* is the second longest chapter of the commentary. The commentaries on the chapters which follow this are much shorter except for the commentary on the chapter on Buddha Gotama which becomes the third longest chapter of the commentary. The first declaration made by Dīpánkara is confirmed by each of the twenty-three Buddhas who came after him, hence their inclusion in the *Buddhavaṃsa*.

The work displays commendable familiarity with relevant textual as well as commentarial material which were in existence at the time of its writing. Another important feature which cannot fail to attract the attention of the reader is the style of language used by the author. He seems to have taken delight at the slightest opportunity to use alliteration throughout his work, thus making it enjoyable to the reader. His descriptions are fascinatingly pleasant to read and it is a pleasure to witness how he plays with his words reminding the reader of the language style in the second half of the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta*.[4]

The author's familiarity with the textual traditions of the Mahāvihāra fraternity seems to have also helped him to keep within the ethos of the Mahāvihāra traditions in the elucidation of the texts which he was commenting on. The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* tradition which gives details of six former Buddhas with Buddha Gotama as the seventh, had developed by the time of the *Jātaka* commentary into a tradition of twenty-four former Buddhas. It is this same tradition which is supproted by the *Buddhavavaṃsa* text and its commentary. The importance of the *Buddhavaṃsa* and its commentary lies in the affirmation they have given to the tradition of the twenty-four former Buddhas, which had already been accepted by the Mahāvihāra tradition in the commentary on the *Jātaka* tales compiled by Buddhaghosa.

M. M. J. Marasinghe

1. Malalasekara, G. P., *DPPN*. II. 307, 437
2. *DPPN*. II. 310
3. *DPPN*. II. 1249
4. It may be noted here that the second half of the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* belongs to a period (ideologically) much later than that of the first half of the *sutta*.

MADHYAMAKAKĀRIKĀ, MŪLA : *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā*, sometimes referred to as *Madhyamaka-s'āstra*, is one of the most widely used texts of Nāgārjuna since it was first compiled. This is clearly indicated by the large number of commentaries written on it. (1) *Akutobhaya*, a short commentary attributed to Nāgārjuna himself by the Tibetan tradition, but which has been considered a spurious attribution.[1] This work is preserved only in Tibetan. (2) Pingala's commentary is preserved in Chinese and translated by Kumarajiva. (3) *Mūla-madhyamaka-vṛtti* by Buddhapālita is preserved only in Tibetan. (4) Bhāvaviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa* is preserved in Chinese and Tibetan. (5) Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā Mādhyamaka-vṛtti* is the only commentary available in its original Sanskrit version, along with a Tibetan translation. (6) A Mahāyānistic interpretation by Sthiramati is available in Chinese. (7) Another Mahāyānistic interpretation by Asanga, *Shun-chung-lun*, is a detailed explanation of the eight negations expressed in the introductory verses-*anirodham anutpādam anucchedam as'āsvatam anekārtham anānārtham anāgamam anirgamam*-an explanation that made Nāgārjuna a Mahāyānist. In addition, there are fragments of commentaries by Gunamati and Devas'arman available in Tibetan.

The work is Nāgārjuna's response to the substantialist, essentialist and transcendentalist metaphysics that came to infiltrate the original teachings of the Buddha. These specifically are the ideas of the Sarvāstivādins and the Sautrāntikas, both eventually leading to transcendence. The Sarvāstvādins highlighted existence (*sat*) and the Sautrāntikas emphasized non-existence (*asat*) in their theories of causation as identity (*satkāryavāda*) and non-identity or difference (*asatkāryavāda*), the latter eventually leading to a theory of a subtle personality (*pudgalavāda*). This two-valued logic, which eventually left four alternatives, were rejected by Nāgārjuna in one of the most non-discursive texts, almost like an Abhidharma treatise. In compiling this work, Nāgārjuna was taking a hint from the Buddha that the moral life cannot be explained satisfactorily if one were to hold on to any one of the two extremes of existence and non-existence, and the consequent four alternatives that include both and neither. This is the lesson he learnt from the Buddha's "Discourse on the Brahma's Net" (*Brahmajāla-suttanta*)[2].

The first chapter of the text, "Examination of Conditions" (*Pratyaya-parīkaṣā*) is devoted to the refutation of the substantialist or identity and the nihilistic or non-identity theories of causation mentioned earlier. The second, "Examination of the moved and the unmoved" (*Gatāgata-parīksā*) is an attempt to clarify the metaphysical theories of change or movement that contributed to the metaphysical theories of causation.

At the end of this, Nāgārjuna is not ready to given an explanation of the Buddha's theory of dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*), in contrast to the substantialist and nihilistic theories. The reason for this is that almost all forms of knowledge and all objects of knowledge explained in the early discourses also had received similar metaphysical interpretations at the hands of the Sarvāstivādins and the Sautrāntikas. Thus the first major part of the text was devoted to the refutation of these views. These pertain to the examination of (3) faculties (*indriya*), (4) the aggregates (*skandha*), (5) elements (*dhātu*), (6) lust and the lustful (*rāgarakta*), (7) dispositionally conditioned (*saṁskṛta*) (8) action and agent (*karmakāraka*), (9) antecedent state (*pūrva*), (10) fire and fuel (*agnīndhana*), (11) prior and posterior ends (*pūrvāparakoṭi*), (12) suffering (*duḥkha*), (13) dispositions (*saṁskāra*), (14) association (*saṁsarga*) and (15) self-nature (*svabhāva*).

Again, in all these instances, having criticized the metaphysical views, Nāgārjuna does not present an explanation as to how hey can be understood in terms of the Buddha's own teachings. In the discourse to Kaccāyana, the Buddha himself did not do so. Indeed what is most significant is that at the end of the section, namely, in Chapter 15, he refers to the two metaphysical extremes of existence (*astitva*) and non-existence (*nāstitva*) rejected by the Buddha in his admonition to Kaccāyana, where they are replaced by the empirical facts of arising (*uppāda*) and ceasing (*nirodha*).[3]

Nagārjuna is not yet ready to explain the Buddha's middle .... of dependent arising. The reason is that, in addition to the two extremes of existence and non-existence, the Buddha's discourse refers to another pervasive metaphysical theory, namely, that of the self (*atta*).[4] Buddha's statement to Kaccāyana is as fol-

1. See Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*. A survey with Bibliographical Notes, Tokyo: KUSF, 1980. p. 237.
2. *D.* 1.1-46
3. *S* 2.17
4. *Ibid*

lows: 'The world, for the most part, Kaccāyana, is bound by approach and grasping. One does not follow that approach and grasping, that determination of thought, that commitment and leaning, and grasp and determine: "That is my self"[5] Nāgārjuna now feels that it is his responsibility to examine the explanation of the categories that led the later Buddhists to formulate a theory of a subtle personality (*pudgala*). Therefore, the next few chapters deal with the problem of self and those concepts that generate such a metaphysical notion. They are the examination of (16) bondage and release (*bandhanamokṣa*), (17) fruit of action (*karmaphala*), (18) self (*ātma*), (19) time (*kāla*), (20) harmony (*sāmagrī*), (21) occurrence and dissolution (*sambhavavibhava*), (22) the Thus-gone One (*tathāgata*), and (23) perversions (*viparyāsa*).

After mentioning the theory of self (*atta*), the Buddha, in the discourse to Kaccāyana, admonishes him to focus on the problem of suffering (*dukkha*) as it arises and ceases: "Who thinks, suffering that is subject to arising, arises, suffering that is subject to ceasing, ceases."[6] Here again, as in the previous cases, the four noble truths have received metaphysical treatment at the hands of the Buddhist metaphysicians. Therefore, in the next two chapters examining (24) the noble truths (*āryasatya*) and (25) freedom (*nirvāṇa*), Nāgarjuna devotes himself to a refutation of such metaphysical views. In the former, he makes one of the most significant statements, in the most positive terms, explaining his own understanding of what the Buddha's doctrine is.

Whatever, is dependent arising, that we say is emptiness. That depends on an expression. That itself is the middle way.

(*Yaḥ pratītyasamutpadaḥ śunyatam tām pracaksmahe, sa prajñaptir upādāya pratipat sai va madhyamā.*[7]

Having dealt with the metaphysical issues relating to the four truths, especially the existence of suffering, its arising and ceasing, Nāgārjuna proceeds directly to the discourse to Kaccayana that explains the arising and ceasing of suffering, namely, the examination of the twelvefold factors that constitute the human personality (*dvādasāṅgaparīkṣā*) in their progressive (*anuloma*) and regressive (*paṭiloma*) orders. It is the most positive description of the Buddha's doctrine in this text and an indication of his realization that ultimately truth or reality is dependent upon the problem of human suffering and its resolution.

The first twenty six chapters of this work thus seem to follow step by step the themes presented by the Buddha in his very short admonition to Kaccāyana, which is the only discourse quoted by Nāgārjuna, but placed in the background of the metaphysical interpretations of Buddhist categories by some of the later Buddhists. This is therefore a grand commentary on the discourse to Kaccāyana.

The final chapter (27) on views (*dṛṣṭi*) is a return to the Buddha's "Discourse on Brahma's Net" (*Brahmajala-suttanta*) mentioned above. Herein, he summarized the major metaphysical views mentioned in that discourse, and concludes with the statement:

I reverently bow to Gautama who, out of compassion, has taught the true doctrine in order to relinquish all views.

(*Sarvadṛṣṭiprahānaya yaḥ saddharmam adeśayat, anukampām upādāya taṁ namasyāmi gautamaṁ*).[8]

It is the realization that grasping on to any one of the metaphysical views, listed as sixty-two in the Buddha's discourse, will leave no room for the elimination of suffering, and that the practice of compassion calls for the letting go of the views, not the non-adoption of a view such as 'dependent arising' (*pratītyasamutpāda*). The major controversy that led to a dissension among the followers of Nāgārjuna is this final statement in the *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā*. One group assumed that the relinquishing (*prahāṇa*) is a synonym for non-grasping, and this is the view of the Svātantrika school that recognized a theory or perspective without considering it to be the absolutely valid one. The second is the Prāsaṅgika school for which relinquishing means adopting no views or theories whatsoever because language is not capable of expressing the ultimate truth (see, Mādhyamika system).

David J. Kalupahana

5. *Ibid*
6. *Ibid*.
7. *MK* XXIV. 18
8. *Ibid*., XXVII. 30

MADHYAMAKA SĀSTRA
See MŪLAMADHYAMAKAKĀRIKĀ

MADHYAMĀ PRATIPAT (Pali MAJJHIMĀ PAṬIPADĀ). Before Siddhartha Gautama left his [illegible] inheritance, he had come to be well-instructed in the traditional as well as non-traditional systems of thought. He was aware that the traditional Brahmanical thinkers, for centuries, emphasized the existence (*sat*) of an eternal reality in the individual as well as the world (*ātman*), but also an equally eternal and incorruptible moral law (*brahman*).[1] The non-traditional or the *śramaṇa* tradition known to us have insisted upon the non-existence (*asat*) of the eternal reality of the individual as well as the incorruptible moral law, but recognized the reality of the physical world (*loka*)[2]. Therefore, they came to be popularly known as the "worldly philosophers" (*lokāyatikā*), admitting the reality of the material elements only. This latter was simply an extreme reaction to the Brahmanical claims.

These two extremes, existence (*sat*) and non-existence (*asat*), or according to the Buddha's terminology *atthitā* and *natthitā*,[3] dominated every aspect of philosophical speculation during the pre-Buddhist period.

It is in this context that young Siddhartha renounced the home life and went looking, not for the truth or existence (*satya*), but for the good (*kiṁkusalagavesī*) and the incomparable and noble path to peace (*anuttaraṁ santivarapadaṃ pariyesamāno*).[4] After six long years, he felt that he had attained the good and the peaceful. He wanted to express it to the world so that it can benefit by it. However, this communication was not easy. This is why he decided to avoid extremes (*anta*) and follow a "middle way" (*majjhimā paṭipadā, madhyamā pratipad*) in almost every sphere of explanation.

The first is in the explanation of human knowledge. The Brahmanical thinkers, having first utilized *a priori* reasoning in order to justify an eternal self (*ātman*) and world (*brahman*), subsequently moved in the direction of adopting a transcendental yogic intuition, at the same time, devaluing the sensory experiences. This is what prompted some members of the reclusive (*śramaṇa*) tradition to recognize sensory experience only, and reject the efficacy of any psychological or moral behavior on the part of the humans. They accepted only the physical processes observable through the physical senses.

In this background of two extremes, the Buddha proceeded to analyze and explain how both processes, sensory and contemplative (*jhāna*), have defects as well as limitations and how the defects can be rectified. It seems that the Buddha's suggestions for the rectification of the process of sensory experience came as a result of his reflections on the nature of yogic contemplation. He received instructions from two Brahmanical contemplatives, Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, regarding the contemplations described as the "state of nothingness" (*ākiñcaññāyatana*)[5] and the "state of non perception and not non-perception" (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*)[6], respectively. The latter satisfies the yearning on the part of the Brahmancial thinkers for a yogic intuition (=not non-perception), but which transcends ordinary perception (=not perception). That this was not what he was looking for is evident from his leaving these two teachers, being dissatisfied with their contemplations. After experimenting with the practice of severe austerities for a long period of time, and realizing that they too were futile and not leading to the good and the peaceful, he returned to the contemplations he practised earlier. He persisted in proceeding further and reached the 'state of cessation of perception and what is felt" (*saññavedayitanirodha*).[7] It is after emerging from this state that he realized the total absence of what the Brahmanical thinkers were looking for, namely, a permanent and eternal ultimate reality (*ātman*), hence his doctrine of no-self or non-substantiality (*anatta*), which probably made him re-reflect on the route to be taken in regard to the contemplations.

In this process, keeping in mind his goal of achieving the good and the peaceful, it could be said that he decided to follow a method of contemplation that eliminates unwholesome thoughts, rejects certainty in

1. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 1.4.1-16.
2. *D* 1.42-47.
3. *S* 2.17.
4. *M* 1.163.
5. Ibid., 1. 164
6. Ibid., 1. 165
7. *Ibid.*, 1. 175

regard to knowledge and retains the validity of sense experience as well as yogic insight. This is precisely what he did in the contemplations that are generally considered to belong to the material world (*arūpajjhāna*). These are his own contemplations, not related to anything of the traditional contemplative tradition. In fact, their naming according to numbers as first to fourth, compared to the names of the non-material (*arūpajjhāna*), is indicative of their novelty. The first stage of contemplation (*paṭhamajjhāna*) is one in which a person remains aloof from pleasures of sense (*kāma*) and bad tendencies (*akusaladhamma*). This assures the moral character of whatever that follows. In addition, it also serves as the basis of joy (*pīti*) and happiness (*sukha*) that are qualitatively different from those that are derived from pleasures of sense. That joy and happiness are accompanied by reflection (*vitakka*) and investigation (*vicāra*), the former taking the contemplative to the past to gather information, and the latter, widening the circle of inquiry.[8] Once this information gathering is done, it becomes necessary to suspend reflection and investigation, without undertaking wild-goose chase for absolute origins and ultimate realities. The contemplative then enjoys joy and happiness born of concentration (*samādhijaṁ pītisukhaṁ*)[9]. The joy that could become an obsession is then terminated. This allows the contemplative an experience of happiness associated with being 'considerate' (*upekkhā*).[10] And the fourth contemplation is devoted to the purification of consideration and mindfulness (*upekhāsatipārisuddhi*) by abandoning even the feeling of happiness.[11] This is not the closing down of the thought process in order to perceive an ineffable ultimate truth. It is when the thought process becomes pure (*parisuddha*), cleansed (*pariyodāta*), without blemish (*anaṅgana*), with defilements gone (*vigatūpakkilesa*), become tender (*mudubhūta*), pliable (*kammaniya*), become steadfast (*ṭhita*) and steadied (*ānejjapatta*).[12] The recognition of this unprejudiced and steady sensory experience, without running after unverifiable mysterious substance (*nimitta*) contrasted with qualities (*anuvyañjana*),[13] is the Buddha's rejection of the extreme attitude of the Brahmanical thinkers who completely devalued that experience.

Next, the Buddha was left with the task of rejecting the extremist treatment of sense experience, especially confined to the five physical senses, as the only valid source of knowledge, and denying any other source emerging out of the concentration of thought. This was the attitude of the materialists and natural determinists of the pre-Buddhist period. The Buddha's response to it was the recognition of higher forms of knowledge (*abhiññā*). After reaching the state of consideration (*upekhā*), when the thought became flexible, pliable and stable, he was able to direct it toward the extraordinary forms of knowledge. Leaving aside the first three, psychokinesis (*iddhividha*), the divine ear (*dibbasota*) and telepathy (*cetopariyañāṇa*), as posibilities, but of not great moral value, the Buddha focused on retrocognition (*pubbenivāsānussati*) and clairvoyance (*dibbacakkhu*). The first provided information about one's own past lives, hence of survival of the human personality, and the second provided information about another's survival at the moment of death. These two forms of knowledge convinced him of the reality of certain occurrences, namely, *karma* and rebirth, both of which were denied by the materialists. The extraordinary perceptions thus enable the Buddha to reject the second extreme of denying any form of knowledge other than sensory experience.

For the Buddha, the best form of knowledge was a middle one between the extremes of recognizing the unrestrained sense experience, on the one hand, an unlimited yogic intuition, on the other. It is called the knowledge of the spewing out of defilements (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*),[14] knowledge of things as they come to be (*yathābhūtañāṇa*),[15] which is wisdom (*paññā*).[16]

8. *D.* 1.73
9. *Ibid.*, 1.74
10. *Ibid.*, 1.75. The usual translationof this term as 'equanimity' conveys a more ethical connotation. Since, in the present context, what is most important is the epistemological sense, especially in its literal meanings as 'taking a close look,' I have rendered it as 'consideration' because what prevents from taking a close look is prejudice or lack of consideration.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, 1.76.
13. *Ibid.*, 1.70
14. *Ibid.*, 83-84.
15. *S.* 5.144
16. *M* 1.175

In the area of logical thinking, the Buddha once again adopted a middle way avoiding the extremes of the true and the false. In the Indian context, as it was in the West, the true is understood as existence (*satya*) and the false meant non-existence (*asatya*). As the Buddhist epistemologist, Dignāga, pointed out centuries later, this position can be upheld only through a principle of exclusion (*apoha*).[17] In the Western world, the purity of the two valued logic was preserved by the excluded middle. Once again, in the Indian context, the two-valued logic contributed to four alternatives that included the assertion of both and the negation of both. Thus we can have the following:

A is B (true)
A is not-B (false)
A is both B and not-B (contradiciton)
A is neither B nor not-B (unspeakable).

These four alternatives served as the foundation of the philosophy of Sañjaya, the skeptic, as well as the Jainas. It is in this background that the Buddha made the following statement:

> I *know* what has been seen, heard, conceived, cognized, attained, sought and reflected upon by the people, including the recluses and brahmans. If I *know* what has been seen by the people ... and if I were to say, "I do *not know* it," that would be confusion (*musā*) on my part. And if I were to say, [it is both that] "I *know it* and I *do not know* it," that too would be confusion (*musā*) on my part. [However,] if I were to say, "[it is both that] I neither *know* it nor *do not know* it," I would be committing a sin (*kali*) on my part.[18]

K. N. Jayatilleke, trained in the Western logical tradition with its true-false dichotomy, misinterpreted the last three statements by ignoring the different terms used by the Buddha. The four statements may be summarized as follows:

1. I know p (truth, *sacca*)
2. I do not know p (confusion, *musā*)
3. [It is both that] I know p and do not know p (confusion, *musā*)
4. [It is both that] I neither know nor do not know p (sin, *kali*)

The Buddha uses the pre-Buddhist term *satya* (*sacca*) to refer to truth, but in order to undermine its metaphysical meaning of existence (*sat*) uses the term *bhūta*, a past participle meaning 'become' as a synonym.[19] Furthermore, the Buddha never used the terms *sacca* and *asacca* at the same time to refer to the true and the false. Instead, he invented a new dichotomy, truth (*sacca*) and confusion (*musā*), a distinction that was to eliminate the absolutist existence and non-existence dichotomy. This characterization enabled him to keep both propositions, 2 and 3, open with the possibility of their becoming true. Confusion (*musā*) thus becomes a synonym for *abhūta*, 'not yet become'.[20] This is a middle way between truth as existence and false as the non-existence. Indeed, what he condemns as epistemological sin (*kali*) is the fourth proposition that negates both ordinary experience and conception, but leaves room for indescribability of what is claimed to be the ultimate truth or reality.

Following this middle way in epistemology and logic, the Buddha proceeded to formulate his conception of reality. Here again, the Buddha was faced with the dichotomy of existence and non-existence, not as the true and the false as in epistemology, but as existence (*atthitā, asitva*) and non-existence (*n'atthitā, nāstitva*) in the sphere of ontology. This is the famous middle way discussed in the discourse of Kaccāyana.[21] The discourse presents an empirical argument, maintaining that for one who perceives with right wisdom the ceasing of the world, the idea of existence in the world does not occur, and, similarly, for one who perceives with right wisdom the arising of the world, the idea of non-existence in the world does not occur.[22] Having referred to an idea that most people adhere to, are committed to and grasp on to, namely, "This is my self" (*attā me ti*), the Buddha's admonition is that one should perceiving the arising of suffering that arises,

17. See, Kalupahana, David J., *A History of Buddhist Philosophy: Continuities and Discontinuities*. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1992, pp. 202-204.
18. *A* 2.25
19. *M* 1.395
20. *Sn* 387; It 37.
21. *S* 2.16-17.
22. *Ibid.*, 2.17.

perceive the ceasing of suffering that ceases. This is an attempt to move the person away from metaphysics to empirical issues relevant to the good and the peace of human beings. Another set of extremes, similar to the one that is mentioned earlier, but which is placed in the context of the universal, is then introduced. "Everything exists" (*sabbam atthi*) is one, the other being, "everything does not exist" (*sabbaṁ n'atthi*).[23] It is at this point that the Buddha makes a claim regarding the ontological middle way. "Without approaching these two extremes, the Tathāgata teaches the doctrine through the middle (*majjhena*)."[24] This middle is then explained in terms of the principle of dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), consisting of the twelve factors explaining the human personality. Here the Buddha's concern being the arising and ceasing of suffering, he does not get involved in a technical discussion of the principle of dependent arising.

In what sense is dependent arising a middle way in ontology? Dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) is a theory based upon the experience of the dependently arisen (*paṭiccasamuppanna*). Both terms were not part of the Indian vocabulary before the Buddha. They, as well as many other terms, were coined by the Buddha in order to express his ideas which were totally different from those of the previous Brahmanical and Śramaṇa traditions.

First of all, the Brahmanical tradition, enamoured with its pursuit of the permanent and enternal self (*ātman*) and the world (*brahman*) was never involved in a serious discussion of the problems of space, time and causality. The reclusive of Śramaṇa tradition was, while reacting against the Brahmanical teachings, remained satisfied with explaining everything in terms of material elements. Since causality or dependent arising is invariably connected with the problems of space and time, and since the Buddha was more interested in dealing with psychological and moral events than the physical, he did not spend much time on the problem of space, but focused on the problem of time. The conception of time (*kāla*) available in the background was commonsensical or non-philosophical. These were the concepts of the past (*atīta*, a past participle meaning, 'gone away'), the present (*vartamāna*, a present participle meaning, 'existing') and the future (*anāgata*, a past participle implying, 'not yet come'). The present thus remains separated from the past and the future, thereby making it almost impossible to relate a cause and an effect.

Thus, the first task of the Buddha was to coin a new term to express an enduring present, that is, a present that includes at least the immediate past. Hence his creation of the term *paccuppanna* (*pratyutpanna*), meaning 'arisen facing [back]', another past participle a grammatical form that describes a continued process that has been terminated. Similarly, the dependently arisen (*paṭiccasamuppanna, pratītyasamutpanna*, a gerund *paṭicca, pratītya* prefixed to the past participle *samuppanna, samutpanna*) explains the arising of an effect having moved toward the condition or conditions. This represents the experience of the relationship between the effect and the condition or conditions on which it depends. This leaves room for revisions in our description of the condition or conditions, thereby eliminating the need for an unverifiable substance or essence in the cause that gives rise to the effect. This constitutes the knowledge of phenomena (*dhamme ñāṇa*).[25] Dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda, pratītyasauutpāda*, a nominal form) is based upon inductive knowledge (*anvaye ñāṇa*),[26] since it is an application of the experienced dependence into the obvious past and the future. By limiting the evidence for the causal relation to the experience of the enduring present, by recognizing the limitations of that experience, the flexibility of the theory of dependent arising itself is assured. This is clearly expressed in the Buddha's statement:

What, monks, is dependent arising? Dependent upon birth, monks, is decay and death, whether the Tathāgatas were to arise or were not to arise. This element, this status of phenomena, this orderliness of phenomena, this interdependence *has remained*. That the Tathāgata comes to know and realize, and having known and realized, he describes it, sets it forth, makes it known, establishes it, discloses it, analyses it, clarifies it saying; "Look"[27]

It may be noted that the Buddha was prepared to assure the validity of this principle only up to the present, hence his careful use of the past participle,

23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, 2.58
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 2.25

...ned (*thitā*). Thus, the theory of dependent ... is a middle way between absolute determinism and chaotic indeterminism.

The application of this theory also serves as a middle way in the explanation of the (1) human person, the psychophysical personality (*nāmarūpa*), (2) human behavior (*kamma*) and (3) survival (*punabbhava*). In regard to the first, the Buddha could avoid the belief in a permanent and eternal self (*ātman*) as well as the total denial of a conscious self by the materialists. In regard to the second, the Buddha rejected the absolute determinism between a deed and its consequence, as it was advocated by the Jainas, and the complete negation of the effectiveness of any human deed, as proclaimed by the materialists and the natural determinists. Finally, in regard to the third, the Buddha's was a denial of the Brahmanical theory of the inevitability of rebecoming until the attainment of the permanent and eternal state of bliss (*brahman*) and the denial of rebecoming by the materialists.

First, the middle way adopted by the Buddha in the explanation is very significant, in contrast to the Brahmanical notion of a permanent and eternal spiritual self distinct from the physical personality (*aññaṁ jīvaṁ aññaṁ sarīraṁ*) and the materialist notion of a self confined to the physical body (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*).[28] The Buddha attempted to explain the change and continuity of a human person by placing his description in a middle position between these two extremes. Thus, undermining the view of the spiritualist, the Buddha recognized the foundation of the human person as the physical body or form (*rūpa*).[29] He did not recognize a disembodied existence, except as a metaphor signifying experiences such as the immaterial contemplations (*arūpajjhāna*). Taking the psychic part of the human person, in contrast to the materialist view of a person, the Buddha recognized the importance of feelings (*vedanā*) and perception (*saññā*), both of which enables a person to become part of a society, for feelings and perceptions are experiences shared with others. While being part of a society, what individuates a person are the dispositions (*saṅkhārā*), psychic tendency through which a person becomes selective in choosing one's own personality and its behavior.[30] The continuity of that human person is explained more by consciousness (*viññāṇa*) than even by the body. Consciousness does not represent an entity, but only a function (*vijānātī ti viññāṇaṁ*).[31] More often it is described as a stream of consciousness (*viññāṇasota*),[32] a conception posed as an alternative to the Brahmanical notion of self. Without this stream of consciousness, with which a person is able to respond to the world of experience, there is no human person, even if there were to be a physical body. A human person is distinguished from all other living beings because of its possession of dispositions and consciousness, together referred to as becoming (*bhava*),[33] which is also characterized as a stream (*bhavasota*).[34]

The *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta*,[35] one of the few discourses that has been preserved outside the Pali Nikāyas and the Chinese Āgamas, thus indicating its significance and popularity,[36] is the best illustration of the conditionality operative in the field of human behavior and consequence. The four types of individuals who perform bad and good deeds are described as follows:

1. A person of evil deeds being reborn in hell.
2. A person of evil deeds being reborn in heaven.
3. A person of good deeds reborn in heaven.
4. A person of good deeds being reborn in hell.

The Buddha argues that all four are possibilities, and that it would be wrong to assume, on the basis of 1 and 3, that the relationship between deed and consequence is completely determined and that, on the basis of 2 and 4, one is committed to recognizing indeterminism in regard to the relationship. The Buddha's theory of conditionality eliminated determinism or indeterminism, but left room for change depending

28. *M* 1.485.
29. *S* 2.3 ff.
30. *Ibid.*, 3.86-87, *rupam rupattaya abhisamkharoti. etc.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *D* 3.105.
33. *A* 2.79.
34. *S* 1.15.
35. *M* 3.207-215.
36. *Mahakarmavibhaṅga et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa*, ed. Sylvain Levi, Paris: 1932.

upon conditions. The best illustration of this conditionality is expressed by the simile of the 'fruit of salt' (*loṇaphala*) in the following discourse:

> Monks, whosoever were to say: "Just as this man does a deed, so will it be experienced,"[37] when that is the case, monks, there will be no living of the higher life, opportunity is not evident for the complete ceasing of suffering. But whosoever, monks, were to say: "Just as this man does a deed to be experienced in such a way, so is its fruitioning experienced,"[38] when that is the case, monks, there will be the living of the higher life, opportunity is evident for the complete ceasing of suffering. Herein, monks, of a certain person, even a minor evil deed done, that will lead him to hell. Herein, monks of a certain person, a similar minor evil deed done, that may be experiencible in the present life or even an atom of it may not appear, let alone much of it.
>
> Of what kind of person, monks, even a minor evil deed done will lead him to hell?
> Herein, monks, a certain person is with undeveloped body, undeveloped virtue, undeveloped thought, undeveloped wisdom, insignificant, small self,[39] living with little suffering. Monks, of such a person, even a minor evil deed done, that will lead him to hell.
>
> Of what kind of person is even a minor evil deed done, that may be experiencible in the present life or even an atom of it may not appear, let alone much of it?
> Herein, monks, a certain person is with developed body, developed virtue. developed thought, developed wisdom, significant, great self,[40] living with immeasurable (thought). Monks, of such a person, even a minor evil deed done, that may be experiencible in the present life or even an atom of it may not appear, let alone much of it. Just as, monka, a man would place a crystal of salt in a drinking cup with little water. What do you think, monks? Would the little water in the drinking cup be salty and undrinkable by that crystal of water?
> Yes, Sir.
> What is the reason for this?
> Yes, Sir, the water in the drinking cup is little. That would be salty and undrinkable by that crystal of salt.
> Just as, monks, a man would throw a crystal of salt into the river Ganga. What do you think, monks? Would the river Ganga become salty and undrinkable by the crystal of salt?
> It is not so, Sir.
> What is the reason for this?
> Sir, the volume of water in this river Ganga is great. It would not become salty and undrinkable by this crystal of salt.[41]

The one-to-one relation between bad deeds and evil consequences and good deeds and good consequences is avoided by explaining the relationships in terms of conditionality. Various conditions can interfere in the aggravation or diminishing of the nature of the consequences.

The Buddha adopted a middle way in explaining the survival of the human personality as well. Unlike the Brahmanical system that upheld a permanent and eternal self, and the materialist denial of survival, the Buddha, on the basis of the higher forms of knowledge, especially retrocognition and clairvoyance, admitted the fact of survival and the possibility of its occurrence in the future. This again, is explained in terms of theory of dependence. The psychophysical personality is explained as the product of three factors, the union of the parents, the mother being in the proper season and the availability of a *gandhabba*[42] (a being seeking for survival, *sambhavesī*[43]). Nowhere does the Buddha claim that every human being who dies will be reborn. He was only maintaining that as a result of the availability of conditions that lead to survival, it has happened in the past, but there is no way to guarantee that those conditions will always be there.

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37. *yathā yathā h'yaṃ puriso kammaṃ karoti, tathā tathā taṃ patisaṃvediyati*
38. *yathā yathā vedanīyaṃ ayaṃ puriso kammaṃ karoti, tathā tathā assa vipākaṃ patisaṃvediyati.*
39. *appātuma*, from *alpa ātma*
40. self. great, *mahatta*, from *mahātma*
41. *A* 1.249.
42. *M* 1.265.
43. Ibid., 1.48.

The well-known and often emphasized middle way pertains to the moral life, as embodied in the Buddha's first discourse to the world.[44] It may have been the context that made him speak of the middle way in the moral life as the content of his first discourse to the world. It may be remembered that his first group of 'listeners' (*sāvakā*) was the five friends in whose company he practised severe mortification of the flesh. When he abandoned that practice, they left him in disgust. Therefore, he had to convince them, not only about the evil effects of the pursuit of pleasures of sense (*kāmasukhallikānuyoga*), but also of the futility of commitment to self-mortification (*attakilamathānuyoga*). Indeed, the avoidance of the extremes is encouraged not only because of moral concerns but also because of ontological facts. It is possible that one who indulges in pleasures of sense has no concern for the possibility of a future life, as reflected in the teachings of the Indian hedonists, the Cārvākas, who encouraged a life of pleasure.[45] In contrast were those who practised severe self-mortification in the hope of attaining some spiritual status free from physical suffering.

The middle path in ethics is divided by the Buddha into the beginning (*ādi*), the middle (*majjha*) and the conclusion (*pariyosāna*).[46] The beginning consists of virtues (*sīla*), where a person refrains from activities that are harmful mostly to society.[47] To induce a person to follow these virtues, rewards and punishments are offered. Rewards in good destinies such as the heavenly world (*devaloka*) and the world of humans (*manussaloka*), while punishments are reaped in the animal womb (*tiracchānayoni*), the sphere of the departed ancestors (*pettivisaya*) and hell (*niraya*).[48] As a person advances with the cultivation of virtues, that person embarks on the genuine moral life consisting of the eightfold path (*aṭṭaṅgika magga*) wherein one has abandoned the conceptions of rewards and punishments, of merits and demerits (*puññapāpapahīṇa*)[49] and has adopted the more exalted doctrine (*sāmukkaṁsikā dhammadesanā*)[50] that involves an understanding of the four noble truths, that there is suffering in the world, there is a cause of it, it can be eliminated and thers is a way to eliminate it. This is the genuine middle way that contributes to the ultimate goal, namely, one's own happiness and the happiness of others. To place it in the background in which it was presented, it is a middle way between the deontological ethics of the Brahmanical tradition, reflected in the caste-system and its inalienable duties (*varṇa-dharma*) and the utilitarian ethics of the Śramaṇa tradition, emphasizing the utility value of the stages of life (*āśrama-dharma*). These two traditions came to be elaborated subsequently in the *Bhagavadgītā* and Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* respectively.[51] The noble eightfold path is a middle way between deontology and utilitarianism, the former calling for self-sacrifice, the latter underscoring self-aggrandisement. The eightfold path emphasizes one's own welfare (*attahita*) and the welfare of others (*parahita*)[52]

The conclusion of the middle way, namely, freedom (*nibbāna*) is also a middle way in the Indian context. While the Brahmanical tradition emphasized the attainment of a permanent and eternal blissful state (*brahman*), the materialists denied any possibility of freedom except death, the Ājīvikas arguring for freedom without human initiative, and the Jainas recommending a state of inaction leading to an end of life, a form of suicide. In the background of these extremes, the Buddha presented freedom as the capacity to lead a life free from ideological constrainsts, and therefore one of happiness, stability, absence of frustration, etc. Such a life is also due to the absence of craving for pleasures of sense (*kāmataṇhā*), for becoming (*bhavataṇhā*) and for becoming something different (*vibhavataṇhā*).[53] It is a life of happiness in this life and the avoidance of suffering in the futture by not becoming (*apunabbhava*).[54]

44. *S* 5.421 ff.
45. Radhakrishnan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1962, Vol. I, p. 27.
46. *D* 1.62.
47. See Kalupahana, David, J., *Ethics in Early Buddhism*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995, pp. 70-76.
48. Ibid., pp. 96-99.
49. *Dh* 39.
50. *D* 1.110; M 1.380.
51. See Kalupahana, *Ethics*, pp. 3-16.
52. *D* 3.233.
53. *D* 3.216, 275.
54. *S* 1.174, 208.

Finally, another significant middle way, not highlighted by traditional Buddhist explanations, is in the middle way in the treatment of language, the most significant means of communication. First of all, the Buddha changed the entire perspective about language. When the traditional Brahmanical system claimed language to have only two aspects, namely, etymology (*nirukti*) and grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), two disciplines that corresponded to their philosophical enterprise, namely, the unitary self (*ātman*) and the universal self (*brahman*). These two disciplines, cultivated to their extreme by Yaska in his *Nirukta* and Pāṇinī in his *Aṣṭādhyāyi* combined to produce the Sanskrit (*saṁskṛta* "well-done") language. Even though Pāṇinī came two centuries after the Buddha, the move toward creating an artificial language was already prevalent during the Buddha's day. He felt that this was an extremist version of language. Hence his recongnition of many other aspects of linguistic convention, which eventually led him to a middle way in evaluating the nature and function of language.

While using the term 'etymology' (*nirutti*) to refer to language in general, prefixing it with the term 'provincial' (*janapada*),[55] the Buddha used the Indian term for grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) to refer to expositions, declarations, explanations, etc, and utilized the term 'commonality' (*sāmañña, sāmānya*) to refer to relations among the components of language. In fact, the later logical treatises used the term *sāmānya* to refer to 'universals'. The Buddha utilized three more terms to refer to language. The first is 'convention' (*sammuti*), that is, getting together and agreeing.[56] For the Buddha, language is one that functions in a language speaking community, and unless there is agreement among members of that community, communication, the most important function of language, is not possible. The second is 'current usage' (*vohāra, vyavahāra*). The middle way that he followed prevented him from adopting an official language of the Brahmanical tradition, namely, Sanskrit. He was ready to recognize the validity of every dialect, saying: "I recommend that each person learns the Buddha's doctrine through one's own language."[57] Thirdly, if there were to be a language that is of great significance, it was not the language of existence (*sat*) as in the case of the pre-Buddhsit traditions, but a language of becoming (*bhava*) that reflects the Buddha's wisdom. Thus language became the expression of wisdom (*pañña, prajñā*). While the term for wisdom was available in the pre-Buddhist vocabulary, what was absent was the term for the expression of that wisdom. This was probably because of the assumption that the object of wisdom, *ātman* or *brahman,* was beyond expression, hence expressed in negations as "not thus, not thus" (*neti neti*).[58] As mentioned earlier, such a position was not acceptable to the Buddha. Hence his inventing another term, *paññatti* (*prajñapti*), from the causative verb *paññāpeti* (*prajñāpeti*), implying that it is an expression of the content of wisdom. For the Buddha, it is the language of dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*).

Having made the above remark that one should learn the Buddha's doctrine in one's own language, the Buddha remained faithful to his words when he presented seven dialectical variants for the 'bowl' and insisted that one should not take any one of them and say: "This alone is true, all else is falsehood," (*idam eva saccaṃ moghaṃ aññaṃ*).[59] This is when he advises his disciples not to adopt extremist views regarding language. The extremes are grasping (*abhinivesa*) in regard to language as reflecting reality, and going beyond (*atisāra*) language considering it incapable of expressing reality. The Buddha, a specialist in linguistics, has selected the two terms *abhinivesa* and *atīsāra*, not without sarcasm. *Atīsāra* was the medical term for diarrhoea. *Abhinivesa* could then mean constipation. In the philosophy of language, they represent conceptual diarrhoea and conceptual constipation. The Buddha's admonition was: 'Just as it is recognized in those countries, so does one speak of it, without clinging: "For this purpose (*idaṁ sandhāya*) these venerable ones speak of it."[60] What is most interesting is that this analysis of language is the conclusion to a discourse on non-conflict (*araṇa*)

55. *M* 3.230.
56. The original term was derived from *saṁ* and the root *man*, 'to think' However, when in came to be Sanskritized later on as *saṁvṛti*, the temptation was to derive it from the root *vr* to 'cover,' and utilize it in the transcendentalist enterprise where ultimate reality comes to be concealed by language.
57. *Vin* 2.139.
58. *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* 2.36; 3.9.26; 4.2.4.
59. *M* 3.235.
60. *Ibid.*

and Venerable Subhūti is hailed as the best among those who live in peace (*araṇvihārī*). It is also of significance that this discourse served as a source for the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramita*, which is an attempt to give flexibility to frozen concepts (see below).

After the passing away of the Buddha, for centuries the disciples were embroiled in philosophical disputes primarily relating to metaphysics. The first major philosophical view that deviated from that of the Buddha was presented by the Sarvāstivādins. It was the consequence of the acceptance of an atomic theory of moments (*kṣaṇavāda*) in the explanation of continuity. The Sarvāstivādins proposed the idea that all phenomena (*dharma*) remains during the past the present and the future in the form of a substance (*svabhāva, dravya*) and what changes being variously termed as existences (*bhāva*), characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*), conditions (*avasthā*) or relations (*anyonyathātva*).[61]

In addition, the Sarvāstivādins recognized *dharmas* termed as aggregated (*skandha*), gateways (*āyatana*) and elements (*dhātu*), which have their own self-nature or substance (*svabhāva*) to be real in an absolute sense (*paramārtha*), while objects like a house, a pot or a personality are mere conventions (*saṁvṛti*)[62]. The Sarvāstivādins, holding such views, still considered themselves to be following a middle way, one between the empty (*śūnya*) and non-empty (*aśūnya*). The conventional (*saṁvṛti*) is the empty, while the real in the absolute sense (*paramārtha*) is the non-empty.[63] However, their view that there is a substance in phenomena led them to a theory of causation that recognized the pre-existence of the effect in the cause (*satkāryavāda*). They were the unrelenting realists of the Buddhist tradition.

The Sautrāntikas who remained faithful to the theory of moments and considered the Sarvāstvāda theory of substance as another theory of self ("from substance means from self," *svabhāvata ity ātmataḥ*),[64] argued against making a distinction between substance and what are referred to as conditions (*kāritra*).[65] The denial of an absolute reality left the Sautrāntikas with the mere convention (*saṁvṛti, prajñapi*) and made them the nominalists of the Buddhist tradition. However, it seems that they assumed their conception of reality as mere convention (*prajñaptisat*) as a middle way between the enternalist ultimate realities (*paramārthasat*) and the transcendentalist reality that went beyond linguistic convention (*lokottaravāda*). It also led them to a position where, the extreme atomistic momentariness allowed no causal relations except simple succession of events. Causation, in this context, becomes the production of a non-existence effect (*asatkāryavāda*).

One of the first reactions to the two extremes-Sarvāstivāda realism and Sautrāntika nominalism-is represented by the famous treatise, the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā*, presented in the form of a dialogue between the Buddha and Subhūti., referred to earlier as the chief among the Buddha's disciples who lived a life of peace (*araṇavihārī*). The discourse, traditionally identified as a Mahāyāna work and included under what came to be known as the *Vaipulya-sūtras*, has nothing to do with that tradition.[66]

It may not be an exaggeration to say that the entire *Vajracchedikā* is a colossal attempt to discredit the extremist use of language, that is, to eliminate any ontological commitment to concepts, while at the same time retaining their empirical and pragmatic value, without rendering them totally empty of meaning. The following philosophical analysis is applied to more than thirty popular Buddhist concepts. For example, taking the most important concept, namely, *dharma* (phenomenon) about which the Sarvāstivādins and the Sautrāntikas had presented realistic and nominalistic interpretations respectively, the *Vajracchedikā* maintains:

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61. *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti* (abbreviated *Adv*), ed. Padmanabh S. Jaini, Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959, pp. 259-260.
62. *Adv* p. 263.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
64. *AbhKvv* p. 362.
65. *Ak* 5.26-27; *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ed. Prahlad Pradhan, Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Researsh Institute, 1967, pp. 297-298.
66. Hajime Nakamura examining an early translation into Chinese by Ch'ih-ch'ien, provides us with the information that it follows an introduction similar to those of the early discourses; the location of the sermon is Jetavana, the audience consisted of 1250 monks (*bhikkhū*) only, with no mention of a *bodhisattva*. Furthermore, the Pūrvaśailas, a sect of the so-called Hīnayāna, is said to have the sūtra in Praktrit. See *Indian Buddhism*, p. 159.

1. *dharma*
2. *adharma*
3. *dharmā' dharma iti*

The first represents an assertion about a phenomenon (*dharma*) such as that presented by the Sarvāstivādins. This is a correspondence between a term and a reality represented by it. It is an ontological commitment to a phenomenon (*dharma*). It is then followed by a negation, represented by the Sautrāntikas, which stands for a deconstruction of the fossilized conception, hence the statement: a non-phenomenon (*adharma*). Unfortunately, this leaves a totally negative impression about concepts, with no explanation of their status. The middle standpoint, as highlighted in the Buddha's "Discourse on the Analysis of Non-conflict" (*Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta*), referred to earlier, is one in which concepts are recognized as being expressive of experiences, hence placed in quotes: "*dharma dharma*" indicating that they are neither absolute realities nor absolute unrealities, but expressions of human experiences.

The most prominent exponent of the middle way (*madhyamā pratipad*), after the Buddha, was Nāgārjuna, who is said to have been introduced to the Buddhist doctrine through the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature and went looking for the other discourses of the Buddha.[67] After reading the early discourses, Nāgājuna was made to be quite aware that the Buddha's middle way was between the dualistic thinking involving permanent existence (*astitva*) and nihilistic non-existence (*nāstitva*), whether it was in epistemology, metaphysics, ethics or linguistics, as explained earlier, together with their possible combination (both existence and non-existence) and the negation of the combination (neither existence nor non-existence).

One of his major works is the "Verses on the Fundamentals of the Middle" (*Mūlamadhyamakakarikā*). The first chapter of this work is devoted to a refutation of the metaphysical theories of causation. In the very first verse itself Nagarjuna rejects self-causation, external causation, the assertion of their combination and its negation. The fact that his refutation is directed at his Buddhist compatriots is evident from the fact that in the second verse he refers to the four conditions (*pratyaya*) presented by the later Buddhists. Having mentioned the four conditions, Nāgārjuna immediately denies the Sarvāstivāda notion of substance or self-nature (*svabhāva*) which it assumed to be part of the condition. Here Nāgārjuna was utilizing an empirical argument that it is not evident (*na vidyate*). In the dualistic system, if self-nature is not evident, then what is evident should be other-nature (*parabhāva*). Nagarjuna does not deny other-nature on empirical grounds, for other-ness is evident, even though a permanent and eternal self-nature is not evident. He therefore resorts to a denial of the conceptual correlation, arguing that in the absence of a self-nature, there cannot be a conception of other-nature.[68] It is this form of argument that confused many an interpreter of Nāgārjuna, including one of his well-known commentators, Candrakīrti, to assume that he accepted a linguistic transcendence of an ultimate reality (*paramārtha*). Chapter II is devoted to a rejection of the perspectives regarding change or motion that deviated from that of the Buddha and contributed to the metaphysical theories.

After that Nāgārjuna devotes thirteen chapters analysing a variety of categories such as the faculties (*indriya*), aggregates (*skandha*) and elements (*dhātu*) which were misinterpreted by the Buddhist metaphysicians. The last chapter here, on the "Examination of Self-nature" (*Svabhāvaparīkṣā*), is the conclusion and a fitting climax to this analysis, and one in which he quotes by name, "The Admonition to Kātyāyana" (*Kātyāyanāvavāda, Kaccāyanagotta-sutta*[69]) where the Buddha rejects the two metaphysical extremes in ontology and presents his famous philosophical middle way.

The next ten chapters are devoted to an examination of the metaphysical positions adopted regarding the concept of a person, both in bondage and in freedom. The most significant statement of Nāgārjuna in regard to the middle way is in Chapter XXIV (verse 18).

Whatever is dependent arising, we say that is emptiness. That is a dependent expression; that itself is a middle way.

In other words, the middle way (*madhyamā pratipat*) is an expression, through concepts that are themselves dependently arisen (*prajñaptir upādāya*),

67. See Kalupahana, *A History*, pp. 160-161.
68. *MK* 1.3 *avidyamāne svabhāve parabhāvo na vidyate.*
69. *S* 2. 16-17.

of a negation of permanent and eternal selves or realities, which is the meaning of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and the positive description of experience as dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*).

The application of dependent arising to explain a human person and its experiences is dealt with in Chapter XXVI, which is also a middle way formulated by the Buddha in the discourse to Kaccayana. It is an exposition of the twelve factors (*dvādasāṅga*). The final chapter refers to the various metaphysical views criticized by the Buddha as well as his adomotion not to grasp on to such views (*diṭṭhiparāmāsa*), which is the equivalent of letting go of all views (*sarvadṛṣṭiprahāṇa*). Nāgārjuna was not unaware that letting go of all views is also a middle way propounded by the Buddha between having views (*diṭṭhi*) and having no views (*adiṭṭhi*).[70]

Another middle way, not the least compatible with that of the Buddha, was presented by the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, which suggested two extremes in the area of human knowledge, (1) sensory experience of the ordinary people, and (2) the first five forms of higher knowledge developed by the Buddha's disciples. For it, the middle way in knowledge is wisdom (*prajñā*), which provides an understanding of the sameness of all phenomena (*sarvadharmasamatāvabodha*).[71] The sameness of all phenomena is described in negative terms as "non-arisen, non-ceased, unbound, unreleased, not dark, not bright." This linguistic transcendence then gives rise to a middle way in morals, one in which the extremes are represented by (1) the ordinary human behavior leading to continuous births, and (2) the behavior of the *arhat*, who through selfishness eliminates the continuous rebirths and attain freedom for itself. The noble ideal of saving others falls on the *bodhisattva* who aspires to become a Buddha, the only one who can save others.

One can notice another middle way presented by the idealistic text, the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. There are two extreme or unacceptable theories of knowledge, the worldly (*laukika*) and the super-normal (*lokottara*), while the genuine form of knowledge is super-transcendental (*lokottaratama*).[72] This time, the object of knowledge is "image-less-ness or appearance-less-ness of dharmas" (*nirābhāsadharma*), again similar to the reality described in negative terms, "non-ceasing, non-arising" (*anirodhānutpāda*). The middle way here is the attainment of the state of cessation (*nirodhasamāpatti*), along with a claim for a positive state "of the stage of Tathagata" (*tathāgatabhūmi*). It is the ultimate state of blissfulness, undisturbed by discriminative thought (*nirvikalpasamādhi*).[73]

The development of such extreme idealism in the Buddhist tradition, generally referred to as Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda, led to the wrong identification of two great philosophers with that tradition and the misinterpretation of their writings. These are Vasubandhu and Dignāga who, like Nāgājuna before them, tried to rescue the original techings of the Buddha. Instead of being idealists, the former wrote one of the outstanding treatises on philosophical psychology, and the latter turned out to be the best exponent of the Buddha's epistemology and logic, and his writing generated an avalanche of logical treatises by traditional Indian logicians.

Vasubandhu's primary work, the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* was wrongly understood as "The Establishment of Mere Consciousness" by the idealists in India as well as by the Far Eastern Buddhists, the latter following the rendering of the term *vijñapti* into Chinese as "consciousness" (*vijñāna*) by Hsuan-tsang. *Vijñapti* (Pali, *viññatti*[74]) is more appropriately understood as the expression of consciousness (a nominal form derived from the causative verb *vijñāpeti*), that is, "conception".

The treaties is comprised of two texts, the "Twenty Verses" (*Viṁśatikā*) and the "Thirty Verses" (*Triṁśikā*, or more appropriately, *Triṁśatikā*). The first is an attempt to establish mere consciousness as a middle way between realism, which takes the object, whether constituted of substances or atoms that are ultimately real, and the nominalism which considers discriminative conceptions that express such objects as mere names. As explained earlier, the first is represented by the Sarvātivādins and the second was advocated by the

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70. *Sn* 839.
71. *Sdmp* p. 93 (P. L. Vaidya edition).
72. *Laṅkā* (Suzuki edn.) p. 156.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
74. *Vin* 3.144, *yācanabahulā viññattibahulā*; see also *Vbh* 13; *Vism* 41.

Sautrāntikas. The middle way between these two extremes is achieved by pointing out the functioning or the pragmatic value of conceptions. This work was not much studied in the Far East, where the study of Vasubandhu's thought is based primarily upon the second.

The second work is devoted to an explanation of the various transformations of consciousness (*vijñānapariṇāma*), with a view to indicating how the usages such as self (*ātma*) and real elements (*dharma*) come to be fossilized as ultimate realities. His conception of *ālayavijñāna*, the first of the transformations, is more in conformity with the Buddha's theory of the "stream of consciousness" (*viññāṇasota*)[75], rather than the more metaphysical conception of the Yogācārins who took it to mean a "store-house or container" (*ās'raya*). It is the stream of consciousness in bondage, and reminds us of the Buddha's use of the term *ālaya* in the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*,[76] where the reference is to the people delighting in attachment (*ālayaramā*), delighted by attachment (*ālayaratā*) and engrossed in attachment (*ālayasamuditā*). Thus, according to Vasubandhu, with the attainment of the state of "worthiness" (*arhatva*), the turning around (*vyāvṛtti*) of this transformation of consciousness from leading on to the conceptions of real self and real elements takes place.[77] After explaining the functioning of the mind (*manana*), which is the second transformation, Vasubandhu refers to the third, namely, "the conception of the objcect" (*viṣayavijñapti*), which in the case of the unenlightened ones lead to the grasping of the object (*viṣayasyopalabdhih*).[78]

The most significant is the manner in which Vasubandhu treated the three types of self-nature or substances (*svabhāva*)-the falsely discriminated (*parikalpita*), the dependent (*paratantra*) and the achieved (*parinispanna*). The achieved, being the nature of the enlightened one free from defilements, is not a state of absolute transcendence, as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* and the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* presented (see above explanations), but one in which false discriminations do not function in the understanding of the dependent, that is, dependent arising (*paratantra = pratītyasamutpāda*).[79] In other words, it is not a transcendence of dependent arising, but retaining it as a middle way between the two extremes of existence and non-existence, which are the falsely discriminated (*parikalpita*).

Finally, the last of the major philosophers who tried to return to the Buddha's middle way was Dignāga. He was writing during a period when the traditional Indian logicians were making absolute distinctions between the particular (*svalakṣaṇa*) and the universal (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*). The source of the former was identified as sense experience or perception (*pratyakṣa*) and the source of the latter being inference (*anumāna*). The problem regarding these forms of knowledge was how far one can be certain of them.

Dignāga takes up the first, namely perception, and makes the remark that it is the absence of absolute discriminations (*kalpanāpoḍha*), but does not maintain that it is error-free (*abhrānta*), a qualification added by his commentator, Dharmakīrti. Just as perception is not error-free, so is inference. Inference can be error-free only if one arbitrarily closes the mode of reasoning. Thus, while trying to reach an absolutely correct universal conception, for example, that all swans are white, one has to make the arbitrary claim that there are non-white swans. In fact black swans were discovered in New Zealand since the above claim was made. In other words, one has to close the conception leaving no room for other possibilities. This is what Dignāga called principle of exclusion (*apoha*), one that would arbitrarily circumscribe a conception. Dignāga was not unaware of the Buddha's condemnation of such an exclusionary principle, when he condemned the assertion: "This alone is true; all else is false" (*idam eva saccaṃ moghaṃ aññaṃ*).[80] Instead of strictly confining the particular (*svalakṣaṇa*) to a perception alone, and the universal (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) to an inference, Dignāga adopted the middle way when he maintained that the particular gets highlighted in perception, without eliminating conception, and the universal gets underscored in inference without abandoning perception altogether.[81]

75. *D* 3.105.
76. *M* 1.167.
77. *Triṃs'* 5.
78. *Ibid.*, 8.
79. *Ibid.*, 21.
80. *M* 3.235.
81. See Kalupahana *A History*, p. 200

Such are the middle ways presented by the Buddha as well as his disciples of a later date, some of whom deviated from the original intentions of the Buddha, while others tried to remain faithful to them. This indeed involved the whole history of Buddhism.

David J. Kalupahana

MĀDHYAMIKA SYSTEM : The Mādhyamika system is one that is associated with the writings of the famous Buddhist philosopher, Nāgārjuna (circa. 150-250 A. C.) (see **NĀGĀRJUNA**). It has been pointed out: 'At first, the appellation "Mādhyamika" was not used to designate a school because an opposing Mahāyāna tradition was not present. Only after the Yogācāra tradition arose about a century after Mādhyamika did the term "Mādhyamika" came to be used.'[1] Mādhyamika school has been traditionally regarded as part of the Mahāyāna tradition. In fact, a few centuries later, the Mādhyamika came to be coupled with the Yogācāra. This is probably the time when it came to be looked upon as a fully-fledged Mahāyāna school. By then, the ideas by Nāgārjuna had come to be interpreted in a totally different way, so much so that he is attributed with a pure Mahāyāna treatise like the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*. This attribution was questioned by Etienne Lamotte when he translated eighteen of the hundred chapters from Chinese into French.[2] However, the one who provided a detailed analysis of this work after Lamotte, being a traditional Indian philosopher, has ignored Lamotte's evidence.[3] This is understandable, since traditional Indian philosophers, even prior to Śaṅkara, tried to understand the basic teachings of this school from the point of view of *Vedānta*. In fact, this interpretation began with the writings of Buddhapālita (circa. 470-540), followed by those of Candrakirti (circa. 650), especially his lenghy commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, entitled *Madhyamika-vṛtti*.[4] Among those who adopted this interpretation during modern times are T. R. V. Murti and Marvin Sprung, to mention a few. This interpretation is associated with what came to be known as the Prāsaṅgika school. While both Mahāyāna and traditional Indian philosophical schools like Vedānta favored this school, there was another version known as Svātantrika advocated by another disciple of Nāgārjuna named Bhāvaviveka or Bhavya (circa. 490-570).

Even though Nāgārjuna himself does not use the term '*mādhyamika*,' especially in the treatise that he himself named *The Verse on the Fundamentals of the Middle Way* (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*), he was highlighting 'the middle way (*madhyamā pratipad*), even quoting the Buddha's discourse to Kaccāyana.[5] It is also possible that Nāgārjuna himself was not aware that he was starting a new school of thought. Nāgārjuna probably had no such intention, since there is undeniable evidence that what he was attempting was to resurrect the original teachings of the Buddha by eliminating the substantialist and transcendentalist metaphysics that grew around them (see Nāgārjuna). For this reason, it is possible to surmise that it was some of his disciples who called themselves the Mādhyamikas.

Even among those disciples there were differences in regard to the understanding of Nāgārjuna's writings. Thus, as mentioned above, there came to be two schools, the Svātantrikas and the Prāsaṅgikas.

The Svātantrika school was founded by Bhāvaviveka or Bhavya. His works are (1) *Prajñāpradīpa*, a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*; (2) *Karatalaratana*, refuting the ideas of the Yogācāra and preserved in Chinese; (3) *Madhyamaka-hṛdaya*, a work composed in verses refuting some of the philosophical traditions available during his day, and with his own commentary called *Tarkajvāla*, both preserved in Tibetan only, and (4) *Madhyamakārtha-saṁgraha*, existing only in Tibetan.

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1. Hirakawa Akira, *A History of Indian Buddhism. From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, tr. and ed. Paul Groner, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, p. 4.
2. *Le Traite de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, Louvain: Bereaux de Museon, 1944-1949.
3. R. Vekantaraman, *Nāgārjuna's Philosophy, as Presented in the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, Tokyo: Tuttle, 1966.
4. Edited by L. de la Valee Poussin, *Madhyamakavṛttiḥ Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamikasūtras) de Nāgāruna, avec la Prasannapadā Commentaire de Candrakīrti, Bibliotheca Buddhica* 4, St. Petersburg: The Imperial Academy Academy of Sciences, 1903-1913.
5. *MK* XV. 7.

Bhāvaviveka's most important thesis is that one has to present one's own theory (*svatantra*) in order to refute another's, if that were not consistent with empirical facts. Adopting a theory on the the basis of one's own experiences is different from grasping on to a theory as absolute truth. Scholars leaning toward transcendence have interpreted Bhāvaviveka's conceptions of *paryāya-paramārtha* as "speakable ultimate truth" and *aparyāya-paramārtha* as "unspeakable ultimate truth"[6] *Paryāya*, which literally means 'synonym', is generally used to refer to the method of tecahing in the discourses (*sutta*), where it signifies a discursive method, while the Abhidharma represented the non-discursive method (*nippariyāya-desanā*). It is highly possible that Bhāvaviveka was noticing such a distinction in the writings of Nāgārjuna. Taking *paramārtha* as 'ultimate fruit' (which is the sense in which Nāgārjuna used the term), it is possible to hold that a work like the *Suhṛllekhā*, with its profuse use of metaphors and similes,[7] is a discursive treatise on the ultimate goal in Buddhism, while the *Madhyamaka-kārikā* is an absolutely non-discursive text. By understanding them in this manner, one can easily avoid linguistic transcendence attributed to both Nāgārjuna and Bhāvaviveka. Furthermore, this is again confirmed by Bhāvaviveka's analysis of the 'conventional (*saṁvṛti*) as the genuine (*tathya*) and false (*mithyā*). This is an attempt to distinguish between genuine and false concepts, the genuine concepts being those that are employed in the discursive as well as the non-discursive discourses on the ultimate goal. For Bhāvaviveka, as it was for Nāgārjuna, the principle of dependent arising is the theory in terms of which the four alternatives stemming from the two-valued logic, existence and non-existence, was rejected. In other words, *pratītyasamutpāda* is the *svatantra*. This would mean that Bhāvaviveka was a faithful follower of Nagarjuna.

Although Candrakīrti speaks of Buddhapālita in respectful and favourable terms, he himself was the chief exponent of the *Prāsaṅgika* school. He was the author of the extensive commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka-kārikā* called *Prasannapadā Mādhyamaka-vṛtti*,[8] and one of the few treatises that survives in the original. Among his own systematic treatises, are the *Madhyamakāvatāra* and *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, the latter being extremely influential in Tibet. The popularly held view that Nāgārjuna did not have a thesis or position when refuting other theories was put forward by Candrakirti, who assumed that the negative terms in the dedicatory verses characterize the principle of dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*) and freedom (*nirvāṇa*).

Most scholars, both classical and modern, have been unable to understand Nāgārjuna's rejection of the traditional two-valued logic and the resultant four alternatives, and failed to realize that Nāgārjuna was faithfully following the Buddha's teachings embodied in the *Brahmajāla-suttanta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, where sixty two theories based upon the four alternatives were rejected, giving the impression that the virtues listed in the first part of the discourse could not be cultivated if one were to adopt any one of those views. Not only did they argue for the non-recognition of a thesis, but also advocated the linguistic transcendence of what they called 'ultimate reality'. Thus, Candrakirti needed more than sixty pages to explain the first verse in Chapter 1 of the *Kārikā* which refers to the four alternative theories of causation. Assuming that in order to criticize self-causation, one has to accept the truth of external causation, Candrakīrti makes statements like the following: "The teacher[9] merely demonstrates his propensity for inference, introducing inference in the wrong place. It is not proper for a Mādhyamika to resort to inference based on one's own framework (*svatantrānumāna*), because [for him] there is no reaching out (*abhyupagamana*) for an alternative position."[10] The dialectic developed by the Prāsaṅgikas is a series of *reductio ad absurdum* arguments (*prasaṅgāpadāna*), when every thesis is turned against itself. For example, the self-arising is refuted as follows: "Existents are not arisen from self because of the meaninglessness of arising, and also because of excessive implication of error. There is indeed no purpose in the arising of meaning of terms that are experienced as being on their own."[11] Again, arising from another is rejected with the following analysis:

6. Katz, Nathan, "An appraisal of Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika debates," *PEW* vol. 24, No. 3, July 1976, pp. 253-267.
7. Kalupahana, David J., *Nāgārjuna's Moral Philosophy and Sinhala Buddhism*, Kelaniya (Sri Lanka): Post-Graduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya, 1995.
8. See note 4.
9. This is a reference to Bhāvaviveka.
10. *MKV* p. 16.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Existents do not arise from other, because it implies the arising of everything from everything."[12] Interestingly, both these statements are attributed to Buddhapālita by Candrakīrti. However, the most extensive elaboration of this dialectic is by Candrakīrti himself. This negative approach adopted by Candrakīrti thenceforward became the hallmark of the Mādhyamika system, and aligned him more with the Vedāntins. Indeed, Nāgārjuna as well as all the Mādhyamikas thus came to be perceived as Mahāyānists.

The most popular work on Nāgārjuna in the modern world is T. R. V. Murti's *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*.[13] It is a very faithful rendering of Candrakīrti's ideas. Murti starts with the idea that the Buddha's 'silence' regarding certain metaphysical theories, especially those couched in the two-valued system of logic, represents the origin of the 'dialectic' in Buddha's doctrine itself. He insists that it was this idea, found in germinal form, that came to be developed as a systematic philosophical method by the Mādhyamikas. When that method was related to Immanuel Kant's "anti-nomial conflict", instantly Murti's work became the most popular treatise on Buddhism during modern times. A more recent work has presented sufficient evidence to indicate that Nāgārjuna avoided any such transcendentalist or substantialist metaphysics, either of the East or the West.[14]

D. J. Kalupahana

MÄDIRIGIRIYA : is situated 46 miles to the south east of Anurādhapura and 12 1/2 miles away from Hiṅgurakgoda. This region is an extensive rock outcrop, not very high, bifurcated into two stretches, side by side. There are numerous ruins on one of these, namely *sīmā-pākara* (boundary wall), a fair sized stūpa, pillars, a *Vaṭadāgē* (a circular shrine room) and inscribed stones. The most charming *Vaṭadāge* in Sri Lanka has been built at Madirigiriya. It was first discovered in 1897 by the then Archaeological Commissioner, Mr. H. C. P. Bell who called it an "architectural gem". Its original name was Maṇḍalagiri Vihāra. In course of time, in later records this name is spelt as Mädiligiri Mäṅdiligiri and Mädirigiri.

History is silent as to when and by whom Mädiligiri was first founded. An *uposathāgāra* (a chapter house) was built here by King Kaniṭṭha Tissa (165-193 A. C.). This is the earliest available reference to this monastery, which makes clear that it was in a flourishing condition at the time. When excavations were made, bricks containing Brahmi characters were found. These characters had been inscribed for the use of masons on work at the place, and it is therefore easy to conclude that the monastery has a very ancient origin.

In the reign of King Aggabodhi IV (673-689 A. C.) a chief of the Malaya District (a man of great wealth), is said to have constructed a *dhātu-gṛha* over the *stūpa* at Mädirigiri. There is no doubt that this refers to the *Vaṭadage* (*vṛtta-dhātu-gṛha*), the remains of which are to be seen even at the present day. The date of the circular shrine room may therefore be taken to be the 8th century A. C. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (li, 75), King Sena II (866-901 A. C.), dedicated some of his own possessions for the support of the Maṇḍalagiri-vihāra.

A pillar inscription of the 10th century A. C. of King Kassapa V (929-939), was found in this place by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in 1897. This inscription gives the next piece of information with regard to this monastery. It was published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanic* by Dr. D.M. De Z Wickremesinghe (Vol. II, No. 6). The contents tell us that King Abhāsalamevan, under a decree of his Supreme Council (in the third year of his sovereignty), sent three officers of state (who have been named) to the monastery to grant certain communities in respect of the land within the four boundaries of Mädiligiri-At-veher-Piyangala. The nature of the privileges agrees in the main with other similar records of this period. There is an order that dead goats and fowls should be given to the hospital attached to this *vihāra*. This shows that animal food was allowed in these Buddhist institutions under certain restrictions. Obviously the regulation refers to animals killed by accident. Another inscription engraved on a slab was discovered about 100 yards to the south east of the *Vaṭadāgē*. It is engraved in 44 lines of writing in small Sinhala script of the 11th century but as the letters are so worn out that it is not possible to read its contents satisfactorily. It is however a *saṁvatā-pahaṇa* (a royal

12. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
13. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955.
14. Kalupahana, David J., *Nāgārjuna. The Philosophy of the Middle Way*, Albany (New York): The State University of New York Press, 1986.

edict engraved on stone) containing rules for the management of the hospital attached to the monastery. Some letters are decipherable and convey interesting information, i.e. *ved-hal-kamiyan* (employees of the hospital), *ved-hal-dasun* (serfs of the hospital), *ved-samdaruvan* (state physicians), *ved-hal-bad-gam-bim* (villages and lands attached to the hospital), *ved-hal-bad-kudin* (tenants attached to the hospital). Had this record been legible, it would have undoubtedly given much information, concerning public hospitals in Sri Lanka, to which our chronicles make references.

The reference to the hospital makes quite clear the extensive nature of the monastery itself. *Ved-hal-gam-bim* refers to the lands donated for the maintenance of the hospital. This means that Mädirigiri with its attendant institutions covered hundreds of acres of land. Anurādhapura period of Sri Lankan history comes to a close with the Chola invasion of 1017 A. C. This incident had a very serious effect on the religious, social and political conditions in the island. The Cholas held sway over a large part of the land for more than half a century. They were strong Hindus and did their utmost to propagate their faith in Sri Lanka during the period of their occupation. Buddhism in India at this time was undergoing a rapid course of decline. Its influence began to be felt in Sri Lanka as well and the Chola invasion merely helped to aggravate the situation.

With the accession of Vijayabāhu I (1056-1111) and the subsequent expulsion of the Cholas, Buddhism gained new ground in Sri Lanka. This King reconstructed monasteries that had been damaged and restored the Buddhist faith to its rightful place. He is reported to have repaired Mädirigiri (*Mhv*. IX, 59). Therefore it is very likely that this monastery too did not escape the ravages of Chola rule. With the establishment of Sinhala rule in Polonnaru, Mädirigiri comes into prominence again. According to *Mahāvaṁsa*, (lxxi, 4), King Gajabāhu II (1131-1153), after a series of wars with Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) which ended with his defeat, entered into an agreement with his victorious rival. The declaration was inscribed on a stone at Mädirigiri. This has not yet been traced but a copy has been found at Samgamu-Vihāra in Gokarälla (Kuruṇāgala District). This discovory has made up for the original copy which is lost. It is very likely that the monks of Mädirigiri and Samgamu-Vihāras brought about the settlement between Parākramabāhu I and Gajabāhu II.

The decline of Rajarata began with the invasion by Māgha (1215-1236) who came from Kalinga and ruled from Polonnaruwa. He was a terror to the inhabitants of this country and is said to have been opposed to Buddhism. Gradually Mädirigiri fell into disuse, the monks and the other inhabitants fleeing from the terror of the foreign tyrant. From this time onwards, history is silent with regard to the affairs of this monastery.

Vaṭadāgē (circular relic house: *vṛtta-dhātu-gṛha*) is an architectural feature which had an interesting development in Sri Lanka. The *cetiya-ghara* at Karle, Ellora and Ajanta in Western India claims relationship to the *Vaṭadāgē* in Sri Lanka, but in Sri Lanka this form developed on lines of its own. The most celebrated example are those found at Thūpārāma, Ambasthala and Polonnaru. All *Vaṭadāgē* in Sri Lanka conform to a general plan of structure with the exception of Mädirigiri and Polonnaru which deviate from the rest by having a screen in line with the outer circle of pillars. A *Vaṭadāgē* is a superstructure constructed over a stūpa, encircling it on all sides.

A glance at the pillars around Thūpārāma and Laṅkārāma stupas at Anurādhapura puzzles the inquisitive observer as to their original purpose. Archaeologists claim that over these pillars, a roof, probably of wood was constructed round the stupa, and a circular maṇḍapa was erected connecting it with the roof above. This superstructure gave shelter to the pilgrims from sun and rain. The stūpa itself could be preserved from inclement weather conditions. With regard to architectural features, the *Vaṭadāgē* at Polonnaru resembles Mädirigiri with the slight difference that the door at the entrance to Mädirigiri is larger than the one at Polonnaru. Furthermore, Mädirigiri Vaṭadāge has been built on a rock, probably with a view of enhancing the beauty of the structure. See PLATES XLII, XLIII

Beside the *Vaṭadāgē* , there are in its precincts, ruins of four image houses. The first one consists of three standing images of the Buddha, the one in the centre being slightly taller than the other two. The hair which is represented by snail like curls and the *cīvara* (robe) show the influence of the Amarāvatī school of art. The three images are subject to exposure and exhibit clear signs of decay. Hands too have broken away and may not stand the ravages of time.

The pillars of the *Vaṭadāgē* are interesting with regard to form. The capitals are of excellent workmanship, figures of dwarfs and lions in unbroken lines

... much to their aesthetic value. Inside the ...age are four sedent Buddhas facing the four cardinal directions, with their backs against the stūpa. The faces are flat and the hair snail-like. The flight of steps leading to the stūpa is a stone construction and retains its original features up to the present day. The stūpa has lost half its hemispherical dome and the superstructure. What now remains is a circular heap of bricks and what relics were treasured within are not known. The treasure hunters have forestalled the archaeologists.

The *Vaṭadāgē* itself had been a brick structure when it was first constructed. A large hole (made on one side probably by archaeological excavators) on the stone superstructure that has replaced the earlier brick framework, gives a faint idea of what it may have looked like when it was first built. The stone superstructure is obviously the result of renovations made from time to time.

This architectural form is regarded as one of the main features of early Sri Lankan architecture, having distinctive festures of its own. The monumental gracefulness of the pillars, the polished stone that constitutes the balustrade and the flight of steps leading on to the shrine, the serenity of the sedent Buddha images inside and the auspicious symbol the *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* at the entrance are so impressive that they are capable of heightening the religious feelings of the approaching pilgrim. As Mr. H. C. P. Bell has rightly called it, this building seen from a distance, is without doubt "an architectural gem in the jungle".

Nandasena Mudiyanse

MAGADHA, the scene of the greater part of the Buddha's missionary activity and the last stronghold of his faith in India. Magadha was one of the four chief kingdoms at the time of the Buddha, the other three being Kosala and the kingdoms of Vamsas and Avanthi. It was from Magadha that Buddhism spread to the other parts of the Indian sub continent during the time of Emperor Asoka. It is identical with modern south Bihar.

As the home of Buddhism and Jainism, this area is replete with archaeological remains of great religious importance. The Buddha was born not in Magadha, but in the country to the north of it, at the Lumbini Grove near Kapilavatthu, the Sakya capital, in modern Nepal.

Magadha, again, was one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas (q.v) and had its capital at Rajagaha or Giribbaja where Bimbisara and after him Ajatasatthu reigned. By the time of Bimbisara, the Anga Janapada, too formed part of Magadha (*Vin* I 27). Earlier these two kingdoms were often at war with one another (e.g. *J IV* 454). According to the *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*, Magadha had once been under the suzerainty of Anga (J. XI 272).

In the Buddha's day, Magadha together with Anga consisted of 80,000 villages (*Vin*. I. 179) and had a circumference of some 300 leagues (*DA*. I 148). Magadha is said to have been bounded to the north by the river Ganges, to the east by the river Champa on the south by the Vindhya Mountains and on the west by the River Sona (T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India p. 24-DPPN.*). The river Ganges formed the boundary between the kingdom of Magadha and the republic of Lichchavis. When the Buddha visited Vesali Bimbisara constructed a road five leagues long from Rajagaha to the river and decorated it. The Lichchavis did the same on the other side of that river (*DhpA*. III, 439).

In the middle of the seventh century B. C. Mahakosala the father of Pasenadi of Kosala extended his domain and the Licchavis, on the other hand, strengthened their powerful confederation, which led to a struggle between these two smaller kingdoms of Magadha and Champa. By the time of the Buddha's boyhood Magadha became victorious. The free clans and the great kingdom of Kosala were absorbed by it, and viceroys from Magadha administered the government in distant Punjab and Uddeni (Rhys Davids *op. cit.* 260). Pali chronicles again admit that Asoka was appointed governer of Ujjeni by his father (Ananda W. P. Guruge, *Asoka* pp. 38-39).

On the origin of the word 'Magadha' commentaries say that the kingdom was named after the provincial princes who were known as Magadhā (*Sn A*. I. 135). Buddhaghosa also gives two other traditional accounts as to how Magadha was named so. One is that the kingdom was named after king Cetiya (*J*. 422), when he was about to be swallowed by the earth for having introduced lying into the world and onlookers pleaded with him saying do not enter the earth (*māgādhaṃ pavisa*). The other story is that the kingdom was named Magadha because the people digging the earth on the king's road were heard to say '*mā gadham karotha*' (do not make it as deep as a fathom) (*SnA*. I. 135).

Fa-hien reports that the country of Magadha was about 5000 *li* in circuit. This traveller has given an extensive account of Magadha describing the important places of religious worship. According to him towns of the Magadha kingdom were thickly populated and the soil, rich and fertile. After the first month of summer and before the second month of autumn the level country constantly became flooded. The manners of the people were simple and honest. There were some fifty *sangaramas* with about 10,000 priests of whom the greater number studied the teaching of the great vehicle. (Samuel Beal, *Chinese account of India* Vol. III p. 320).

The *Mahavamsa* presents a comprehensive list of the rulers of Magadha from the time of the Buddha up to Asoka.

Bimbisara was killed in his fifty-third regnal year by his son Ajatasatthu who ruled for thirty years. The Buddha passed away in the eighth year of his reign (*Mhv.* II 29-32). Ajatasatthu was killed by his son Udayabaddha who reigned for 16 years. Udayabaddha was killed by his son Anuruddhika. Anuruddhika was killed by his son Muṇḍa. These two reigned for eight years. Muṇḍa was killed by his son Nāgadasaka who reigned for twenty-four years. (*Ibid.* IV 1-4). The people overthrew Nāgadasaka and installed a minister named Susunāga on the throne who reigned for eighteen years. His son Kālāsoka ruled for twenty-eight years. The tenth year of Kālāsoka coincided with the centenary of the Buddha's death (*ibid.* iv. 5-8). Kālāsoka had ten sons and these ten brothers reigned for twenty-two years (*ibid.* 14). Nine Nandas ruled in succession for twenty-two years and the last among them was Dhanananda (*ibid. vv.* 15-17). Dhanananda was killed by the Brahmin Cānakka who anointed Candagupta of the Maurya dynasty of Ksatriyas. He reigned for twenty-four years (*ibid. vv.* 16-18). His son Binudsāra ruled for twenty-eight years and he had a hundred and one sons, (*ibid. vv.* 18-19). Bindusara's son Asoka killed ninety-nine stepbrothers and became the sole ruler of Jambudipa. His consecration coincided with the two hundred and eighteenth year from the demise of the Buddha (Ananda W. P. Guruge *Asoka* p. 412-413).

Chandragupta had been a powerful ruler of the Maurya dynasty who was strong enough to withstand the Greeks. But after him Alexander found there to be a succession of small kingdoms and republics in India (Rhys Davids *Buddhist India* p. 269).

After Asoka, the empire of Magadha lost its provincial power and consisted only of the ancient kingdom and Champa together with the eastern part of Kosala (*ibid.* p. 309-310).

Magadha was famous for garlic (*Sp.* IV 290 (and Magadha *nola* was a common standard of measure (*AA* I. 101). Paddy seems to have been the main crop cultivated. Fa-hieun mentions a special kind of paddy, which was grown in the country (Samuel Beal *op. cit.* Vol. III p. 320). Magadhakettha was an extensive rice field with terraces. This field struck the Buddha's imagination and he asked Ananda to design a robe on the same pattern and this has been adopted for robes of members of the order ever since. (*Vin.* I. 287). Again, the Magadha village field finds mention in a simile (*Magadhakāni gāmakkhetthāni A.* III 122-123).

The *Samyutta Nikāya* (1.47) mentions a *devaputta* by the name of Magadha who once asked the Buddha as to how many things light up the world but this particular Devaputta seems to have no connection with the land of Magadha.

According to the Sri Lankan tradition, Pali the textual language is called Māgadhi. The reason for this is attributed to the fact that Buddhsim was brought to the island from the kingdom of Magadha during the time of emperor Asoka (Rhys Davids - *Pali English Dictionary*, Foreword vi). Meanwhile Buddhagosa (*Sp.* I, 255) says that *Magadhabhāsā* is an Aryan language.

Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

MĀGADHĪ See PALI

MAGGA See ARIYAATTHANGIKA-MAGGA

MAGGĀMAGGAÑĀṆADASSANA-VISUDDHI, 'purity consisting of knowledge and insight into what is the path and not, the fifth of the seven stages of purity outlined in the *Rathavinītasutta* (*M. I.* 147 f) and elaborated in the *Visuddhimagga* (ch. XX). It is founded on wisdom (*paññā*) as the base (*MA. SHB.* II, 131) and consists in that understanding which knows the right path from the wrong path (*Vism.* 520); and by this knowledge one realises the truth of the path (*magga-sacca: Vism.* 548). This *Visuddhi*, 'purity' like other forms of *visuddhi*, is not an end in itself; it is only the means to the attainment of the next higher purity, called the *paṭipadāñāṇadassanavisuddhi* (q. v.;

maggamaggañāṇadassanavisuddhi yāvadeva paṭipadāñāṇadassanavisuddhi) which, together with the other six froms of *visuddhi*, constitutes the means by which the final goal, i.e. the attainment of absolute freedom (*anupāda parinibbāna*) is attained (*M*. I. 150). See VISUDDHI

Upali Karunaratne

MAGGAPACCAYA See **PACCAYA**

MAHĀAṬṬHAKATHĀ, the great or General *Sihala* Commentary was the most prominent *Sīhala aṭṭhakathā* (Sinhala commentary) that was available to the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa when he arrived in Lanka, having undertaken the noble task of translating Sihala commentaries into Pali in the 5th century A. C. It is also known as *Mulaṭṭhakathā* (*MA* IV 110), which means the basic or the foremost commentary. The traditon is that, when Arahant Mahinda introduced Buddhism to Sri Lanka in the 3rd century B. C, he brought with him the texts, as well as the commentaries in Pali, that were rehearsed by five hundred 'Arahants' (at the First Council), and kept them in the language of the inhabitants of the island (translated into the Sihala language).

> *Atthappakāsanatthaṃ aṭṭhakathā ādito vasisatehi, pañcahi yā saṅgita ca anusangitā ca pacchāpi Sihaladipaṃ pana ābhathā Vasinā Mahamahindena, ṭhapitā Sihalabhāsāya dipavāsinamatthāya."*

"For the purpose of explaining (the Teachings of the Buddha) the commentaries have been rehearsed and re rehearsed by five hundred "Arahants. (They) were brought to the *Sihala dipa* by the Great Sage Mahinda and were kept in the *Sihala* languge for the benefit of the inhabitants of the island" (*DA*.I,p. 1; *MA*. I, p.1; *SA*.I, p.1; *AA*.I, p.1).

According to the *DampiyāAṭuvā Geṭapadaya*, Sinhala glossary to the Pali *Dhammapada* Commentary (circa 9th century A. C.), the commentaries maintained in Pali that belong to the time of the Buddha, were translated into the Sinhala language by the teachers of *Heladīpa* (Lanka).

"*Magadha basin vetimin ā budukeli aṭuwā heladiva ajuro helabasin tubūha*"- "The commentaries in Pali that belong to the period of the Buddha were translated into the Sinhala language by the teachers of Heladipa (Lanka)". (*Dam Piya Aṭuvā Geṭapadaya* edited by Meda Uyangoda Vimalakirthi and Nehinne Sominda - M. D. Gunasena Press Colombo (1960 p. 5-6)

Therefore it is clear that the Pali commentarial tradition which originated within the life time of the Buddha was introduced to Sri Lanka, with the advent of Buddhism and were translated into the *Sihala* language no sooner it was introduced to Sri Lanka. Whatever may be the authenticity of the tradition that Arahant Mahinda himself translated Pali commentaries to *Sihala* languge, it is reasonable to assume that Arahant Mahinda himself trained the Sihala Monks the art of writing commentaries to the Buddha's teaching in their own languge (*Sīhala*).

he commentarial tradition thus introduced and translated into the Sinhala language found a fertile soil and a healthy climate for a steady growth. During the next 700 years, the *Sīhala* commentaries to the "*tipiṭaka*" developed to such a position, its fame spread beyond the shores of Sri Lanka, and Sri Lanka became famous as the place where the authentic commentarial tradition is preserved in its pristine purity in the local language. It was the same fame that ultimately resulted in the arrival of Buddhaghosa to Lanka.

When Buddhaghosa arrived in Sri Lankan in the 5th century A. C. having accepted the request of the Theravāda Mahā Saṅgha of Jambudīpa, to translate the *Sīhala* commentaries to Pali, he found a fully developed commentarial literature in the Sihala language covering the *Tipiṭaka* as a whole, as well as those that concentrated on particular areas of the *Tipiṭaka* such as the *Vinaya*. Adikaram, E. W. has enumerated a list of twenty-eight *Sīhala* commentarial sources that are referred to in the Pali commentaries of Buddhaghosa. He further adds that "Some of the collections were in book form, others scattered literature embodying the views of learned teachers of the past (Adhikaram, E. W., *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1946 Colombo, p. 10).

Among the numerous commentaries that were available to Buddhaghosa when he undertook the translation of the *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathas* to Pali, the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* occupied the paramount position among the *Sīhala* commentaries. It is evident from his commentaries that it was the main source. In the colophon to the *Sumangalavilāsini*, the commentary to the *Digha Nikaya*, the first commentary he wrote to a *Nikāya*, Buddhaghosa records that he composed it having taken the essence of the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*.

Sā ti Mahāaṭṭhakathāya
Sāramādāya niṭṭhita (DA II - 780 Hewavitharana Edit)

(The entire colophon is missing in the PTS. Edition of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*).

It is seen that Buddhaghosa is repeating the identical lines at the end of the *Papañcasūdani* (*MA*. V. 109), the commentary to the *Majjhima Nikāya Sāratthappakāsini* (*SA*. III. 308), the commentary to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and the *Manorathapūrani*, (*AA*. V. 98) the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* commentary.

In the case of the *Samantapāsādikā* the commentary to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, his allegiance to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* appears to be much more than what was expressed regarding his commentaries to the four *nikāyas*. In the prelude to the *Samantapasādikā*, the Vinaya commentary, Buddhaghosa pays his tribute to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* thus:

"Saṃvaṇṇanā dāni samārabhanto
Tassā Mahāaṭṭhakathā sariraṃ"

"While commencing the exegesis (to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*) I shall make the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* the body of it. (*Vin A.I.* p. 2).

However in the commentaries to the *Abhidhamma*, where the Buddhaghosa's authorship is not challenged, he has not shown a similar dependence, to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*, although there is indisputable evidence to show that he consulted the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. Instead, in the preface to the *Atthasālini*, the commentray to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* Buddhaghosa declares:

Nikāyantara laddhīhi asammisaṃ anākulaṃ
Mahavihāravāsinaṃ Dīpayanto vinicechayaṃ

"I shall compose the commentary (to the *Dhammasaṅgani*) elucidating the decisions of the Mahāvihara fraternity which are not contaminated by the views of alien sects" (*DhsA*. p. 2).

Similarly it is seen in the *Sammohavinodanī*, the commentary to the *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa* of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, Buddhaghosa has not paid any specific respect to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. There he says that he compiled it, taking the essence of the *Porānaṭṭhakathā*, apparently referring to the *Sihala Aṭṭhakathā* as a whole.

"Poranaṭṭhakathānaṃ sāramādāya sā ayaṃ niṭṭhaṃ pattā"

"It was completed having taken the essence of the *Porānaṭṭhakathā* (ancient commentaries *VibhA*. p. 523.)

Unlike in the case of the other *Sihala* commentaries such as the *Mahāpaccari Aṭṭhakathā* and the *Kurundiaṭṭhakathā* which were apparently confined to the *Vinaya Pitaka*, the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is found referred to in the Buddhaghosa's commentaries to the entire Tipiṭaka. Mahāaṭṭhakathā is referred to in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, the *Dīghanikāya* commentary:-

"Rajāpatho ti rāga rajādīnaṃ
utthanaṭhānan ti Mahāaṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ"

"It is said in the *Mahāaṭṭhkathā* that "*Rajāpatha*" means the places where lust is born" (*DA*. I, 180).

Similarly the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is referred to in the rest of the Nikāyas such as the *Papañcasūdani*, the *Majjhimanikāya* commentary (*MA*. I. 33) *Saratthappakāsini*, the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* commentary (*SA*. II. 179), the *Monorathapūrani*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* commentary (*AA*. III. 186) the *Paramatthajotikā*, the *Suttanipātha* commentary *Sn A*. II, 202 (*Khuddaka Nikāya*).

The *Samantapāsādikā*, the commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka* carries the largest number of references to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*.

"Mahāaṭṭhakathāyam pana ṭhapita ṭhāna meva ṭhānam. No sakala kumbhi. Tasmā ṭhapita ṭhānato kesaggamattampi mocentassa Pārājikamevāti vuttam"

"In the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*, it is said that the place where an object is kept in the place, not the entire pot (container). If someone moves the object (with an intention of stealing) even to a length of a tip of a hair, he is guilty of a *Pārājikā* offence" (*Vin A*. II. 317 Commentary on the *Pārājikā kaṇḍa*).

Not only in the exegesis of the *Pārājikā kaṇḍa* the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is referred to in the exegesis of the *Khandakas* too, namely the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* (*Vin A*. VI. p. 1135) the *Cullavagga* (*Vin A*. VI. p. 1167). In addition it is also referred to in the exegesis on the *Parivāra*. (*Vin A*. VII, p. 1344)

Buddhaghosa has referred to the *Mahaaṭṭhakatha* in his *Abidhamma commentaries* too. The *Atthasālini* the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* has referred to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* thus:

"Imassa pana atthassa pakāsanattham Imasmim ṭhāne dvārakathā kathikā"

"In order to explain the present meaning, the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* has brought in *Dvārakathā* in this context" (*Dhs* A. 81-82)

Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* was the general commentary that covered the entire *Tipiṭaka* comprising of the *Sutta*, the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhamma*.

As already stated the largest number of direct references to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is found in the *Vinaya* commentary the *Samanthapāsādikā*. The *Samanthapāsādikā* refers to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* not less than seventy occasions. Therefore it would be possible to form an idea of this great commentary now lost, by perusing such references.

Buddhaghosa had great respect and trust for the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. He did not want to refuse an explanation categorically expressed in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. While commenting on buying and selling (*kaya vikkaya*) under the *Pārājikā* rule number two (*Dutiya Pārājikā*), Buddhaghosa says

Mahāaṭṭhakathāyaṃ daḷhaṃ katvā vuttattā na sakkā etaṃ paṭikkhipituṃ

"As it is categorically expressed in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* it is not possible to reject" (*Vin* A. III, 706)

Buddhaghosa's great regard for the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is expressed once more in his following statement in the context of discussing *Pārājika* number three.

Ayaṃ nayo Mahāaṭṭhakathāyaṃ suṭṭhu daḷhaṃ katvā vuttattā tasmā tathā na anādariyaṃ kātabbaṃ

The rule has been well explained in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. Therefore one should not have any disregard towards it (*Vin*. A. II, 448)

Buddhaghosa usually, but not always, prefers the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* to the *Kurundi Aṭṭhakathā* or the *Mahāpaccari aṭṭhakathā*, the other prominent *Sīhala aṭṭhakathās*. While discussing stealing of water under the *Pārājikā* rule number two, Buddhaghosa upholds the explanation given in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* against the explantion given in the *Kurundi Aṭṭhakathā* etc.

"Kurundi ādīsu pana "Avahāroti vuttaṃ. Taṃ vatthuṃ kālañca desañcāti. Iminā lakkhaṇena na sameti. Tasmā Mahaaṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ eva yuttaṃ"

"In the commentaries such as *Kurundi*, it is explained as "acquisition". But that explanation does not agree with context of time and country. Therefore the explanation given in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is reasonable". (*Vin A*. II, 346).

Buddhaghosa while having great respect for the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*, does not hesitate to point out its mistakes or lapses. While discussing *Pārājikā* rule number two (stealing), which the Buddha subsequently extended to cover even the acts commited within the precincts of a forest, Buddhaghosa has observed a mistake occurring due to a slip of the pen in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*.

"Mahaaṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana saccepi alikepi dukkaṭameva vuttaṃ. Tam pamāda lekhanti veditabbaṃ."

"It is stated in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* that whether it is false or true, it amounts to an offecne of *dukkaṭa* (wrong act). This shuld be regarded as a slip of the pen." (*Vin A*. II, 311).

Buddhaghosa has come across an instance where a particular point has not been properly analysed and discussed in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*, whereas it is found well discussed in the *Mahāpaccari Aṭṭhakathā*.

"Ayaṃ pana nayo Mahaaṭṭhakathāyaṃ na suṭṭhu vibhatto Mahapaccariyaṃ vibhatto" ti.

"This rule has not been well analysed in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. The *Mahāpaccari* commentary has analysed it well." (*Vin A*. III, 617)

Again Buddhaghosa has highlighted an instance where the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is not clear while it is clear in the *Mahāpaccari*.

"Ayaṃ pana nayo Mahāaṭṭhakathāyaṃ apākaṭo Mahāpaccariyādīsu pākaṭo".

"This rule is not quite clear in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. But it is clear in the *Mahāpaccari* etc." (*Vin A*. III, 726)

There is also an instance where Buddhaghosa declares that the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* explanation apparently contradicts with the text."

"Yañcetaṃ Mahāaṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ, tam pāliyā viruddha miva dissati. (Vin A. II, 300)

Buddhaghosa has noticed an instance where certain teachers of Sri Lanka differed from the interpretations given in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. One such teacher was Mahāpaduma Thera of the 1st century A. C. (*Vin A*. I, 283).

According to the *Paramatthajotikā*, the commentary on the *Suttanipāta*, the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* did not contain the exegesis of the last two verses of *Kokālika Sutta* of the *Sutta nipata*. (*SnA*. II, 477).

The similarity between the language spoken by the Buddhist missionaries headed by Arahant Mahinda and the language of the inhabitants of *Sīhaladipa* helped to understand each other easily, and facilitated the rapid spread of Buddhism. The Same similarity would have made the task of writing Sīhala commentaries to Pali Tipiṭaka easy. Though these commentaries were compiled in *Sīhala*, they appear to have contained Pali verses also. As seen in the *Dampiya aṭuva Gāṭapadaya,* a *Sihala* glossary to the Pali Commentary on the *Dhammapada* (circa 9th century A. C.) it is possible that the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* also used Pali terms to explain the meanings of Pali terms (The difficulty to find appropriate Sihala terms for the Pali terms compels even present day translators to use Pali terms themselves.). There is no doubt that the numerous quotations scattered in Buddhaghosa's Pali commentaries are the Pali renderings of the *Mahāaṭṭhakatha* lines.

According to Adikaram (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1946 p. 14) numerous verses and passages in the Pali commentaries, the sources of which we are unable to trace, are possibly from *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās* (of which the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* was the most prominent)

There is also evidence to show that the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* contained a large number of anecdotes based on incidents that took place in Ceylon. Buddhaghosa included in his commentaries only a few of these stories.

The *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is not extant today, nor does any other *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās* exist. How and when the *Sīhala aṭṭhakathā* ceased to exist is not known. According to a Burmese tradition, after translating into Pali, the *Sīhala aṭṭhakathā* Buddhaghosa collected the *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā* and set them on fire.

Tato paṭṭhāya so pi Mahinda thera- likhāpitāni ganthāni rāsiṃ karāpetvā Mahacetiyassa samīpe parisuddhaṭṭhāne jhāpesi. Sīhala bhāsāya kira Mahinda therena likhāpitāni sabbaganthāni rāsikatāni ubbhedhena satta majjhimahaṭṭhipiṭṭhipamānaṃ hontīti pubbācariyā vadantīti amhehi sutaṃ.

"Then he (Buddhaghosa) collected the books (*Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā*) written by the Great Mahinda thera to a clean spot near the *Mahā cetiya* and got them burnt. The collection of books then written by Mahā Mahinda thera in the Sīhala language was equalent to the height of seven middle-sized elephants, the teachers of the past say so. (*Buddhaghosupptti* edited by James Grey: Luzacs Company, London 1892 p. 60).

There appears no base at all for this account in the *Buddhaghosuppatti*. Malalasekera refers to the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, as "A very late account of the life of Buddhaghosa, and that it is very romantic than a historical account (*DPPN* Vol II, p. 307). According to Law "It is less authentic than the account contained in the *Cūlavaṃsa* (Law B. C. *A history of Pali Literature*, Kogan Paul Trench Trübner & Company, London 1933, vol. II p. 558).

According to a tradition in Sri Lanka, the source of which is not known, the *Sihalaaṭṭhakathās* are safely deposited in the *Abayagiri Stupa*. Acting on this belief an attempt was made during the colonial period to excavate the *Abayagiri Stupa* to recover the Sīhala commentaries. The excavation of the *Abayagiri Stupa* was commenced in 1887 under the direction of Aivers, the Government Agent of the North Central province with the consent of Ven. Medhankara thera chief priest of *Aṭamasthāna*. However as a result of the public protest headed by Ven. Hikkaduwe Sumangala thera, The Colonial Secretary had ordered the Government Agent to stop the excavations immediately. The hole that was bored was closed in the presence of the pilgrims and nothing had been discovered in the attempt. (*Brahmacāri Walisinghe Harischandra and Anuradhapura Buddhist Revival*, Colombo, March 1991 (*ISBN* 955-95281-1-5) p. 15-16, Administrative

report of the Government Agent North Central Province 1887, and the Diary of the Government Agent North Central province, Feb 10 1888 *SLNAC* 41/260

It is difficult to come to a conclusion as regards the exact time of the extinction of the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathās*. Contrary to the *Buddhaghosuppatti* account of immediate destruction, there is evidence to show that the *Sihalaaṭṭhakathā* survived several centuries after being translated into Pali by Buddhaghosa. The *Vaṃsatthattappakāsini* (*Mahāvamsa ṭīkā*) the commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa* which Malalsekera assigns to the 8[th] and 9[th] centuries, (Geiger opines that it belongs to a period between 1000-1200 A. C. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* introduction (Vol. I CVI - CLX) contains valuable information regarding the survival of the *Sihalaaṭṭhakathā*. According to Oldernberg the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā Mahāvamsa*, which the author of the *Vamsatthappakāsini* often cites as his main source, was the historical introduction to the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā*. If the historical introduction (according to Oldernberg) existed when the *Vamsatthappakāsini* was written there is no doubt that the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā* proper (which includes the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*) would have been available. However Malalasekera argues that it might have originated as the historical introduction to the *Sihalaaṭṭhakathā* , but subsequently it grew up to be a separate Sihala chronical, which the *Vamsatthappakāsini* refers to as the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā Mahavansa* (*Vamsatthappakasini* introduction Vol I p. LVIII). It is clear from the *Vamsatthappakasini* that when it was written *Sihalaaṭṭhakathās* were still being studied in the 8th or 9th century. In fact the author sometimes refers the readers to his sources (various *Sihalaaṭṭhakathās*) for further details (*Vamsatthappakasini* Vol. I p. 30, Vol. II 362)

However, no specific reference to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is found in the *Vamsatthappākasini*. The absence of *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*, the foremost among the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathās*, appears somewhat strange, when we consider the large number of *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathās* refered to in the *Vamsatthappakāsini* such as *Aṭṭhakathās*, *Sihalaaṭṭhakathā*, *Mahavamsaṭṭhakathā*, *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahavamsa*, *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā*, *Uttaraviharavāsīnaṃ Aṭṭhakathā*, *UttaraviharaMahavamsa*, *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, *Dipavamsaaṭṭhakathā*, *Sīmākathā*, *Cetiyavamsaṭṭhakathā*, *Mahācetiyavamsaṭṭhakathā*, *Mahabodhivamsaaṭṭhakathā*, *Sahassavatthuaṭṭhakathā*, *Cūlasīhanādasutta vaṇṇana*, *Sihalabhāsānamakkara vaṇṇana*, *Sumedhakathā Gaṇṭhipada vaṇṇanā* etc. It may be that the author of the *Vamsatthappakāsini* had no reason to refer to the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* specifically due to the nature of the subject he was handling, although it existed at the time. It is also possible that when the author of the *Vamsatthappakāsini* refers to "*Aṭṭhakathā*" or "*Sihalaṭṭhakathā*" it would have included *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* as well. Therefore it can be reasonably assumed that the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* was surviving when the *Vamsatthappakāsini*, the commentary to *Mahāvamsa* being written in the 8[th] or the 9[th] century.

In addition to the Pali sources, ancient Sinhala literature too provides some clues as to the time of extinction of the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā*. *Dampiyaaṭuvā Gäṭapadaya* a Sinhala Glossary to the Pali *Dhammapadaaṭṭhakathā*, written during the reign of king Kassapa V (913-923 A.C.) contains the quotations from the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*.

Thanks to the author of the *Dampiya aṭuvā Geṭapadaya* the following two lines that could be indentified as those from the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*, without any doubt, have survived:

"*Yoge so yodāvanaki upaddavahi semi maha aṭuvā hi kī bävin*" (because it is said in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* that one is free from all dangers when free from all bondages.)

"*Sāmāvatiyā vatthunāma paṭhama kīyi mahaaṭuvāhi kī bävin*" (Sāmāvati episode is told first as found in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*). (*Dampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya* edited by M. Vimalakitti and N. Sominda, Colombo 1960 p. 76)

Therefore, it is clear that the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* existed when the *Dampiyaaṭuvā Gäṭapadaya* was written in the 10th century A.C.

The *Sikhavalanda* and the *Sikhavalandavinisa* a short monastic code of discipline in Sinhala generally assigned to the early 10[th] century A. C. is also helpful here. The *Kurundiaṭṭhakattā* a Sihala commentary which Buddhaghosa often refers to along with the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* , is found quoted in the *Sikhavalanda* and the *Sikhavalandavinisa* (*Sikhavalanda* and *Sikhavalandavinisa*, Prācina Bhāsopakara Samagama, Colombo 1999 p. 58). Therefore there is no doubt that the *Kurundiaṭṭhakathā* was available when

Sikhavalandavinisa was written. If the *Kurundiaṭṭhakathā* existed, the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* too, would have been there, when the *Sikhavalandavinisa* was written.

The *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi Piṭapota* is a Sinhala glossary to the *Kankhavitarani* the Pali commentary to the *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha*, and the *Bhikkhuṇi Pātimokkha*, which is attributed to a date in or after the reign of Parakramabahu II (1236-1271 of the Dambadeniya period). Suraweera, apparently having felt in the process of studying the contents of the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi Piṭapota* infers that the author of the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi Piṭapota* has associated the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*. Therefore he is of opinion that the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathās* might have been available even during the time when the *Kaṅkhāvitarani Piṭapota* was written in the 13*th* century (Suraweera A. V., *Anuradhapura Sanskrutiya* (in Sinhala script), Colombo, 1959 p. 39).

As already stated it is difficult to ascertain an exact period when the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathās* ceased to exist, though there is sufficient evidence to show they continued to be in use several centuries after being translated into Pali by Buddhoghosa in the 5[th] century A. C. The Sinhala Language in which *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā* was written during the 3[rd] century B. C. was subjected to the natural evolution in the centuries that followed. The language of the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā* gradually became archaic and the books written in Sinhala too became obsolete and went out of use.

The ola leaf books or palm leaf manuscripts have been preserved by the process of successive copying through the centuries. If the copying process stops at a particular point i. e. if no new copies are produced anew when the old copy show signs of decay, the book leads to a natural death.

After several centuries, when the language of the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā* including the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* became archaic and went out of use, no effort would have been made to produce new copies of them with the perishing of the last copies they must have ceased to exist, possibly in or after the 12[th] century A. C.

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K. Arunasiri

MAHĀBHINIKKHAMANA,(Skt. *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*) derived from Mahā + abhi + niṣ + kram, to go forth, is generally rendered into English as the Great Renunciation and it is used in Buddhist literature to connote exclusively Siddhatta Gotama's (i.e., the bodhisatta) act of going forth from home into homelessness in order to lead the life of an ascetic.

The term *abhinikkhamana* is found in canonical literature. *The abhinikkhamana* of Vipassi is referred to in the *Dighanikāya* (II, 51). This term is used in the sense of 'going forth' in the *Thera-gāthā* (p. 195, 249, 250, 251) and in the *Suttanipāta*, too. (*v*. 64). In later literature such as *Papañcasūdani* the *abhinikkhamana* of Sāriputta and other theras are mentioned (II, 246, 247). But when joined with the epithet *mahā*, it is exclusively used to connote the 'going forth' of Siddhattha Gotama and this term *mahābhinikkhamana* is found for the first time in the *Jātakanidānakathā* (*J*. 61), which contains the later tradition dealing with the 'going forth' of Siddhattha Gotama.

It is also implied in a verse quoted in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D*. II, 151), that Gotama, at the age of twenty-nine, renounced the ease, comfort and luxuries of household life and became an ascetic seeking Enlightenment. Textual as well as sculptural evidence makes it evident that there are two main trends in the tradition regarding this event. One is the early tradition which represents this act in its bare simplicity merely as another event in the life of the Buddha. The other is the late tradition which transform this simple act into an unique event accomplished with the aid of the deities and accompanied by numerous miraculous happenings.

The early *nikāya* references show that Gotama left the household life not due to any sudden impulse but as a result of the remorse he experienced after seeing and reflecting for a considerable period of time over the ills of saṃsāric existence and his sole intention in renouncing the household life was to find a way to put an end to these ills. The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* which contains the early biographical tradition of the Buddha bears evidence to this. This *sutta* after explaining what the ariyan quest is says:" And I too, monks, before awakening, while I was still the bodhisatta, not fully awakened, being liable to birth (*attanā jātidhammo*) sought what was likewise liable to birth, being liable to ageing (*attanā jarādhammo*) sought what was likewise liable to ageing; being liable to disease (*attana byādhidhammo*) being liable to dying (*attana maraṇadhammo*) being liable to sorrow (*attanā sokadhammo*) being liable to stain (*attanā sankilesadhammo*) sought what was likewise liable to stain. Then it occurred to me, monks: why do I, liable to birth seek what is liable to birth, being liable to ageing ..... being liable to stain seek what is liable to stain? Suppose that I, (although) being liable to birth having known the peril in what is likewise liable to birth should seek the unborn, the uttermost security from the bonds, Nibbana? .... Being liable to stain .... should seek the stainless, the uttermost security from the bonds-Nibbāna (*ajātaṁ-anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ pariyeseyyaṃ*)

"Then I monks, after a time, being young (*daharo va samano*), my hair coal-black (*susu kālakeso*), possessed of radiant youth (*bhadrena yobbanena samannāgato*) in the prime of my life (*paṭhamena vayasā*), although my unwilling parents wept and wailed, having cut off my hair and beard, having put on yellow robes, went forth from home into homelessness (*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajiṃ*) (*M.* I, 163:)." The *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* and also the *Bodhirājakumārsutta* adhere, to the early tradition when describing the 'going forth'. (*M.* I, 240, II, 93, 212). Even the *Mahapadāna Sutta* though later than any of the previously mentioned three *suttas*, does not describe Siddhattha Gotama's 'going forth' as a great, unique act. However, the last mentioned three *suttas* show how certain key events in the life of the Buddha gradually lost their simplicity and how they were transformed into unique, marvellous events accomplished with the intervention of deities.

The social and religious conditions prevalent during the time of the Buddha show that renunciation of household-life in favour of ascetic-life, in order to win emancipation from the vortex of birth and death was a common practice among the brahman thinkers of the time. The Upanisads refer to numerous such thinkers who thus went forth from home into homelessness to practice asceticism (*tapas*) or to become wanderers (*parivrājaka*), hermits (*sanyāsin*), or ascetics (*śramaṇas*). As already pointed out the early tradition represents Siddhattha Gotama as one among many such thinkers who followed an ancient custom to find a way to put an end to all ills of *saṃsāric* existence.

But later tradition represents this simple act as an unparalleled, unprecedented event. One of the main reasons for the exaggeration and transformation of this event into a unique one appears to be the fact that this late tradition came into being only after the Buddha and the bodhisattva concepts were considerably developed. As the early tradition was not compatible with the other events found in the Buddha and bodhisattva concepts, the early tradition had to change to conform to the developed concepts. Another reason could be the attempt on the part of those who formulated the biography of the Buddha to establish the belief that Suddhodana, father of Siddhattha Gotama was a great king and that Siddhattha Gotama himself was destined to be world-ruler (*cakkavattin*). This greatly facilitated their attempt to represent Siddhattha Gotama's 'going forth' as a unique event of self-sacrifice by doing which he not only abandoned the luxuries of household-life but also world-rulership.

As already pointed out it was after realising and reflecting much on the ills of saṃsāric existence that Siddhattha Gotama resolved to renounce household life in preference to the ascetic life which was customarily held to be more conducive to the attainment of Enlightenment. But the later biographers were not only discontended with the early tradition but were also forced by circumstances to transform the early tradition giving it a more concrete form. The early tradition is clear in saying that Siddhattha Gotama had a very comfortable household life; that he had been for sometime reflecting on the ills of samsaric existence, and that he 'went forth' as a result of the great remorse he experienced by his reflection. The later tradition not only accepts that Siddhattha Gotama had a comfortable household life but greatly exaggerates it and suggests that he lived amidst so much of luxury and care that he had no apportunity of even knowing what disease, old-age and death meant. Obviously this was in direct conflict with the early tradition which represents him as reflecting on the ills of life such as

disease, old-age and death. The later biographies were faced with the problem of bringing about a compromise between the two traditions, and they seem to have considered that the best way of getting out of this difficulty is by representing Siddhattha Gotama's 'going forth' as an act of sudden impulsion brought about by his confrontation with the four 'signs' namely, disease, old-age, death and monk hood, in concrete form which was brought to his sight for the first time by the intervention of the deities.

A comparatively early attempt at this transformation is seen in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* which account served as the proto-type of the life of Gotama Buddha (*D.* II, 12 ff). Therein it is graphically described how prince Vipassi encountered the four signs on his way to the park on four different occasions. It is this account that form the basis of the account found in the *Jātakanidāna-kathā*. The *Jātakanidānakathā* (p. 57) clearly states that Suddhodana after hearing from the eight brahmans that his son, if he saw the four signs, would leave the world, all precautions were taken to keep them off from the sight of his son. However, when the time for his Enlightenment approached the deities decided to show him the four signs. Thus, one day, when Siddhattha Gotama was going to the park the gods showed another god in the guise of a man worn out with old age, with broken teeth, grey hair, bent, with broken down body, a stick in hand and trembling. Seeing this unusual figure he enquired from the charioteer. Having heard the charioteer's explanation he exclaimed 'woe to birth wherein old age appears to one that is born'. Then with his mind agitated he returned to the palace cancelling his drive. When Suddhodana came to know about it he provided more and more luxuries to please his son and to calm him down. On two other occasions the gods, in a similar manner, showed him a sick man and a corpse and Siddhattha Gotama reacted as before. Suddhodana too, took greater care to prevent his son from 'going forth'. At last the day of renunciation arrived and Siddhattha Gotama set out to the park as before. On this day the gods presented a monk for him to see. Siddhattha Gotama inquired from the charioteer about him. The charioteer being inspired by the gods praised the virtues of recluseship. Having heard the charioteer's words he set his heart on 'going forth'. On that day he went to the park and after bathing sat on the royal slab of state to be robed. Sakka perceiving that Siddhattha Gotama would 'go forth' at mid-night commissioned Vissakamma to appear in the guise of the royal chamberlain to adorn him. After enjoying himself in the park he returned to the palace. On his way he received the news that his wife had given brith to a son. At that time a *kṣatriya* maiden named Kisāgotamī seeing him, made a solemn utterance which set the Siddhattha Gotama's heart more firmly on renunciation

At night when Siddhattha Gotama had entered his palace an all female orchestra began to play music. But he being disinterested soon lay down on bed and the musicians, too, then fell asleep. Later when he awoke he saw the female musicians sleeping in very disgusting attitudes. He decided to 'go forth' immediately. That was the full-moon day of *Uttarāsālha* (June-July). He awoke Channa and ordered him to saddle his horse Kantaka. Desirous of seeing the new born son he entered the wife's chamber and saw her sleeping with her hand placed on the son's head. So he decided not to take his son in his arms thinking that he might awaken the wife.

He left the city on horse back with Channa clinging to the horse's tail. The deities muffled even the sound of the horse's hoofs. The city gate was opened by the deity residing in it. At that moment Māra appeared in the air and pleaded with Siddhattha Gotama not to depart, assuring him that seven days hence he would become a world-ruler. But disregarding Mara's assurance he proceeded on his journey. When he became desirous of seeing the city the great earth turned round and brought the city before him. Siddhattha Gotama went thirty leagues passing three kingdoms in one night and reached the river Anomā which Kanthaka crossed in one leap. Having reached the further bank he gave his ornaments and the horse to Channa and asked him to return. He, taking out the sword cut off his hair and beard. When he threw his hair into the sky Sakka appeared and accepted the hair in a golden casket and returned to Tavatiṃsa and enshrined it in a cetiya which came to be known as Cūlamaṇi-cetiya. Thereafter the Mahābrahma named Ghaṭikāra appeared and offered him the eight requisites of a monk.

The Sanskrit tradition not only multiplies the incidents but further exaggerates the whole event by introducing more miraculous happenings and bringing deities to intervene whenever required. The *Lalitavistara* (chp. xiii) says that the deties were anxiously waiting for the time when Siddhārtha would set his heart on renunciation and it further says that it is a general rule with the Buddhas residing in the ten directions to turn the music of the seraglio of the

bodhisattva into an exhortation. Thus it contains a lengthy exhortation inducing Siddhartha to 'go forth'. In chap. XV the *Lalitavistara* describes how Siddhārtha caused his father to dream about his imminent departure. Suddhodana had walls erected round the city and placed guards at different points. Then it describes, more or less as found in the *Jātakanidānakathā*, how Siddhārtha encountered the four signs. However, a point worthy of note here is that the *Lalitavistara* tradition does not upheld the position that Siddhārtha who had been preaching even to gods while he was yet in the mother's womb, was ignorant of old age etc. So it says though Siddhārtha inquired, from the charioteer about the 'signs' he himself knew about them, thus making it appear as if he was following the custom of all Buddhas (*Lal.* p. 137). On the night on which he was to 'go forth' his wife Gopā, too, had numerous ominous dreams which he favourably interpreted. Siddhārtha himself dreams numerous dreams and on waking he decides to 'go forth'. Then he goes to his father and asks his permission to leave the household life. When the father discouraged him he asked for four boons namely freedom from birth, old-age, disease and death, if he is to remain in household life. When Suddhodana expressed his inability to grant these Siddhārtha requested the father to grant him that he may be free from re-birth which boon also the father was unable to grant. Ultimately Suddhodana, failing to dissuade his son from 'going forth', seems to have wished him success. When he returns to his palace again god caused him to see the women of his harem sleeping in very disgusting postures. Siddhārtha deciding to renounce household life awakened Channa and got the horse saddled. Channa tried to discourage him but failed.

Inspite of the precaution taken by the father Siddhārtha 'went forth', and the deities helped him in doing this. Siddhārtha, accompanied by Channa, went beyond Kodya and Malla in one night and reached Anavaineya. There, he cut off his hair and beard, and handed over the horse and arnaments to Channa who returned to the palace. A Suddhāvasa deity knowing that Siddhārtha needed robes, appeared dressed in robes. Siddhāratha seeing him obtained the robes in exchange for his silk shawl.

The *Mahāvastu* account too agrees with the account found in the *Lalitavistara*. But one thing noteworthy in the *Mahāvastu* account is that, as in the early *nikāya* tradition, it uphold the fact that Siddhārtha was reflecting on the ills of saṃsāric existence even before he encountered the 'four signs'.

An analysis of these different traditions shows that underlying them is an actual happening which later came to be imbued with extraneous miraculous events.

S. K. Nanayakkara

MAHĀBHŪTA is a term used by most of the schools of Indian thought to denote five elemental substances, namely *pṛthivī* (earth), *ap* (water), *tejas* (fire) *vāyo* (air) and *ākāśa* (space, ether). Although *ākāsa* is reckoned as the fifth, it is distinguished from the other four as a non-corporeal substance devoid of tactility (*sparśa*) and characterized by ubiquity (*vibhū*), absolute continuity and infinite magnitude. *Ākāśa* is thus on par with such intangible subtances as *kāla* (time). In all schools of Buddhist thought, on the other hand, only four *mahābhūtas* are recognized, namely *paṭhavi* (earth), *āpo* (water), *tejo* (fire) and *vāyo* (air). It is of course true that in the Pali Nikāyas, *ākāsa* is somtimes enumerated immediately after and apparently as co-ordinate with the above four items. But this does not mean that *ākāsa* is the fifth *mahābhūta*, just as much as *viññaṇa* (consciousness) which is also sometimes enumerated with the five items in question is not the sixth *mahābhūta*.[1] It may be observed here that when *ākāsa* and *viññaṇa* are mentioned along with *paṭhavī*, *āpo, tejo and vāyo*, the general designation used to denote all the six items is *dhātu*. On the other hand, the term *mahābhūta* is reserved only for the last four items. That Jainism, too, does not recognize *ākāsa* as a *mahābhūta* is shown by its use of the term, "*bhūdacatukka*", the elemental tetrad, in referring to the *mahābhutas*.[2]

The earliest Buddhist definition of the four *mahābhutas* is found in the Pali *Nikāyas*, where they are often illustrated with reference to the physical constituents of a living being: *Paṭhavī* is that which is hard (*kakkhaḷa*) and rigid (*kharigata*), e.g. hair of the head or body, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, etc. *Āpo* is water or that which is watery (*āpogata*), e.g. bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, tears, etc. *Tejo* is fire or heat or that which is fiery (*tejogata*), e.g. the heat in the body which transmutes food and drink in digestion. *Vāyo* is air or that which is airy (*vāyogata*), e.g. "wind discharged

1. Cf. e.g. *M.* III. p. 31; *A.* I. p. 176
2. See *Pañcastikāyasāra*, pp. 79 ff.

upwards or downwards, wind in the abdomen or belly, vapours that traverse the several members, inhalings and exhalings of breath"[3]

This early Buddhist definition of the *mahābhutas* finds further elaboration in the Abhidhamma, particularly in its commentaries and compendiums. The change to be noted is that they are presented in more abstract terms. *Paṭhavi*, the earth-element, is defined, not as that which is hard or solid (*kakkhḷa*), but as the very fact of hardness or solidity (*kakkhaḷatta*). It is of course true that sometimes the earth-element is defined as that which has the chracteristic of hardness or solidity (*kakkhaḷatta-lakkhaṇā paṭhavī-dhātu*). However, it is observed that this kind of definition is not valid from an ultimate point of view, because it assumes a duality between the earth-element and the characteristic of hardness or solidity. The correct definition is the one that states: solidity itself is the earth-element (*kakkhaḷattaṃ eva paṭhavī-dhātu*).[4] For this definition does not assume a distinction between the characteristic and that which is characterized by it. The earth-element is also defined as that which extends or spreads out (*pattharatī ti paṭhavī*). Extension is occupation in space: "Tri-dimensional extension gives rise to our idea of a solid body. As no two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time, Buddhists derive their idea of hardness (*kakkhaḷatta-lakkhaṇa*) from *paṭhavi*, the earth-element"[5] Thus the definition of earth-element as the element of extension is another way of saying that the earth-element stands for the characteristic of solidity. *Āpo*, the water-element, represents the characteristics of liquidity (*davatā*), viscidity (*sineha*) and cohesion or binding together (*bandhanatta*). The last refers more to its function: "For the water-element binds together iron, etc. in masses, makes them rigid. Because they are so bound, they are called rigid. Similarly in the case of stones, mountains, palm-seeds, elephant-tusks, ox-horns, etc. All such things the water-element binds and makes rigid"[6]. *Tejo*, the fire-element represents the phenomenon of heat (*usumā, uṇhatta*) or caloricity. Cold is recognized, not as a separate phenomenon, but as the relative absence of heat: "Although cold (*sītatā*) is known by the sense of touch, it is really heat (*tejo*). The sensation of cold (*sītabuddhi*) is obtained when the heat is less, for there is no distinct quality called cold. Hence it is that during the summer season when people having first stayed in the sun enter the shade they experience the sensation of cold. And when they stay there for a long time they experience the sensation of heat"[7]. *Vayo*, the air-element, stands for the characteristics of distension (*thambhitatta*) and fluctuation or mobility (*chambhitatta, samudiraṇa*). In contrast to the other three primaries, it represents the more restless and dynamic aspects of matter.

From the foregoing description of the four primary elements of matter it should become clear that the earth element stands for solidity and extension; the water element, for liquidity, viscidity and cohesion; the fire element, for caloricity or for all degrees of temperature; and the air element, for distension and motion. The four are not the qualities or attributes of what is called *bhūta-rūpa*, the primary matter; on the contrary, they are its constituents. Their position in relation to one another is co-ordinate for they represent four distinct forces or phenomena in the realm of matter. The characteristics (*lakkhaṇa*), functions (*rasa*), manifestation (*paccupaṭṭhāna*) of one are different from those of another. However much one primary element is influenced by the others, it never abandons its essential nature.[8] What all this amounts to is that the four primaries are neither transmutable into one another nor reducible to a common ground.

Another fundamental feature of the primary elements is that they always arise and exist together (*sahajāta*). None of them can exist independently of the other three. The nascence (*uppāda*), existence (*ṭhiti*) and cessation (*bhaṅga*) of one do necessarily synchronize with those of the others[9]. It is precisely for this reason that their relationship is described as one of reciprocal co-nascence (*aññamañña-sahajāta*). Since no primary element can come into being independently of the others, in this sense, each is postu-

3. See *M*. I, pp. 421 ff.
4. See *VsmT*. p. 362; cf. *Abhede pi bheda-parikappanā* (Abhuk. 156).
5. A. Z. Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 155, n. I.
6. *Asl*. p. 355 (tr. from Expositor)
7. *ADSVT*. p. III; see also *VsmT*. p. 459; VsmS. V, pp. 75 ff.
8. *Vsm*. p. 346.
9. *Tkp*. pp. 3, 14.

lated as a condition by way of co-nascence (*aññamañña-sahajāta-paccaya*) in relation to the other three.[10]

The Theravada commentators seek to explain the mutual conditionality of the *mahabhūtas* under all possible combinations and permutations:

> "Taking each one beginning with 'earth' there are three others whose occurrence is due to that one, thus with three due to one, their occurrence takes place in four ways. Likewise each one beginning with 'earth', occurs in dependence on the other three, thus with one due to three, their occurrence takes place in four ways. But with the last two dependent on the first two, with the second and fourth dependent on the first and third, with the first and third dependent on the second and fourth, with the first and fourth dependent on the second and third, with the second and third dependent on the first and fourth, they occur in six ways with two elements due to two."[11]

The fundamental principle involved in the conditional relation by way of reciprocal co-nascence is that when one element arises, what is related to it, too, must arise simultaneously. With this as the basis, the commentators seek to show how each of the primary elements becomes, at one and the same time, the condition as well as the conditioned, in relation to the others, under all possible combinations and permutations.

Each primary element assists the remaining three by performing its peculiar function:

> "The earth element which is held together by water, maintained by fire and distended by air is a condition for the other three primaries by acting as their foundation. The water element which is founded on earth, maintained by fire and distended by air is a condition for the other three primaries by acting as their cohesion. The fire element which is founded on earth, held together by water and distended by air is a condition for the other three primaries by acting as their maintaining. The air element which is founded on earth, held together by water and maintained by fire is a condition for the other three primaries by acting as their distension."[12]

If the four primary elements are invariably co-existent (*niyata-sahajāta*) and reciprocally conditioned (*aññamañña-sahajāta*), it necessarily follows that they are positionally inseparable (*padesato avinibhoga*).[13] Their positional inseparability means that they are present in every instance of matter. However, there is no quantitative (*pamāṇato*) difference between the four primary elements that enter into the composition of different material aggregates. There is as much water-element in a blazing fire as there is in wood or water. It is argued that if there were to be a quantitative difference between the primaries that enter into the composition of material objects, then the conclusion that they are inseparable would not be logical (*na yujjeyya*).[14] If they are present in equal proportion how are we to understand the variety and diversity of material objects? To put it differently: Since the primary elements are said to be cognized only by the sense of touch, what accounts for the diversity in tactile sensations?

The diversity, it is maintained, is not due to a difference in quantity (*pamāṇa*), but due to a difference in capability (*sāmatthiya*) or extrusion (*ussada*).[15] Accordingly each primary element exhibits different degrees of intensity in different material objects. It is observed that although the four primary elements reach the avenue of the sense of touch simultaneously, yet tactile cognition of them does not arise at once. For the object of touch is determined by one of two alternative factors, namely, deliberate attention (*ābhuñjita-vasena*) and extrusion (*ussada-vasena*). The first alternative is illustrated as follows:

> "When the bowl is filled with food and brought, one who takes up a lump and examines whether it is hard or soft is considering only the element of extension, though there may be heat and mobility present. One who

10. *Ibid.* loc. cit.
11. *Path of Purification* (*tr. Visuddhimagga*), tr. Bhikkhu Ñānamoli, Colombo, 1956, p. 405.
12. *Ibid. p.* 403.
13. *Vsm.* p. 381; *VsmT.* p. 364; Abhvk. p. 273.
14. *VsmT.* p. 451; *Abhvk.* pp. 273 ff.
15. *VsmT.* p. 451; *Abhvk.* p. 273.

investigates by putting the hand in hot water is considering only the element of heat, though extension and mobility are present. One who lets the wind beat upon the body by opening the window in the hot season is considering while the wind beats gently and softly, only the element of mobility, though extension and heat are present".[16]

The other alternative, where deliberate attention is absent, is explained with reference to the extrusiveness (*ussada*) of one element in relation to the others:

"But he who slips or knocks his head against a tree, or in eating bites on a stone, takes as his mental object only the element of extension on account of its extrusiveness, though where he slipped, etc., heat and mobility were present. One treading on fire makes only the element of heat his object owing to its extrusiveness, although extension and mobility are present therein. When a strong wind blows striking the ear as if to make one deaf, although extension and heat are present therein, the element of mobility alone is made the object owing to its extrusiveness".[17]

It should be noted here that in the above explanation of how the primary elements become objects of touch or of factile consciousness no mention is made of the water-element (*āpo-dhātu*). The reason for this is that according to the Theravada Abhidhamma only the other three primary elements are cognized by the sense of touch. Why the water element is excluded from the tangible is partly explained by what was observed earlier on the position of cold in relation to the primary elements. Unlike the Sarvastivadins the Theravadins do not associate cold as a characteristic of the water element. For the latter, cold is not a phenomenon distinct from, but is only the relative absence of heat. According to the Theravadins, therefore, both cold and heat, in other words, all degrees of temperature, are represented by, and therefore testify to the presence of, the fire element. The water element, as stated above, is representative of *bandhanatta*, the fact of 'binding together' or cohesion and *dravatā*, fluidity. But these are not felt by the sense of touch. "When one puts his hand into cold water, the sofness of water felt is not *āpo* (water element), but *paṭhavī* (earth element); the cold felt is not *āpo* (water element) but *tejo* (fire element); the pressure felt is not *āpo* (water element) but *vāyo* (air element)"[18]. Its cohesion and fluidity, whatever be their degree of intensity and capability, are not felt by the sense of touch. Hence the water element is excluded from the sphere of the tangible (*phoṭṭhabbāyatana*) and is included among the objects of mind (*dhammāyatana*).[19] This means that it cannot be known by any of the senses other than the mind. It is known by a process of inference.

In conclusion it may be observed here that the *mahābhūtas* are assigned a comparatively primary position in the Buddhist conception of the material world. For instance, what the Sāṃkhya considers as *mahābhūtas* are not the ultimate irreducible constituents of matter, for they are evolved immediately from the *tanmātras* and ultimately from *prakṛti*, i.e. the uncaused first cause of the world or non-self. According to Vedanta the *mahābhūtas* are produced from *sūkṣma-bhūtas*, a species of subtle matter. For Jainism the ultimate constituents of *puggala* (matter) are not the four elements (*dhādu-catukka*) but the homogenious atoms. The latter are the essential causes of the former. The Nyāya-Vaiseṣika postulates four kinds of atoms corresponding to the four elemental substances, namely earth, water, fire, and air. This may be described as an attempt to reconcile the older theory of the *mahābhūtas* with the later atomic theory.

In Buddhism, unlike in many other systems of Indian thought, the *mahābhūtas* are assigned a primary position in the sense that they are recognized as the ultimate irreducible data of material existence. It is of course true that a given instance of matter consists of not only the four *mahābhūtas* but also of a set of *upādā-rūpas* (secondary material elements), such as colour (*vaṇṇa*), odour (*gandha*), savour (*rasa*) and the nutritive quality of matter (*āhāra-rūpa, ojā*). But these so called *upādā-rūpas*, as conceived in Buddhism, are always dependent on, and therefore secondary to, the *mahābhūtas*. Even with the development of the theory of *rupa-kalāpa*, i.e. the Theravada version of atomism, the *mahābhūtas* did not come to be reduced to a sec-

16. *Expositor*, p. 434 (DhsA. pp. 333-4).
17. *Ibid.* loc. cit.
18. Cpd. p. 155, n. 6.
19. See e.g. *Dhs.* p. 179.

condary position. For even in the smallest unit of matter called *rūpa-kalāpa (paramāṇu*=atom), all the four *mahābhūtas* are present. Although the *mahābhūtas* are postulated as the ultimate (primary) elements of matter, this does not mean that they are uncaused, everperduring elemental substances. They, too, come under the laws of phenomenal (*saṅkhata*) existence: They are brought about by conditions (*sappaccaya*), devoid of any abiding essence (*asāra*) and are of momentary duration (*khaṇika*).

Y. Karunadasa

MAHĀBODHI, the tree in the shade of which Siddhattha Gotama attained *sammāsambodhi* or supreme Enlightement is popularly known as the Mahābodhi. The location of this tree is Buddhagayā (Bodhgayā) in India. According to Buddhist literature this tree was **on** the banks of the river Neranjarā **in** the province of Uruvela. At present Buddhagayā (Bodhagaya) is a thriving village in the state of Bihar bounded on the north by Haripur, on the east by Mastipur Dhondora and Turi, on the South by Rampur and on the west by the river Lilajan (ancient Neranjarā). According to Pali sources this tree belongs to the *assattha* (*Skt. As'vattha*) family of trees (*sammāsambuddho assatthassa mūle abhisambuddho D.* II, p. 4). It is rendered into English as the 'holy figtree' or *Ficus Religiosa*. See PLATE XLIV.

Very little detail of this *Bodhi* tree is found in the Canon. The *Vinaya Mahavagga* (*Vin.* I, p. 1) records that once the Buddha, the Blessed one, was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the river Neranjarā, soon after attaining Enlightenment. It is said that the Buddha spent seven days in the seated posture at the foot of the *Bodhi* tree enjoying the bliss of emancipation.

> *Tena kho pana samayena buddho bhagavā uruvelāyaṃ viharati najjā*
> *neranjarāya tīre paṭhamābhisambuddho, atha kho bhagavā bodhirukkhamūle*
> *sattāhaṃ ekapallaṅkena nisīdi vimuttisukhapaṭissaṃvedi (Vin. I. p. 1).*

The above reference may be the only reference to the *Bodhi* tree found in the older strata of the Canon. Though the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, includes the site of the Buddha's attainment of *Sambodhi* as one of the four places a devout Buddhist should visit, there is no mention thereof the *Bodhi* tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment. Apparently the emphasis was on the site and not on the *Bodhi* tree:

> *Idha tathāgato anuttaraṃ Sambodhiṃ abhisambuddhoti saddhassa kulaputtassa dassaniyaṃ saṃvejaniyaṃ ṭhānaṃ* (*D.* II, p. 141).

It is clear from this reference that the *Bodhi* tree did not receive the attention or veneration during the period of the formation of the older strata of the Canon, as it received subsequently. It is also interesting to note that the report that the Buddha, with motionless eyes gazed at the *Bodhi* tree for seven days as a mark of gratitude, is not found in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, but is found only in the *Vinaya* Commentary *Samantapāsādikā* (.... *uttara disābhāge ṭhatvā cattāri asaṅkheyyāni kappasatasahassena upacitānaṃ pāramīnaṃ phalādhigamanaṭṭhānaṃ pallaṅkañca bodhirukkhañca animisehi akkhīhi olokayamāno sattāhaṃ vītināmesi* (*VinA.* IV, p. 957).

The other reference to the *Bodhi* tree is found in the *Jātaka* commentary with regard to the *Kālinga Bodhi Jātaka* (*J.* IV. 288 ff). According to its story of the present (*avidūre nidāna*) the incident in connection of which the Buddha happened to relate the *Jātaka* proper was as follows: when the Buddha was away from Jetavanārāma on his usual preaching rounds, the devotees who came to see the Buddha at the Jetavanārāma were disappointed not to see him there, and discarded the offerings, such as flowers, they brought with them for the Buddha. Ven. Ananda thera reported the matter to the Buddha and proposed that a seed from the Great Bodhi tree be planted at Jetavanārāma so that the devotees could honour the Bodhi tree in lieu of the Buddha. Further the Buddha is supposed to have declared: "It will be like my permanent presence at the Jetavanārāma, (*Evam sante jetavane mama nibadda vāso viya bhavissatiti* - *J.* IV, 228). Accordingly Ven. Mahāmoggallāna thera went to the *Bodhimaṇḍa* by air and collected a fruit from the *Bodhi* tree before the seed fell on the ground. It was planted by Anāthapiṇḍika (q.v) at the entrance to Jetavanārama. On the invitation of Ven. Ananda thera the Buddha spent a whole night in the site, engaged in a trance (*ekarattiṃ samāpatti sukhena taṃ paribuñji* (*ibid*). However no detail of the condition of the *Mahābodhi*, the parent tree, is found at this instance, too. No doubt it was thriving unharmed at the time.

There is no record of the Buddha visiting the *Bodhi* tree after leaving it, having attained Enlightenment, although there are several references (*A*. IV, 302; *S*. IV, 19) to the effect that the Buddha was residing in Gayā at Gayāsīsa; but in such references, too there is no mention of the *Bodhi* tree.

Since then, there is no mention of the *Bodhi* tree till we come to the reign of Emperor Asoka in the 3rd century B. C. Apparently one of the first acts of Asoka, no sooner he embraced Buddhism was to undertake a pilgrimage to the sacred places connected with the life of the Buddha. As recorded in his rock Edict No. VIII, Asoka visited the *Bodhi* tree 10 years after his consecration (Barua, B. M. *Inscriptions of Asoka,* University of Calcutta 1943 p. 186). It has to be noted that the inscription refers to a *Sambodhi* instead of to a Mahābodhi. Though Asoka has established monoliths with inscriptions at the sites such as Lumbini, the birthplace of the Buddha, no such pillar has been surfaced yet at the Bodhi Maṇḍa. But a carving at Bharut provides a clue in this connection. There are two carvings at Bharhut, one representing a scene of worship of the *Bodhi* tree and the other that of an offshoot or descendant of the same, in both of which the *Bodhi* tree is confronted by an apparently Asokan monolith surmounted by a standing figure of an elephant. Both stone pillars are placed in the north east side of the tree and at a short distance. It is possible that these Bas-Reliefs represent the Asokan pillar adorned with a standing figure of an elephant on top that once marked the sacred spot of Enlightenment, lost or to be surfaced in futrue. (Barua B. M. *Gayā & Buddha Gayā* Calcutta 1931 p. 9, ff).

The next reference to the Mahābodhi is found in the *Mahavaṃsa* in ch. xviii (The *Mahabodhivamsa* p. 148 ff. and *the Samantapāsādikā, VinA*. I, p. 93 ff. as well) in connection with the establishment of its southern branch in the island of Sri Lanka. On receipt of the request from king Devānampiyatissa king Asoka proceeded to the Mahābodhi at (Gayā) accompanied by his four-fold army. The distance from the capital Paṭaliputta is given as seven *yojanas*. The *Mahavaṃsa* describes how the southern branch of the Mahābodhi severed of its own as per a Resolution of Will (*adiṭṭhānaṃ*) of the Buddha (made earlier) and established itself in the golden vase. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* report, the establishment of the *Bodhi* sapling in the Mahāmeghavana Park was in the 18th year of Asoka's reign.

Aṭṭhārasamhi vassamhi Dhammāsokassa rājino
Mahāmeghavanārāme Mahābodhi patiṭṭhahi
(*Mhv.* Ch. xx, verse 1)

The *Mahāvaṃsa* does not provide any detail of the parent tree and the attention is focused on the newly reared *Bodhi* sapling intended for Lanka.

The Mahābodhi is appearing in the scene again in ch. xx of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, this time of course not with pleasant news. It is the destruction of the *Bodhi* tree at the hands of Tissarakkhā the chief queen of King Asoka, who succeeded his former chief queen Asandimittā. The Mahāvaṃsa related the incident thus:

Tato tu tatiye vasse sā bālā rūpamāninī
Mayā pi ca ayaṃ rājā mahabodhiṃ mamāyati

Iti kodhavasaṃ gantva attano natthakārikā
Maṇḍukaṇṭhakayogena mahābāodhiṃ aghātayi

After the lapse of three years (after Tissarakkha was made the chief queen) she, the foolish woman proud of her beauty overcome by vengeance killed the Mahabodhi employing "*maṇḍuka* thorns" (*Mhv.* ch. xx 4-5).

Neither the *Dipavaṃsa* nor the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* nor the *Samantapāsādikā* were aware of this incident. The *Mahāvaṃsa* record is the only record of the southern school to this effect. But there are several records of the northern school of Buddhism, which recount this tragedy.

Among the records of the northern school, the *Divyāvadāna*, the last of the *Avadanas* which contain *Asokāvadāna, Kunālāvadāna* etc. provide more information as regards the reported destruction of the Mahābodhi at the hands of Tis'yarakkhitā, (Pali Tissarakkhā), the second chief queen of Asoka. As the story runs, it occurred to Tis'yarakkhitā "This king enjoys sensual pleasures with me, but sends jewels of special quality to the *Bodhi* Tree". Accordingly she sought the assistance of Mātaṅgi, an outcaste woman, to destroy the *Bodhi*. She tied a spelled thread around the *bodhi*, as a result of which the *bodhi* tree was withering. On hearing of this news the king is reported to have fainted. After regaining consciousness the king threatened that he himself would die if the *Bodhi* tree died. The queen Tis'yarakkhā's effort to console the king failed. However the queen realizing that the life of the king was in danger is said to have revived the

... tree with the help of Matangi herself who caused ... damage (*Divyavadāna*, ed. Vaidya, Darbhanga ...58 p. 254 f.).

The records of the Chinese travellers such as Fa-hien and Hieun Tsang, too, are relevant to the subject. According to Fa-hien who visited the Mahābodhi in the 5th century A. C. the *Bodhi* was destroyed by a queen of Asoka, but does not give her name. According to his report the queen hired men to cut down the tree. But miraculously Asoka was successful to restore the *Bodhi* to its original state by resolving not to rise up, until the tree returned to its original state (*Giles Travels of Fa-hien Records of the Western World*, Cambridge 1923 p. 58).

Hieun-Tsang has a different story to tell in that connection, according to which the Bodhi tree was destroyed by Asoka himself. According to that report Asoka was wicked at the beginning and got the *Bodhi* tree cut and burnt it in a sacrificial fire by a Brahmin: "Scarcely had the smoke cleared away, when lo! a double tree burst forth from the flaming fire ..... Asokarājā seeing the miracle repented about his crime. He bathed the roots with perfumed milk to fertilize them. When lo! in the morning of the next day the tree sprang up to its original state. The king seeing the miraculous portent was overpowered with deep emotion and himself offered religious gifts to the *Bodhi* tree and was so overjoyed that he forgot to return (to the palace). The queen who was an adherent of heretics sent a messenger secretly, who after the first watch of the night, cut it down once more. Asokaraja in the morning coming again to worship at the tree, seeing only the mutilated trunk was filled with exceeding grief. With utmost sincerity he prayed as he worshipped, he bathed the roots with perfumed milk and in less than one day the tree wa restored. (Samuel Beal *Si-yu-ki Buddhist Records of the Western World* part ii London (1884 p. 117 f.).

Hieun-Tsang's account differs from the rest of the accounts and does not occur in any other literary source. It is unique in that, it is the first occasion that record that Asoka himself destroyed the *Bodhi* tree, before his conversion to Buddhism. "It is described as the most incredible of the stories pertaining to the coversion of Asoka to Buddhism, a local legend with no historical truth. If, at all, it reflects possibly the memory of the destruction of the *Bodhi* tree by Tissarakkhā alias Tis'yarakkhitā during the closing years of the Emperor's reign (Ananda W. P. Guruge, *Asoka A Definitive Biography*. Central Cultural Fund, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Colombo Sri Lanka 1993 p. 93 & 371).

The comparison of the Southern and Northern traditions shows that, according to the former the *Bodhi* tree was destroyed, but according to the latter it was only an attempted destruction and the *Bodhi* tree revived the attempt. But there is a common factor in both reports, namely the second queen of Asoka was involved in the plot. There appears to be a historical kernel of the recorded destruction or the attempted destruction of the *Bodhi* tree and Asoka's queen's involvement in the issue.

According to the southern tradition Tissarakkhā was successful in killing the *Bodhi* tree. There is no record of recovery or another *bodhi* being planted in its place, while the northern tradition says that the *Bodhi* tree did not die completely, it was revived and continued to exist.

However Asoka's contribution for the development of the Mahabodhi temple as well as popularising of the Bodhi Cult (Bodhi worship) looks substantial. The Worship of the *Bodhi* tree which prevail up-to-date among the Buddhists all over the world was popularised from the time of Asoka. He is said to have had an immense love for the *Bodhi* tree apparently which ultimately brought about the destruction of the *Bodhi* tree. See PLATE XLV.

The *Bodhi* tree seems to have suffered another destruction at the hands of Sasañka, a Śaiva king of Gandhar (Bengal), the powerful rival of king Rajawardana of Kanauj. As Hien-Tsang records Sas'anka raja a believer of heresy slandered the religion of the Buddha, and through envy destroyed the converts and cut down the *Bodhi* tree digging it up to the very spring of the earth. But he did not get to the bottom of its roots. Then he burnt it and sprinkled it with the juice of sugar cane, desiring to destroy it entirely. Sas'anka is said to have met with tragic death after the incident. Some months afterwards the King of Magadha by name Purnavarma (Pu-La-na-fa-mo), the last of the line of Asoka rājā, hearing of it sighed and said, "the sun of wisdom having set, nothing is left, but the tree of wisdom of the Buddha and thus they have destroyed that, too. What source of spiritual life is there left now? He then cast his body on the ground overcome with pity, then with milk of a thousand cows he bathed the roots of the tree, and in a

night the *Bodhi* tree revived and grew to the height of ten feet. (Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ka Buddhist Records of the Western World* London 1884-p. 188).

But Rajendra Lala Mitra in "*The Hermitage of Sakyamuni* - (Bengal Secretariat Press 1878 p. 99) says that he had not come across that destruction of the *Bodhi* tree by Saśanka in any Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript collected by Hodgson in Nepal. Cunningham gives the date of the destruction as 610 A. C.

As regards the *Bodhi* tree supposed to have been reared by king Purnavarma, Barua observes, "we are completely in the dark as to what happened to the tree reared by Purnavarma. It is certain that the present tree is one of recent growth. There may be some truth in the following observation of Cunningham concerning the duration of the tree associated with King Purnavarma.

"It seems to have been during the latter end of the 7th century A. C. after the death of Harshawardhana .... If it escaped during the following century 700-800 A. C. the tree planted by Purnavarma may have lasted down to the time of the dynasty of Pala kings, which began about 813 A. C. After this it was safe until the time of the Muhamadan invasion under Bakhtiyar Khalgi in A. C. 1201. As the Muslims spared the famous tree at Peshawar it is probable that the Mahabodhi tree was left untouched." (Cunningham *Mahabodhi* p. 31- Barua B. M. *Gayā and Buddhagayā* Calcutta, 1931 p. 4 ff)

Two pieces of an old *pipal* tree discovered by Cunningham in the course of his excavations of the holy site of Bodh Gaya Temple are 9 1/2 inches and 4 1/2 inches in length. He presumes that those fragments were part of the tree cut down by Saśanka about 610-620 A. C. (Cunningham *loc. cit.* p. 3).

On the question of the number of predecessors of the present *Bodhi* tree at Bodh Gayā, Barua notes, "Precisely how many predecessors of the present tree took in succession the place of Bo reared up by King Purnavarma, is a matter beyond our knowledge. The present tree leaped into its proud position by the year 1876 which witnessed the death of its immediate predecessor." (Barua, B. *loc. Cit.* p. 5).

Dr. Buchanan - Hamilton who visited Bodh Gaya in 1809 and submitted his report to the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland found the tree "in full vigour" and thought that in all probability the tree could not have exceeded 100 years in life" (Martin, *Eastern India* Vol. 1 p. 76).

In 1861 Cunningham said: "the celebrated Bodhi tree still exists, but very much decayed. One large stem, with three branches to the westward, are still green, but the other branches are bark less and rotten. The green branch perhaps belongs to some other younger tree as there are numerous stems of apparently different trees clustered together" (*Archaeological Survey reports* Vol. I, p . 5). In 1863 the tree appeared to me "decayed and dying and scarcely two hundred years old". The trunk was then leaning towards the west, and bore two green branches and the stumps of three or four dead ones. In 1876 the tree was dead and knocked down by a storm and its place has now been filled by a seedling about 3 ft. high. (Mitra, Rajendra Lala *BuddhaGaya-Hermitage of Sakyamuni*, Bengal Secretariat Press 1878 p. 99). On the successive *Bodhi* trees at the site of Enlightenment and its continuity despite a number of attempts to destroy it, Barua sums up " The Bo tree of Sākyamuni appear to have an eventful history of its own. It goes without saying that it could not have maintained its identity save and except through a number of deaths, revivals, and preserved its line and extended its domain save and except through grafts and seeds. It is difficult to say precisely how many times it died and revived" (Barua, *loc cit* p. 3). As Barua (*loc cit* p. 8) correctly presumes the *bodhi* would have remained in its natural condition along with its environment till the end of the reign of king Bindusara, father of Asoka or even up to Asoka's first pilgrimage to the *Bodhi* tree which he undertook in the 10th year of his consecration as recorded in his 8th rock edict. Human interference with the *Bodhi* tree and its natural environment, no doubt commenced after Asoka who commenced building activities at the site for the first time, though no definite archaeological evidence of his constructions are yet discovered. However Bharut Bas-reliefs (*Circa* 150 B. C.) which depict the *Bodhi* tree with the Vajrāsana (Diamond Throne) in front, adorned with umbrellas, and garlands sheltered by a Pillared Hall while close by stands one of his famed monoliths including a sand stone railing around the *Bodhi* tree with a Yaksha Gateway on the east, are thought to be portraying the earliest simple constructions that were added. With this simple begining, in the course of time numerous buildings such as monasteries (Saṅghārāmas), stūpas high walls, towers, ponds being added, formed the extensive Mahabodhi

monastery complex. The Mahabodhi temple appears to have been a popular place of worship as well as an important centre of Buddhist activities in India from the very beginning. According to the *Mahavamsa* (ch. xxix 41) a delegation of 30,000 monks headed by Arahant Cittagutta represented the Mahabodhi temple in India, at the ceremony of the laying of the foundation for the Mahā thūpa (q.v) by Duṭṭhagāmini in the 2nd century B. C. Numerous inscriptions, belonging to different periods discovered at the site testify to the enthusiasm shown by devotees for a period of 1200 years in constructing, repairing, restoring, adorning, enhancing various buildings at the foot of the Mahabodhi. In addition to the inscriptions, Chinese pilgrims such as Fa hien who visited the *Bodhi* tree in 409 A. C. and Hieun tsang in the 7th century A. C. have recorded the condition of the Mahābodhi at the time of their visit which are useful for the student who explore the Mahābodhi.

When the sacred shrine at Both Gaya came to be called Mahābodhi is not certain. In his inscription Rock Edict No. viii Asoka called it 'Sambodhi'. Fa hien who visited it in 409 A. C. does not call it by that name. However Hieum Tsang who visited the place in 637 A. C. calls it the Mahābodhi. Thereafter several inscriptions found at Bodh Gaya had used the name, last of which is belonging to the 14th century A. C. Neither the term Buddha Gaya and the present Bodh Gaya were found in the early texts. Instead it was referred to as Bodhi maṇḍala, Gayā, or Gayāsīsa.

The origin of the present Mahabodhi temple goes back to the period of the Kushana dynasty. Apparently it has been build over the ruins of Asoka's temple in the 2nd century A. C. by Kushana kings. The discovery of, gold coins belonging to the period of Huviska, the second Kushana king after Kanishka, among the relics deposited in front of the Vajrasana led to the above conclusion. Moreover Indo-Sythian and Gupta inscriptions at the site also record the construction of the great Mahabodhi temple in the reign of Huviska.

King Siri Megha Vanna of Sri Lanka is said to have sent bhikkhus to India to King San-Maon-Tao-co-kiu-to, that is Samudragupta, requesting him to provide shelter there for the Sinhalese monks, who were on pilgrimage to the Sacred tree at Bodh-Gaya (Adikaram E. W. - *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* Colombo 1946, p. 140). "Hieum tsang does not give the name of the Sinhala king who built the Sangharama at the Mahabodhi. The king is identified as Meghavanna with the help of the Chinese historian Wang" (Barua *loc cit* p. 38). An inscription at the site testifies to the existence of a Sihala Saṅghārāma at the Mahabodhi. The building it described as having three lofty towers and surrounded by a wall of 30-40 ft. high. In 409 A. C. Fa-Hian saw three monasteries including the one put up by the Sihala king. He further records that monks of the said monasteries observed the disciplinary rules strictly. There is also a record of some additions effected to the Mahabodhi temple by the Burmese in 450 A. C.

As already mentioned the Bodhi tree was cut down and burnt by king Śaśānka of Bengal around 600 A. C. But later king Purnavarmā is reported to have restored the Bodhi tree and put up a wall 24 feet high, to prevent it being cut down again. Hieun tsang who visited the Mahabodhi in the 7th century A. C. saw a fully developed Mahabodhi premises perhaps the peak of its development. He saw 21 stupas, 6 monasteries including that of Lanka which had more than 1000 monks and three ponds named Buddha, Sakra and Mucalinda. He has made a special reference to Animisa stupa, Ratna Cankamana stupa, Ratnagruha stupa, Ajapāla stupa, Mucalinda stupa and Rajayatana stupa built on the spots associated with the Buddha during the first seven weeks immediately after the attainment of enlightenment. It is clear from the description that by that time the premises was dotted with buildings and stupas.

From Hieun Tsang's visit in the 7th century till about the 11th century A. C. apparently no major repairs were undertaken, except for some minor repairs effected by Mahipala of the well known Pāla dynasty of Bengal in 1010 A.C. In 1080 A. C. extensive repairs have been carried out in the reign of the Burmese King Dharmarājaguna. The last of the Indian Buddhist kings who carried out repairs to the Mahabodhi temple was Raja Asoka Balla of Sapadalaksha (Siwalik hills) in Punjab. As seen from one of his inscriptions at the time of his visit to the Mahabodhi in 1157 A. C. venerable monks from Lanka were in charge of conducting *Buddha pujā* at the Mahabodhi. After king Asoka Balla it was the Burmese King Letyaminam who carried out extensive repairs to the Mahabodhi temple (Harvery S. *History of Burma* p. 46). The Burmese inscription at the Mahabodhi temple testifies to the Burmese repairs (Cunningham, *Mahabodhi* p. 46).

In addition to the repairs and improvements above discussed there are many more names of donors inscribed in the pillars, railings and railing bars whose services should not be underestimated.

The name of a noble lady Kurangi is found inscribed as the donor of the 15 surviving pillars of the sandstone railing. She is identified as the wife of king Kausikiputra Indragnimitra who probably belonged to a Neo Mitra dynasty. No doubt Kurangi should belong to an early stage of development of the Mahabodhi temple. Barua (*loc cit* p. 17) seems to think that the surviving old sand stone railing, the old diamond throne, and the jewel walk were added mainly by her munificence. According to Barua (loc cit) Cunningham made a serious mistake apparently misled by the report of Hieum Tsang, calling the above railings as Asoka railings, because Kurangi's name is found inscribed clearly.

Sirimā (Srimathi) is appearing as the female donor of one of the surviving pillars. Her name is also appearing as a co-donor of two surviving pillars, along with Kurangi. Name of Nāgadevi is inscribed as a donor of a Yaksa Pillar in the old sand stone railing. She was the wife of King Brahmamitra. Amogha is recorded as a donor of the surviving rail bars of the old sand stone railing. Bodhirakshita of Tamraparni (sometimes island of Lanka) is mentioned as the donor of the rail bar of the old sand stone railing. An inmate of the Vinayadharas monastery is recorded as having installed two Buddha images and an image of a Bodhisatva during the reign of king Tirikamala, possibly 142 A.C.

Mahanama II, the author of a lengthy Sanskrit inscription (248 A. C.) who traces his pedigree to Maha Kasyapa who was entrusted with preserving the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* installed an image of the Buddha in a temple erected at the holy site. He is from Amradipa (Mango Island) a member of the royal family of Lanka. Cunningham tries to identify him as the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Cunningham *loc cit* p 60). Dharmagupta and Damshtrasena two Buddhist monks from Tishyamrtirtha in Lanka jointly installed an image of the Buddha, Dharmadāsa a Buddhist monk from Lanka dedicated an image of the Buddha. Bodhisena a pilgrim from Dattagalla in Lanka also installed an image of the Buddha.

Prakhyatakirti an illustrious bhikkhu from Lanka visited the Mahabodhi in the 7th or 8th century, and probably erected a temple adjoining the Bodhi tree and the diamond throne. He also got the temple whitewashed providing 250 Dinaras and also provided for burning ghee lamps. Udayasiri accompanied Prakhyatakirti and came to the Mahabodhi with his wife and son and installed an image of the Buddha. Purnabadra, a Buddhist king from Sind erected a *gandhakuṭi* for the installation of Buddha images. Tunga, a Buddhist king from Rashtrakuta family also erected a *gandhakuṭi*.

The above are a few among the many who contributed for the development of the Mahabodhi temple, whose names are inscribed in the pillars and railings at the site. This shows how popular was the temple among the Buddhists all over the world, at the time. It is interesting to note that there were kings, queens, princes, monks, as well as ordinary people, among those who developed the temple.

There are several from Sri Lanka whose contributions are recorded at the site. The commentaries as well as the treatises such as *Rasavāhinī Sahassavatthupakaraṇa Lokappadīpakasāra* record a very large number of Sri Lankans visiting Jambudipa to worship at the Mahabodhi. It is the very reason that Kittisiri Meghavanna provided a *saṅghārāma* for Sri Lankan monks at the Mahabodhi temple.

The dark era of the Mahabodhi dawned with the Muslim invasion of India in the 13th century. The armies of Bhatiyar Khilgii sacked Bihar in 1201 A. C. and destroyed Nālanda, Odantapuri etc. and slaughtered Buddhist monks in an unprecedented scale. The majority of the population fled from Gaya. When Dharmaswamin the Tibetan pilgrim visited the *Mahābodhi* in 1234 A. C. the place was deserted, and only four monks remained. They, too, fled the following day. Soon after the visit of Dharmaswamin the Mahābodhi temple went into oblivion. The only glimpse of the Mahābodhi temple during the dark era was a grant of a village to a Sri Lankan monk named Maṅgalasāmy for the maintenance of the temple, done by a local king Amarsing and some repairs to the temple by a Burmese mission at the close of the 15th century.

In 1590 Gosain Giri, a Hindu Mahant established his mahant at Bodh Gaya. The mahant, though he claimed the ownership of the temple, did not take steps to maintain or repair the temple. When Sir Edwin Arnold (author of the *Light of Asia*) visited Bodh Gaya in 1885 it was in a very pathetic condition, and published his report in the Daily Telegraph, London in

... divulging the sorry state of the Buddha Gaya temple to the world. In the meantime king Mindom Min of Burma had initiated some repairs in 1875. By 1880 the repairs had not made much progress. At this juncture the Colonial Government of India, having understood the importance of the shrine, intervened and undertook the repairs. The project was entrusted to the engineer J. D. Belglar under the supervision of general Cunningham and Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra. A stone model of the shrine discovered among the ruins helped to determine the correct design, as it existed in the mediaeval times. The repairs were successfully completed. The Maha Bodhi Temple as it stands now is approximately 160 ft. high and consists of a straight edged pyramidal tower surmounted by the stupa. The four sides of the tower have several tiers of niches. At the base of the tower rises a turret at each of the four corners, each a replica of the main spine.

Anagarika Dharmapala, the celebrated Buddhist revivalist of Sri Lanka launched a movement to get back Buddha Gaya for the Buddhists and founded the Buddha Gaya Mahabodhi Society in 1891. He sought the assistance of law against the Mahant. However the legal battle continued till India gained independence from the British in 1947. After independence the State Government of Bihar enacted "Buddha Gaya Temple Management Act" in 1949 providing for a management committee comprising of four Buddhists, four Hindus with the Collector of Gayā as the Chairman. The Buddha Gayā Management Committee was set up and the management and the control of temple land and other property was vested with the committee in 1952. The committee is managing the temple up to date.

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MAHĀBODHI, SRI. The southern branch of the Great Bodhi Tree at Gayā in India, under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment, which was brought by the Theri Sanghamittā to Sri Lanka and was planted in the Mahāmeghavana Park in Anuradhapura, in the 3rd century B.C., is reckoned as the oldest surviving historical tree in the world. Though the particular variety of trees is generally known as *"Asvattha"* (*Skt. Aśvatta*) and botanically (*Ficus Religiosa*) Buddhists call it the *Bodhi*, by reason of the Buddha's attainment of Enlightement (*bodhi*) under its shade. As a result of the continuous usage of the word *Bodhi* for a period over 2500 years, the term '*asvattha*' has gone into oblivion, and the Buddhists as well as others refer to this tree as the "Bodhi Tree". The Bodhi tree at the Mahameghavana Park is popularly known as the Sri Mahā Bodhi or the Mahā Bodhi. The *Mahābodhivaṃsa Granthi Padavivaraṇaya*, analyses the above terms thus: "Bodhi means wisdom that understands the Four Noble Truths. The tree, which assisted the Buddha (by providing shade) to achieve wisdom (*bodhi*), is also called Bodhi". The term Mahā is explained as having two meanings i.e. sacred or great. Thus Mahā bodhi means 'sacred bodhi' as well as 'great bodhi'. Sri Maha Bodhi is explained as the 'resplendent Mahā bodhi.' It is said that, as the rays of six colors emanates from the *bodhi*, as in the case of the Buddha's body, the *bodhi* is called Sri Maha Bodhi. Explaining the term *Jaya Siri Maha Bodhi*, it is said that the the

tree under which the Buddha was victorious having vanquished the Evil One (*Mara*) is called *Jaya Siri Mahābodhi*.[1] See PLATE XLVI.

In Sri Lanka *Sri Mahābodhi* or *Jaya Siri Mahābodhi* are very popular names used when referring to the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura. Further the honorific suffix *Vahanse* is added to the terms at the end i.e. "*Sri Mahā Bodhin Vahanse*" and "*Jayasirimahā Bodhin Vahanse*" as if referring to a living holy person.

Several sources are available for the study of the history of the Sri Maha Bodhi at Anuradhapura, such as the *Dīpavaṃsa* (4th century A. C.) the *Mahāvaṃsa* (5th century A. C.) The *Samantapāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa's Vinaya Commentary (5th century A. C.) the Pali *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (circa 10th century A. C.) the *Mahābodhivaṃsa Granthipada Vivaraṇaya*, glossary to the Pali *Mahabodhivaṃsa* (circa 12th century A. C) the *Vaṃsatthappakasini* the commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (circa 8-9th centuries) the *Sinhala Bodhivaṃsa*, the translation of the Pali *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (circa 12th century A. C.) the *Dharmapradīpikāwa* of Gurulugomi, commentary to the Pali *Mahābodhivaṃsa* on selected chapters (circa 12th century A. C.) the *Cullabodhivaṃsaya* (18th century A. C.) the *Madhurārthaprakāsini* a Sinhala exegesis on the Pali *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (17th century A. C.) the *Mahābodhivaṃsa Tika* (unpublished). Historically it is of vital importance that the sources such as the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* are reckoned as being based on the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā* of the Mahāvihāra or similar works of the Anuradhapura period that originated shortly after the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka and the establishment of the *Bodhi* sapling at the Mahāmeghavana Park in Anuradhapura. The *Mahāvaṃsa* provides a more elaborate account of the establishment of the Sri Mahābodhi in the island devoting two chapters, namely chapter eighteen and chapter nineteen for the purpose. The chapters are named "Procurement of Mahābodhi (*Mahabodhi gahano nāma aṭṭha rasamo paricchedo*) and the arrival of the Mahā bodhi (*bodhi āgamano nama ekūna visatimo paricchedo*) respectively. The *Samantapāsādikā* relates the same story more poetically. There the miracles that are said to have occurred are dealt with minute details adding to the serene joy of the devotees. The *Mahābodhivaṃsa* though written exclusively on the *Mahābodhi*, the number of pages devoted for the background information has outnumbered the pages devoted for the Sri Maha Bodhi. Except the *Dīpavaṃsa*, which provides the shortest account, the rest of the accounts are almost the same, differing only on such points, as the number of families that accompanied the *Bodhi* to Sri Lanka etc.

The story of the Sri Mahā Bodhi, from the moment it was extracted from the parent Mahābodhi tree at Gaya, till its final establishment at the Mahāmeghavana, Anuradhapura, after being ferried across, the Folk Strait, is given teamed with usual miraculous occurrences, in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*. As per *Mahavaṃsa*, when Anulā, the wife of King Devanampiyatissa's brother along with 500 court ladies, wished to enter the Order and made a request through the king to Mahinda Thera, he explained to the king that it is not proper for him to ordain women and requested the king to invite Sanghamittā Therī for the purpose.

> "*na kappati, mahārāja pabbājetuṃ thiyo hi no*
> *Atthi Pataliputtasmiṃ bhikkhuṇī me kaniṭṭhīka*
> *Saṅgamittā' ti nāmena vissutā sā bahussutā*
> *narinda samanindassa mahabodhidumindato*
> *dakkhiṇam sākhaṃ ādāya tathā bhikkhuṇiyo vara*
> *āgacchatū ti pesehi rañño no pitu santikaṃ*
> *pabbājessati sā theri āgata itthiyo imā*"
>
> Oh! Great king it is not permissible for us to ordain women. At Pataliputta my younger sister, Learned Theri by name Sanghamitta, is there. Please send a message to my father to send her here with the branch of the Mahabodhi of the Great Sage. That Theri having come will ordain these ladies.' (*Mhv.* Ch. XV *vv.* 20-23)

According to the *Mahavaṃsa* report, it appears that the request to send the *bodhi* was an incidental one, that arose while discussing to invite theri Sanghamittā to ordain the ladies. But as Welamitiyāwe Dhammarakkhita,[2] correctly concluded, that the establishment of a branch of the Mahabodhi in the island was a part of the master plan drawn by Moggaliputta Tissa thera, Emperor Asoka and Mahinda thera, when the idea of introducting Buddhism was first planned.

1. *Mahabodhivaṃsa Grantipada Vivaraṇaya*, Dharmarama edition, Colombo 1957, p. 3.
2. Dhammarakkita, Welamitiyāve, *The Mahabadhi, Its History & Culture Connected* (Sinhala), Colombo, 2000, p. 88.

The prompt acceptance of the request of King Devanampiyatissa, the care, the importance and the honour the Emperor himself bestowed in the matter, seem to suggest that it was not an idea that casually occurred at the time of sending for Sanghamitta theri but a part of the pre-planned programme. It was coupled with Sanghamittā's arrival for the convenience to kill two birds with one stone.

King Devānampiyatissa selected his own nephew, Ariṭṭha, for this important mission of bringing Sanghamittā theri and the Mahābodhi to the island, who accepted the task on the condition that he be allowed to enter the Order on his return. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. xviii v. 8) and the *Samantapāsādika* (*VinA*. I p. 91) and the *Mahabodhivaṃsa* (*Mhbv* p. 145), say that Ariṭṭha and company reached Pataliputta the very day they embarked on the ship from Jambukola Paṭṭhana, by virtue of resolution of will of the thera (*Theradhiṭṭhānayogato*). But the *Dipavaṃsa* (*Dpv*. ch. xv v. 86) account appears more realistic, when it says that Ariṭṭha had to cross Vindhyā forest after crossing the sea before he reached Pataliputta.

On receipt of the message of King Devānampiyatissa, the Emperor Asoka had no hesitation in sending the Mahābodhi sapling, though he was rather reluctant at the beginning to part with his dear daughter Theri Sanghamittā, the only one left out of his dear ones. But Asoka's problem was to find a way of severing the branch from the parent tree without using a weapon:

> '*Satthaghātam anāraha Mahābodhimahīruhā*
>
> It is not proper to cut the Mahabodhi with a weapon (*Mhv*. Ch. xviii v 19)

The king was puzzled and consulted his minister by name Mahādeva who advised him to consult the Mahāsaṅgha, and the Mahasaṅgha referred the matter to the Elder Moggaliputtatissa thera who divulged the Five Great Resolutions of Will (*Mahā-Adiṭṭhāna pañcakaṃ Mhv*. xviii v. 22) of the Buddha, made in his deathbed. But the *Mahāvaṃsa* does not spell out what constitute the five resolutions, while the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*. I, p. 92) and the *Mahabodhivaṃsa* (*Mbv*. p. 147) help us in giving the details of the five resolutions, out of which only three are related to the Mahābodhi. Accordingly the Buddha resolved that (i) The Great King Asoka will go to remove the Great Bodhi, in order to have it established in the island of Lanka. Then let the southern branch of the Great Bodhi sever of itself and plant itself in the golden vase (ii) Even at the time of planting itself there, let the Great Bodhi enter a bank of snowy clouds and remain there (iii) On the 7th day, when it plants itself again in the golden vase having descended from the bank of snowy clouds, let it emit six hued rays from its leaves and fruits. (The rest of the resolutions are connected to the Thūparāma & the Mahācetiya).

On hearing the resolutions, the king was very happy and proceeded with the arrangements to obtain the *Bodhi* sapling. He got a golden vase made for the purpose. As per the records, the celestial artisan *Vissakamma Devaputta* made the vase for the king. The king set out from *Pāṭaliputta* with a large army seven *yojanas* long and three *yojanas* deep and went to the vicinity of the Great Bodhi; accompained by the Mahāsaṅgha. The Great Bodhi was dressed with banners and streamers, decked with various gems, adorned with diverse ornaments, covered with various kinds of flowers and resounding with the music of diverse instruments.

"Taking with him about a thousand Great Elders who were the leaders of groups and surrounding himself and the Great Bodhi with a thousand consecrated kings from the whole of Jambudipa, he stood at the foot of the Great Bodhi and gazed upon it."

> *Rājā sahassamatte gaṇapāmokkhe mahā there gahetvā sakalajambudīpe pattābhisekānaṃ rājanaṃ sahassena attānaṃ ca mahabodhiñca parivarapetvā mahabodhimūle ṭhatvā mahābodhiṃ ullokesi* (*VinA*. I, 93)

At that moment it is said that the whole Great Bodhi, except for the trunk and a portion of the great southern branch four cubits long, became invisible. The king was so pleased with the miracle that he offered the entire kingdom of Jambudipa to the Great Bodhi. The king making offerings of flowers and perfumes, and going round thrice in veneration, worshipped it at eight places. The king got the golden vase placed upon a stool inlaid with all precious gems, and elevated it from the ground to the height of the southern branch of the Great Bodhi. The king himself climbed the jeweled stool and took a golden pencil and drew a line with red arsenic (*manosilāya*). Tradition has it that the king made the following asseveration of truth: "If the Great Bodhi should be established in the island of Lanka, and if I should be rid of doubts

as to the Dispensation of the Buddha, let the Great Bodhi plant itself in the golden vase of its own accord". With this asseveration of truth, the branch of the *bodhi* tree severed away at the place marked with red arsenic and stood above the golden vase filled with perfumed muddy soil. The king then marked another circular line on the stem three inches above the marking at the bottom, and it is said, instantaneously, ten large roots emerged. Again, at intervals of three inches above it, he made nine other circular markings. From them too ninety shoots emerged.

It is said that there occurred an earth tremor (*maha paṭhavi cali*), the moment the Bodhi Branch established itself in the golden vase. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. xviii v. 50-53), the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (*Mbv.* p. 157) and the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA.* I p. 95) describe the miracles that are said to have occurred at the moment. But the *Samantapāsādikā* provides a beautiful and poetic account of the miracles that occurred in the land, sea, and the sky at the moment, which testify to the poetic skill of the author, the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa. It is said that the Bo-sapling thus established itself in the golden vase entered the snowy clouds and remained concealed for seven days. At the end of seven days the clouds disappeared and, the *Bodhi* was seen complete with trunk, branches and twigs adorned with five fruits, standing in the golden vase. Conspicuously the *Dipavaṃsa* is silent as regards the royal ceremonial extraction of the *bodhi* branch, which the other sources discuss with minute detail. The *Bodhi* was taken to *Pāṭaliputta* and was placed at the foot of the Eastern Great Sala Tree. (*Pācīna mahā sāla mūle*).

Though shrouded with miracles Asoka's journey to Gayā to obtain the sapling appear to have a historical kernel. In addition to the Pali sources there is archaeological evidence that co-relate his visit to Buddhagayā and the procurement of *bodhi*. Asoka's visit to the Bodhi Mandapa at Gayā is apparently portrayed in the eastern gateway of Sanchi, carved not long after the event. In the middle of the architraves is a Bodhi tree at Gayā with long procession winding round it. A person in royal garb, presumably Asoka is descending from an elephant. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the *Mahavaṃsa* record that the king got himself and the Mahabodhi surrounded with a thousand leading Mahā Theras and more than a thousand anointed princes.

Mahathera sahassena pamukhena mahāgaṇe raññaṃ pattābhisekānaṃ Sahassenādhikānaca parivārayitvā attānam mahābodhiṃ ca sādhukaṃ (*Mhv. Ch.* xviii vv. 32-33)

In the middle of another architrave shows a small *Bodhi* tree again with a great procession. The right side of the relief shows a noble person kneeling before a footprint, obviously representing the Buddha, as done before the invention of the Buddha image. The decorations of peacocks and lions on either side apparently represent Mauryas and Sinhalese. The archaeologists are of opinion that the above architraves depict Asoka's journey to the Mahābodhi at Buddhagayā and the return journey with the *bo* sapling. (Grunwedel, A. *Buddhist Art in India.* Translated by Gibson, A. C., revised and enlarged by Burgess, J.; London 1901, p. 70-71).

As regards the technique followed here to procure the Bodhi branch, Barua[3], observes, that out of three natural processes of propagating *Bo* trees (*Asvattha*) which have been successfully tried out, such as the process of generating as a shoot from the root of the parent tree, generating as a sapling from a seed and generating it as a graft from a branch, it is the grafting technique that has been adopted to generate the *Bodhi* sapling to be sent to Lanka.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* as well as the other sources record of an automatic severing of the branch (as per Buddha's resolution of will) when a line was drawn in red arsenic with a golden pencil.

Ādiyitvāna sovaṇṇatulikāya manosilaṃ lekhaṃ datvāna sākhāya ...... (*Mhv.* Ch. xviii v 39)

But the *Dīpavaṃsa* is silent as to how the branch was severed from the parent tree. It is conjectured that a chemical preparation with red arsenic and gold was applied on the branch to get it automatically severed without causing damage either to the branch or the parent tree, an ancient technique apparently now lost. Further according to all the sources with the exception of the *Dīpawaṃsa*, the branch so severed and established itself in the golden vase disappeared for seven days before it was seen again. Is it a part of the grafting process to keep the severed branch covered for seven days before it is ready for planting? Further

3. Barua, B., *Gaya and Buddhagaya*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 5

... scented soil (*gandhakaddama*) put into ... vase possibly can be a special soil preparation used in the grafting process.

The new graft (*Taruṇa mahābodhiṃ*) was kept in a decorated vehicle and was taken along the decorated route to the city of Pātaliputta in one day and was kept at the foot of the Great Sāla Tree in the East. After the lapse of 17 days from the day the branch was established in the golden vase, new shoots (*navaṅkura*) appeared in the sapling, which means the graft was successful. According to the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*. I, p. 96) novice Sumana who left Lanka to obtain relics (after Ariṭṭha left to bring Saṅghamittā Theri and the Bodhi) saw the *Kattika* Festival offerings (*Kattika chana pujaṃ*) to the Mahabodhi brought to Pātaliputta, to be dispatched to Lanka. *Samantapāsādikā* reveals another important point, that Emperor Asoka was desirous of sending the *Bodhi* to Lanka before the arrival of the novice Sumana (*Rāja kira tato pubbe eva dhatugahanatthāya anāgate Sumane Lankadīpaṃ Mahābodhiṃ pesetukamo* - (*VinA*. I, p. 92). But the king could not execute it; The Novice Sumana came back to Lanka before the *bodhi*. According to the *Samantapasādikā* report the delay was due to the king's dilemma as to the problem of severing of the *bodhi* branch with a weapon. However, as already said, Thera Moggaliputtatissa came to the Emperor's rescue revealing the Buddha's Resolution of Will at the death-bed. (*Parinibbāna Mañce*).

The dispatch of the Mahābodhi to the island of Lanka, too, appear to have been done amidst great celebrations. Asoka himself was present at the Port Tamalitta. *Mahāvmsa*, which earlier said that Prince *Ariṭṭha* arrived in Pataliputta the very day he left Anuradhapura, now reports that the *bodhi* was ferried down the river and the king had to cross Vindhya mountan and arrive at the port Tamalitta in seven days. It is said that the celebrations at the port took seven days. The king waded into water to a depth up to his neck to keep the *bodhi* in the ship.

Ukkhipitvā mahabodhiṃ galamattaṃ jalaṃ tahiṃ
Ogahetvā sa nāvāya patiṭṭhāpayi sadhukaṃ (*Mhv*. Ch. XIX *v*. 11)

According to all reports the ship bearing the *Bodhi* was confronted by Nāgas who came to pay their homage to the *bodhi*. Theri Sanghamittā had to take the form of a Supanna to drive away the Nāgas. Later with the approval of Theri Sanghamittā the Nāgas took the *bodhi* to their realm, and kept it there worshipping it for 7 days before returning it to the ship.

The *Dipawamsa* (Ch. XVI *vv*. 8-29) appears to overemphasize how the nāgas, the yakkhas, numerous gods and various spirits confronted and worshipped the *bodhi* in the sea, heading for Lanka which the *Mahāvamsa* author discusses very briefly in four verses (*Mhv*. *Ch*. XIX, vv 19-22). The *Samantapāsādikā*, too, does not dwell too much upon the Nāgas, and Devas who confronted the *bodhi* heading for Lanka.

It is seen that the *Mahāvamsa* is repeatedly emphasizing how Asoka at the moment the sapling was severed, and at the occasion of sending it off to Lanka from the port Tāmalitta, honoured the *bodhi*, bestowing the kingdom and the kingship upon the *bodhi*. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Asoka at the Port said, "I have honoured the *bodhi* by bestowing my kingdom thrice to the *bodhi*. Let my friend too, honour the *bodhi* by bestowing the kingdom. See PLATE XLVII.

Ahaṃ rajjena tikkhattuṃ Mahābodhiṃ apūjayiṃ
Evaṃ evābhipujetu rājā rajjena me sakhā (*Mhv*. Ch. XIX v 13)

Similar to the celebrations at the port Tāmalitta the day the *bodhi* was dispatched, the *bodhi* was welcomed with great honour and celebrations at the port Jambukola paṭṭana in the Island of Lanka. King Devanampiyatissa himself was present at the port and waded neck deep into the water to receive the *bodhi*. The novice Sumana who returned with the relics had already advised the king regarding the arrangements to receive the *bodhi*. The road from Anuradhapura to the port Jambukolapaṭṭana was decorated. The celebrations at the port took three days. On the fourth day the *bodhi* was taken to Anuradhapura, kept in a vehicle in a procession via Tivakkha Brahamana's village. On the 14^{th} day the *bodhi* was ushered into the city through the northern gate, the when the shadow was seen lengthening. Then having left the city through its southern gate, *bodhi* was taken to the precincts of the royal grounds at a distance of 500 bow lengths from the southern gate, where the ground had been prepared already (on the advice of the novice Sumana), the site sanctified by the Buddha by sitting in the attainment of Cessation of consciouness (*yattha amhākaṃ sambuddho nirodha samāpattiṃ samapajjitva nisidi* (*Vin. A*. I, p. 99) in the Mahameghavana park. According to all the sources including the *Dīpawamsa* it was on the same spot where the *bodhis* of former three Buddhas Kakusanda, Konāgama, Kassapa stood in the past.

Miracles are also said to have occurred at the moment the *bodhi* was established. The members of sixteen noble families, who came to attend upon the *bodhi*, took upon themselves their respective places. The king stationed himself as the gatekeeper (in honour of the *bodhi*.) The sixteen families took the *bodhi* reverentially and placed it on the ground. Scarcely had the *bodhi* been released from their hands than it rose into the sky to a height of eighty cubits and emitted the six hued rays. It is said that the magnificent rays spread over the entire island and penetrated as far as the world of Brahmā above. Until the sunset the *bodhi* remained in the sky. After the sunset, it established itself upon the earth under the asterism of Rohini (*Rohini Nakkhattena*). With the establishing of the *bodhi* the earth shook to its ocean limits. The *Mahāvamsa* as well as the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* record that there occurred a great rain at the moment the *bodhi* had established itself. The *bodhi* remained enclosed within a bank of snowy clouds, hidden to the view of the people for seven days. On the seventh day the sky was clear of clouds and the six hued rays flashed radiant and dazzling. The trunk of the *bodhi*, the branches, and five fruits, became visible. As per the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* there was a great gathering at the occasion of the planting of the *bo* sapling at the *Mahamegavana* park, including Maha Mahinda Thera, Theri Sangamittā, the king, Khattiyas of Kajaragāma and Candanagāma and Brahamin Tivakka. Even while they were looking on, one fruit on the northern branch, ripened and fell from the branch. Mahinda Thera held out his hand and the fruit came to rest on his hand. The *Thera* gave it to the King saying, "Plant it O! Great king". The king accepted it; and scattering scented earth in a golden vase and filling it with perfumed muddy soil, he planted it and placed it near the *bodhi*. Even while everyone was looking, eight *bodhi* saplings, each four cubits high, sprang up. The eight saplings are called "*Aṭṭhaphalaruha Bodhi*" (the eight *bodhis* that sprang from the fruits). They were planted at eight places such as Jambukola, the place where the Great Bodhi had been set down at the time of its arrival, at the entrance to the village of the Brahmin Tivakka, at Thūpārama, at Issarasamanārāma monastery, at the place of the Paṭhamakacetiya, at Cetiyapabbata, at Kācaragāma and at Candanagāma in the province of Rohana. From the seeds of the remaining four fruits thirty-two *bodhi* saplings were produced. They were planted in the *ārāmas* situated at intervals of a *yojana* from one another. They are known as Thirty-two *bodhis* that sprang from the fruits (*dvattiṃsa bodhi taru*).

There took place a complete social and Cultural Revolution in the inland as a result of the establishment of the *bodhi*. The most important factor was the large retinue that accompanied the *bodhi* to the island. Sources differ as to the number that constituted this retinue. The *Dīpavamsa* is silent about it, while the *Mahavamsa* enumerated it as eighty-two families; The *Samantapāsadikā* gives the number as sixty-six, and Pali & Sinhala *Mahabodhivaṃsas* record it as 210 families. All the records agree that the retinue included the higher strata of society such as the royalty, brahamins, the wealthy (*Seṭṭhi*) as well as service grades such as craftsmen and attendants etc. As Welamitiyave Dhammarakkhita correctly observes, the retinue that arrived with the *Bodhi* sapling expanded its scope very much beyond attending to the *Bodhi*, and reached the administrative realm of the island, too. It is seen that higher grades such as the Devatākula, Khattiyakula, Brāhmanakula, Seṭṭhikula becoming very powerful sections of society in course of time, capable of even capturing the throne of the country (*ibid* p. 162 f). It is of great importance that the crowd included princes such as Sumitta, Bodhigutta, Devagutta, Dharmagutta, Suriyagutta, Candagutta, Gotama and Jutindhara. Being the brothers of Vedisa Devi, the mother of Mahinda Thera they were directly connected to Asoka. The king placed them in appropriate high positions. Their descendants were known as *Bodhiharakakula*. In the meantime various craftmen such as goldsmiths (*sovaṇṇakāra*), weavers (*pesakāra*), potters (*kumbhakara*) etc. enriched the arts and crafts of the island. In fact it is thought that the arts and crafts really began only after the arrival of craftsmen with the *bodhi*. It is clear that Emperor Asoka had not only sent those needed to look after the *bodhi*, but also sent experts to help his friend Devānampiyatissa to streamline his administrative machine and upgrade various trades, occupations and crafts in the island in the line of the Maurya Empire.

After the establishment of the Sri Mahā Bodhi it was accorded the veneration similar to the living Buddha. It was directly connected to the kingship. The *Vamsatthappakāsini* (Vol. I p. 307) quoting from the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* says that the spot under the northern flight of steps of the *Mahābodhighara* was one of the seven places from which clay was obtained to make the vessels used to deposit the accessories connected with the ceremonial coronation of the king. Various kings not only looked after it devotedly but also contributed to its development and adornment in the course

...story. The chronicles often record the various steps taken by many kings for the enhancement of the *bodhi* and its precincts and also restorations when necessary. In the subsequent centuries, around the high terrace on which the sapling of the *bodhi* was planted a '*Bodhighara*', an architectural structure with railings, has been developed. There has been an outer wall enclosing the complex with four entrances at four cardinal points. The earliest work after Devanampiyatissa being that of king Vasabha (67-111 A. C.). He (Vasabha) built a temple in the courtyard of the *bodhi* tree with statues of the Buddhas.

> *Catubuddha paṭimā rammā paṭimānaṃ gharaṃ tathā*
> *Mahābodhaṅgane ramme rāja so yeva kārayi*
> *(Mhv.* Ch. xxxv. v. 89*)*

Though Sirinaga I (189-209 A.C) is reported to have restored the steps of the four entrances leading to the *bodhi* tree (*Mhv.* xxxvi *v* 25), it is not on record when the four entrances were first added. Siriweera suggests[4] that Devanampiyatissa might have constructed them at the initial stage. King Vohārikatissa (209-231 A.C.) set up two bronze images in the eastern side of the Bodhighara (*Mahabodhighare pācine lohar̄upadvayaṃ tathā* (*Mhv.* xxxvi *v.* 31). The *Mahavamsa* (*Mhv.* xxxvi, *v.* 52) states that king Abhayanaga (231-240 A. C.) construced a stone wall (*pāsana Vediṃ kāresi mahābodhi samantato*) round the Mahabodhi. It is possible that there was no outside wall up to the reign of king Abhayanāga. The wall seems to have been in a dilapidated condition in a short time, because Sirināga II (240-242 A. C) is reported to have restored it. Further king Abhayanāga constructed a pavilion beyond the "sand spread terrace" of the *bodhi* (*Mhv.* ch. xxxvi, *vv.* 55-56). King Goṭābhaya (249-262 A.C.) is reported to have taken steps to develop the Mahābodhi more than the other kings. He constructed a stone railing around the *Bodhi* tree as well as an arched gateway at the northern entrance and placed stone pillars with "*cakras*" (possibly *Dharma cakras*) at the four cardinal points. He also established the three statues at the three entrances: and a stone throne at the southern entrance.

> *Mahābodhisilāvediṃ uttaradvāra toraṇaṃ*
> *Patiṭṭhāpesi thambe ca catukaṇṇe sacakkake*
> *Tisso silāpaṭimā ca tīsu dvāresu kārayi*
> *Ṭhapāpesi ca pallaṅkaṃ dakkhiṇamhi silāmayaṃ*
> *(Mhv.* ch. xxxvi *v.* 103-4)

According to the *Mahavamsa* Jeṭṭhatissa (263-273 A. C.) built three gateways at the Bodhighara. The *Vamsatthappakāsini* adda that the gateways were at the southern, the eastern and the western gates (*Mhv A.* II p. 674). Though the *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the king built the gateways, it would have been repairs to the existing gateways, which may have been in a state of decay.

Though King Mahāsena (272-301 A. C.) razed the Mahāvihāra to the ground, apparently no damage was done to the Mahābodhi. In spite of doctrinal differences between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri, the Mahābodhi would have been a common object of worship, for both sects. In fact Mahāsena not only spared the Mahabodhi, but he had taken steps to develop the Mahabodhi shrine. He is reported to have established two bronze statues to the west of the Bodhighara. (*Mhv.* xxxvii *v.* 31).

The chronicles furnish details of further improvements, renovations and additions effected to the Mahabodhi shrine by various kings between the fourth and the tenth centuries. Sirimeghavaṇṇa (301-328 A. C.) Built a stone terrace and a wall beside the Bodhi tree (*Mhv.* ch. xxxvii *v.* 91). King Dhātusena (455-473 A. C.) built a *Bodhighara* at a cost of a hundred thousand (gold coins) (*Mhv.* ch. xxxviii *v.* 69). King Kittisirimegha (551-569 A. C.) covered the (roof) of the Bodhighara with tin sheets (*Tipupaṭṭhe* - *ibid* ch. xli v. 65). King Mahānāga (569-571 A. C.) had done substantial improvements, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*. He built an irrigation trench (*Alavalaṃ*) round the Bodhi tree complex (*Mhv.* xli *v.* 94). King Dappula II (815-831 A. C.) renovated the dilapidated Bodhighara strong and new (*Mhv.* xlix (*Culavamsa v.* 74).

In addition to the developments and restorations effected to the Sri Mahābodhi, chronicles also refer to several offerings and rituals performed by various kings to the Sri Mahā Bodhi during the Anuradhapura period. King Duṭṭhagāmini (161-137 B. C.) performed a marvelous offering to the *bodhi* (*mahābodhi pūjaṃ sulāraṃ*) having spent a hundred thousand, possibly gold coins (*Mhv.* ch. xxviii *v.* 1). King Bhātikābhaya (22 B. C. - 7 A. C.) conducted an annual festival called the *Bodhi sinānapūjā* apparently a watering ceremony.

4. Siriweera, W. I., *'The Sacred precincts of the Siri Maha Bodhi tree in Anuradhapura, a Historical Survey' - Mahabodhi Tree in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, the oldest historical tree in the world*. Edited by H. S. Nissanka, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1994.

King Vasabha (67-111 A. C.) lighted a thousand lamps at four places namely Mahabodhighara, Cetiyapabbata, Thuparāma and Mahathupa. (*Mhv*. ch. xxxv. *v.* 80). King Sirimeghavaṇṇa (301-328 A.C) made an image of Mahinda thera and conducted a great festival in honour of the thera and kept the image in the courtyard of the Mahābodhi for three months (*Mhv*. ch. xxxvii *vv.* 85-86). King Dhātusena (455-473 A. C.) is reported to have conducted a *Sinānapūja* (bathing ceremony) for the bodhi (*Mhv.* xxxviii *v.* 55). It is said at this instance that the festival conducted by king Dhātusena was similar to the one done by king Devanampiyatissa (*Devanampiyatissena kata bodhi mahāmviya*). According to this information apparently it was Devānampiyatissa who conducted the watering festival for the *bodhi* for the first time. King Silākāla (518-531 A. C.) conducted daily *pūjas* (*anvahaṃ pūjayi bodhiṃ Mhv.* xli *v*. 29).

Scholars have observed that, though chronicles often record the events pertaining to the Mahābodhi up to the 10th century A. C. there is a marked absence afterwards (Geiger, Wilhelm, *Culture of Ceylon in the Mediaeval times* - Otto Harrassowitz Wiesbaden 1960 p. 187). Apparently this was due to the arrival of the Tooth Relic in the reign of Sirimeghavaṇṇa (circa 326 A. C), which gradually replaced the important position hitherto held by the Mahābodhi, in the centuries that followed. Around the same period the capital was shifted from Anuradhapura to Polonnaruwa. This too had a bearing on the position held by the Sri Mahā Bodhi. Nevertheless the Sri Mahābodhi was not completely neglected or abandoned, for we see kings of Polonnaruwa renovating, and maintaining the Mahabodhi shrine. King Vijayabahu I (1070-1111 A. C.) who defeated Colas and unified the country renovated the Bodhighara at Anuradhapura (*Mhv.* Lx v. 63). According to the *Rājaratnākaraya* (p. 35). King Parakramabahu renovated the *Vaṭadāge* of the *bodhi* complex. However when the capital was further shifted to Dambadeniya and afterwards to Yapahuwa apparently the kings were unable to maintain the Sri *Mahabodhi* and other sacred places as in the past. When Vijayabahu IV of Yapahuwa (1270-1272 A. C.) visited Anuradhapura, he found the sacred places covered with forest and got the forest cleared and entrusted the *Vanni* chieftains the protection of Anuradhapura.

Around the middle of the 13*th* century, with the collapse of the Rajaraṭa civilization and the gradual shifting of the political and cultural center of the island towards the wet zone, Anuradhapura lost its importance and was gradually neglected. Sacred places were gradually encroached by the jungle, which was frequented by wild beasts. Nevertheless, Anuradhapura, (Anuradhapura District present demarcation) was not completely de-populated. While the majority migrated towards the wet zone some courageous people continued to live in isolated pockets around small village tanks. Though engaged in constant battle against the drought and malaria, they looked after the sacred places, specially the Sri Mahā Bodhi, to the best or their ability. In the full moon of July-August (*Nikini Full moon*) the people of the surrounding villages came to the Sri Mahā Bodhi carrying bundles of firewood on their heads to light bonfires round the *bodhi* at night to keep away the wild elephants, who used to enter the premises to eat tender *Bo* leaves. The pilgrims carrying firewood on their heads looked like a procession, hence it was called *Dāramiṭi Perahera* (Procession of firewood bundles and the Nikini Poya was called *Dāramiṭi Poya*). The descendents from the hereditary families both high and low, who were entrusted with various duties to the Sri Mahā Bodhi from ancient times, did not neglect their sacred duties to the Mahābodhi. Further the Sri Mahā Bodhi premises were not devoid of monks. There was a handful of dedicated monks headed by the chief priest of Aṭamasthāna (the *Aṭamasthānādhipati*) looking after the *bodhi* at the site. Though covered with thick jungles infested by wild beasts, Anuradhapura was still a popular place of worship. Enterprising people continued to go to Anuradhapura even from distant places, especially during the season of Poson (June). King Kirti Sri Rajasinghe (1742-1782) visited Anuradhapura accompanied by a retinue and participated in rituals at the Mahābodhi and gave lavish gifts to the holy places. (*Mhv*. ch. XCIX 36-37). Thanks to the dedication of devoted Buddhists, while the structures around the *bodhi* were collapsing Sri Mahā Bodhi was safe and intact during the dark period of Anuradhapura. A drawing of the *bodhi* in the early British period shows it with no damage but without any structure around. With the restoration of the irrigation tanks and the commencement of the colonization schemes in the early 20th century, more and more people coming and settling in and around Anuradhapura ended the isolation, and the jungle that once covered the sacred places was cleared. It is significant and surprising that in spite of the fact that Anuradhapura was invaded, plundered, destroyed and occupied for a considerable period, by the South Indian invaders on several occasions in the course of history, no harm was done to the Mahābodhi, while many edifices suffered heavy damage at their

... *vaṃsatthappakāsinī* possibly quoting from ... *ṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa* explains the phenom- ...:

Mahābodhiṃ pūjissanti lanke'tasmiṃ narādhipa Paccatthikā na himseyyuṃ esā sambhodhi dhammatā

The kings of Sri lanka honour the Mahābodhi while the enemies do not damage it. This is the nature of the Sambodhi. (*MhvA*. Vol. II p. 412)

This may be due to the fact that those South Indian invaders themselves being Hindus, who considered the *Asvattha* Tree as a holy tree, did not want to harm the *bodhi*.

As regards doubts expressed by some critics about the historicity of the tree, James Emerson Tennent says "the conjecture that the original tree might have died and its' place been supplied by one secretly substituted, may fairly be regarded as an hypothetical impossibility[5]

In addition to the religious developments that took place due to the establishment of the Sri Mahā bodhi, as already said, the higher strata of the society with royal connections, included in the retinue that accompanied the Sri Mahā Bodhi, no doubt would have enriched the administration of the country with their experience in the Maurya empire. Several other developments also took place in areas such as literature, architecture, design, music, folklore etc. Due to the advent of the *Bodhi*.

There arose a separate literature centered on the Siri Mahā Bodhi. The earliest literary work on the bodhi is the *Bodhivamsatthakatha*, which is not extant. Apparently that should belong to the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā* period written not far from the date of the establishment of the Sri Mahā Bodhi. The oldest extant work on the Mahabodhi is the Pali *Mahābodhivaṃsa* of Ven. Upatissa, circa 10[th] century A. C. According to the preamble it is a Pali translation of the non-extant Sīhala *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (*Bodhivaṃsatthakathā*) above referred to.

Dassayissaṃ mahābodhivaṃsaṃ bhāsāya satthuno. Pubbe Sīhala bhāsāya ṭhitam vuddha jinānugo- Mhbv. p. 1*)*.

The Pali *Bodhivamsa* was translated into Sinhala as the *Sinhala Maha Bodhivamsa* in the Kurunegala period in the 13[th] century A. C. by Ven. Sāhitya Vilgammula. *Mahā Bodhivamsa Granthi pada vivaraṇaya* is a Sinhala glossary on the Pali *Mahabodhivaṃsa* apparently by an anonimous contemporary of Ven. Upatissa, the author of the Pali *Mahābodhivaṃsa*. Gurulugomi wrote his *Dharmapradīpikāva* an exposition of the Pali *Mahābodhivamsa*, in the 12[th] century. Mention is also made of a *Bodhivaṃsa Ṭikā*, which is yet to be traced. Welivita Saranaṅkara Saṅgharāja wrote the *Madhurārtha Prakāsini*, a pharaphrase of the *Mahabodhivamsa*, in the Kandy period, on the invitation of king Narendra Singha (1707-1739 A. C.). There is another work, small in size, named *Sulubodhivaṃsaya* explaining the place where the other *bodhis* were planted in addition to the Sri Mahā Bodhi, written in the reign of Rājādhiraja Singha (1782-1798 A. C.). Therefore it is clear that books on the Mahā bodhi continued to be written up to the late Kandy period. According to Welamitiyāve Dhammarakkhita (*op. cit.* p. 70) altogether thirty works were written on the theme Mahābodhi, some of which are not extant. Apart from the literary compilations of the learned, there are numerous popular songs, verses, stanzas meant for loud oral recitations on the theme, Sirimahābodhi, some of which fall into the folk tradition. *Mahabovaṇṇama*, a song somewhat similar to panegyric songs on the Mahābodhi has won the appreciation of the learned today.

The *Bodhighara* a shrine around the *bodhi* is an architectural form unknown to the country, which was introduced along with the Mahābodhi, the first of which would have been designed according to the *bodhighara* at Buddhagayā in India. The Sirimaha Bodhi is said to have had a *bodhighara* in the early period. The famous *bodhighara* at *Nilakkagāma* Kurunegala district, is a typical example of a *bhodhighara* in the early days. The bodhi leaves were introducted to the Sinhala design tradition, after the advent of the *bodhi*. The Bo-leaf design is found used in architecture, jewellery, and pottery in day-to-day implements such as the Betel box, Chunam box and in several other areas for adornment, especially in the Kandy district. The names with the prefix *bodhi* such as Bodhidāsa, Bodhipāla, Bodhināyaka Bodhigupta etc. became popular personal

5. Sir James Emerson, *Ceylon: An Account of the Island, physical, historical and topographical*, Vol. II, London, 1959, pp. 618-619.

names even among the Sinhalese. In addition to Sanghabodhi there was a line of kings bearing the name Aggabodhi.

It is interesting to note that the birth of the museum concept in that remote era start with the establishment of the *bodhi* in the island. The *Mahāvamsa* records that the mast (*kūpayatthi*), rudder (*aritta*), and oar (*piyam*) of the ship that brought the Bodhi, have been preserved in the three different buildings of the nunnery put up for nuns headed by Theri Sanghamittā. The buildings came to be known by the name of the ship's part that it contained i.e *kūpayatthi thapita geha* (the building where the mast is kept) etc. This may be regarded as the earliest reference to the concept of a museum.

Mahābodhi sametaya nāvāya kūpayatthikam
Ekasmim piyam, ekasmim arittam tehi tevidu
(Mhv. ch.xix, 70).

As a result of being venerated as the most sacred object for a period of over 2000 years by the ordinary folk as well as intellectuals, it is natural that various forms of beliefs, superstitions, and myths got woven around the *bodhi*, in course of time. From ancient times the people, specially the farmers of the North Central Province, believe that the Sri Mahā Bodhi has the power to generate rain. Therefore during a drought they bathe the bodhi, make various offerings, and chant pirith in order to get rain. There is another belief among the ordinary folk that with the blessing of the Sri Maha Bodhi, women can get male offsprings. Further there is a belief that a deity by name *Kaludevatābandara* protects the *bodhi*. People consider it a great sin to cut a branch of a *bodhi* unless it obstructs a chaitya or an image of the Buddha. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, in the reign of Sena IV (972-975 A. C.) When Mahinda IV (975-991 A. C.) was the Yuvaraja, some carpenters were constructing a building at the Mahābodhi premises. They tried to raise a branch of the *bodhi* tree that obstructed the construction and keep it raised supported by a bamboo, in which operation the brach broke. Thoroughly frightened the carpenters reported the matter to the Yuvaraja. The Yuvaraja made a resolution of will that the branch itself may raise up till the construction was over. The following morning, to the surprise of every one, the branch was found raised. Fa-hien who visited the island circa 412 A. C. has recorded how a branch of the *Bodhi* that was bent to the southeast was severed ceremonially. The ordinary folk fears even to step on the roots or the fallen leaves of the *bodhi*.

The Sri Mahabodhi has stood the test of time and has survived for more than two thousand three hundred years. The *bodhi* has survived while the structures around it perished in the course of time. As Paranavitana has pointed out, "later developments however have swept away, all ancient features and the *bodhi* shrine at Anuradhapura, as it exists today may not contain any vestige of the architecture of the third, second and first centuries B. C. and the early centuries of the Christian era"[6] The buildings found today around the Mahabodhi are those put up in the course of the last century.

The *bodhi* is situated on an elevated ground, which is arranged in four terraces, decreasing in size as one ascends. The *bodhi* occupies the highest terrace, which is 21 ft. in height and 71 and 57 ft. in length and breadth respectively. This terrace is called "*wedahindina maluwa*", the terrace where the Mahābodhi stands. When Walisinghe Harischandra measured the *bodhi* at the turn of the 19th century it was 30 ft. in height and the circumference of the trunk was 8 ft. 2 inches. It had three main trunks.[7] In the same terrace by the side of the Mahābodhi, there is another *bodhi* with a straight trunk. Earlier there were two iron railings on the top for the protection of the Mahābodhi, put up by Ven. Egodapitiye Saṅgharakkhita, Chief High Priest of Isurumuni Vihāra. But today in place of the iron railings there stands a gold plated railing put up by *Mahanuwara Bodhi Ārakshaka Ranweta Dāyaka Sabhā* on the advice of Ven. Yatiravana Nārada Thera. This enclosure is not open to the ordinary worshippers and remain locked always, and is open on special occasions for special guests only.

In the second terrace there are two *bodhi* trees one to the south and the other to the north west of the Sri Mahābodhi and there is an iron railing too. On the third terrace there are six *bodhi* trees, three to the south and three to the west. The wall of this terrace was put up by devotees of *Gonagala Induruwa*, Galle on the advice of Ven. *Yagirala Paññānanda* Nayaka thero.

6. *University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon*, Vol. 1 pt. 1 University Press. Colombo 1959, pp. 257-58.
7. Walisinghe Harischandra, *Anuradhapura Suddha Nagara Vistharaya*, W. E. Bastian & Company 1915. p. 30 (2nd Edition)

On the fourth terrace where the image house stands there are eight *Bodhi* trees. At the ground level there are 21 *bodhi* trees and 13 more on the great parapet wall. Those *bodhi* trees are called *Parivāra bodhi*, the *bodhis* that from the retinue. The stone parapet wall round the *bodhi* was construced by Ven. *Illupendeniye Atthadassi* with the permission of King Kirthi Sri Rajasinghe (1749-81 A. C), with stones collected from various sites around to prevent elephants entering the *bodhi* terrace. There is an image house to the east. It has been subjected to repairs several times. By 1906 it was almost in ruins. Late Mudliyar E. R. Gunaratne of Galle initiated the last repairs to it. In fact a new image house was built on the old foundation. The image house measures 62 ft. in length 30 ft. in breadth. Of the two Buddha images in the image house one is standing and one is sedent. They are ancient images sculptured in stone and plastered over and painted, possibly in the course of repairs. Anuradha Seneviratne thinks[8] that one of the statues may be the one referred to in the inscription of Mahinda IV (10th, century A. C.).

Among the sculptural remains seen on the surface are moonstones of the 6th and the 7th centuries A. C., a guard stone circa 8th century, a seven hooded Cobra king and five-hooded Cobra young ones on the site, are noteworthy.

The adminstration of the Sri Mahabodhi is in the hands of the chief High Priest of *Aṭamasthāna and Aṭamasthana Pālaka Sabhā*, the Administrative Body of the *Aṭamasthāna*. The rituals are performed for the Sri Mahābodhi up to date as done in the past. There are two types of rituals performed daily as well as annually. There is a special staff for the purpose. The daily rituals begin after cleaning the premises, which includes the cleaning of the top terrace (*Wedahindina Maluwa*) where the Sri Mahabodhi is established, the other terraces and the cleaning of flower altars. The *Wedahindina Maluwa* is swept by a bhikkhu and a trained person according to the accepted pattern. The official *Buddhapūja*, brought with the beat of drums, is offered to the Sri Mahābodhi. The gates are kept closed for the *Buddhapuja* and are opened again at 2.00 p.m. The cleaning is done in the morning. Offering of *gilanpasa* is made in the evening and the gates are closed at 8.00 p.m. The beating of drums which is called *tevā hevisi* is done thrice a day, in the morning, noon and evening.

The following four annual rituals are performed in honour of the Sri Mahabodhi:

Alusahal (aluthsahal) Maṅgallaya where the first portion of the new harvest is offered in December - January (Duruthu Full Moon).

Paraṇa Avurudu Maṅgallaya or Nānumura Maṅgallaya, which is done on a *visā nekata* (an auspicious time) prior to Vesak Full Moon. This ceremony is done collectively with the rest of the eight sacred places as well. The Sri Mahabodhi is decorated with ornaments, and milk rice is offered at the same time to the eight sacred places. A special medicinal preparation called *Nānu* is applied prior to bathing, on the head of a reflection of a Buddha Statue fallen on to a mirror, at this ceremony. *Deva pūjā* is also offered to gods headed by *Kaludevatabandāra*, the deity supposed to protect the Sri Mahābodhi.

Karti Maṅgalyaya is performed in July-August in the auspicious time known as *Käti Nekata*, apparently through which it has got the name. After cultivating their fields the peasants come to Anuradhapura on pilgrimage and the ritual coincides with their pilgrim period. According to the records available the rituals connected to the Mahābodhi appear very much more complicated and vivid during the days of the ancient Sinhala kings. It is said that in ancient times there were 48 villages, inhabitants of which were entrusted with various duties pertaining to the Mahābodhi. But today only a few remain, such as *Pusiyaṅkulama, Illuppukulama, Käppetiyava, Mädavacciya, Periyakallañciya, Tirappane, Bulankulama Hammillākulama* who are expected to supply pottery and implements and provide services such as blowing of conch shells etc. for the Mahābodhi (Dhammarakkhita, Welamitiyave, (*op. cit.* p. 389).

The *Sihala Bodhivamsaya* is a very useful source to form an idea of the various services and rituals performed during the latter part of the Anuradhapura period. The services and rituals such as circumambulation, blowing of conches, watering, hanging banners and garlands, reciting hymns, burning incense, holding *sesath*, covering the *Bodhi* tree top with a white cloth, and drumming are found mentioned in the

8. Seneviratne, Anuradha, *Ancient Anuradhapura, The Monastic City*, Dept. of Archaeological Survey, Colombo 1994. p. 90.

Sinhala Bodhi vamsaya[9]. It is seen that by the end of the Anuradhapura period the *bhikkhuṇis* were watering the Mahābodhi, possibly a tradition coming down from the days of Theri Sanghamittā. The Mahakalattāwa Inscription assigned to the reign of Kassapa IV (899-914 A. C) Records a decree of amnesty granted to a village named Gitelagamuwa, which had been reserved for the supply of the four fold requisites to the *bhikkhuṇis* of the nunnery named *Nalārāma*, who daily watered the Mahābodhi. The inscription further records that seven chief *bhikkhuṇis* were entrusted with the duty of daily watering the Mahābodhi (*Epigraphia Zelanica* Vol. I no. 31). The *Sulubodhivamsa*, which belongs to the reign of Rajādhirajasingha (1782-1798 A. C) of Kandy provides the details of the services and rituals supposed to have been performed for the Mahābodhi during Devānampiyatissa's reign. But apparently he was giving the practice prevalent at the time.[10] Therefore we can form an idea of the services and rituals in practice during the Kandyan period.

Today the Sri Mahābodhi is under the care of the Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Peradeniya under the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. He regularly inspects the *bodhi* and sttends to its needs.

The Sri Mahābodhi is no exception to the universal Law of Impermanence (*anicca*). It is not everlasting. Sooner or later it should yield to the Universal law and cease to exist. In the year 1908 a strong gale brought down one of its trunks on the western side. The *bodhi* was subjected to a vandalistic act by a mad man who attempted to fell it on the night of 30[th] July 1929. He cut off a branch and that provoked the entire Buddhist world.[11] Natural and human oriented disasters reduced the *Bodhi* to its present position. What is surviving from the old authentic *bodhi* tree is the branch at the western side protected up-to-date, being supported by seven props.

K. Arunasiri

MAHABODHI SOCIETY. The Mahābodhi Society derives its name from the tree under which the ascetic Gotama, the Buddha-to-be, attained Enlightenment. The tree was an *Asvattha* (*Ficus Religiosa*) and it grew at Buddhagayā in the present state of Bihar in North Eastern India.

The Society is a missionary organisation founded in 1891 by Anagarika Dharmapāla of Sri Lanka (then known as Ceylon). Its primary aim was to revive Buddhism in India, the land of its birth, and spread it throughout the world; also to restore and maintain places in India which are sacred to Buddhists. In addition, its agenda included the mounting of agitation to assert the right of Buddhists to freedom of worship at Buddhagayā, when that freedom was obstructed, and to restore to Buddhists the custodianship of the Mahabodhi Vihāra. At that time it was under the control of the powerful Hindu Saivite Mahant.

Over the Years, the society's activities expanded to include humanitarian service and educational work such as the setting up of schools, industrial (technical training) centres, monastic training centres, libraries, temples, *dharmasālās*, the teaching of Pali and the publishing of books and journals.

I. Early History

a. Founding of the Mahabodhi Society. The Mahabodhi Society came into being when both India and Sri Lanka were under British colonial rule. It was founded on 31 May 1891 at the Vidyodya Pirivena, Colombo, at a conference specially convened for the purpose by Anagarika Dharmapala.

The office-bearers elected at that original meeting were Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Mahānāyaka Thero as president, Colonel Henry Steele Olcott as Director and Chief Advisor, and Anagarika Dharmapala as General Secretary. Representatives from Siam, Japan, Ceylon, Burma and India were included in the committee.

In order to achieve the objectives of the society, it was thought necessary to

i) establish a Buddhist Monastery and a Buddhist College, maintain a staff of Buddhist *bhikkhus* at Buddhagayā representing Buddhist countries such as China, Japan, Siam, Cambodia, Burma, Ceylon, Chittagong, Nepal, Tibet and Arakan and also to

ii) publish Buddhist literature in English as well as in the vernacular languages of India.

9. *Simhala Bodhi Vamsaya*, ed. D. P. R. Samaranayaka, Colombo 1970, p. 335 ff.
10. *Sulubodhivamsaya*, ed. Somapala Jayavardana, Colombo 1991, pp. 47-48
11. *ibid* p. 89

b. Buddhagayā Temple Affair: The Society sent its first mission to Buddhagayā on 10 July 1891 consisting of four Sinhala Buddhist monks. They resided at the Burmese Rest House built by the Burmese king, Mindon Min. Anagarika Dharmapala then began negotiations with the Mahant to purchase a piece of land and from then began his "unequal struggle with the second wealthiest landlord in the whole of Bihar ..." (Hindustan Standard of 17.9.1964. published in the *Centenary volume of the Maha Bodhi Society Journal)*

In October 1891, an International Conference was arranged at Buddhagaya to draw the attention of the Buddhist world to the dilapidated condition of the Buddhagayā Temple and the state of Affairs existing there.

In February 1893, the Buddhist bhikkhus at Buddhagayā were attacked by the Mahant's men, and on the advice of Colonel Henry Steele Olcott, they were requested to stay at Gaya as their lives were in danger.

In 1894, at the request of Anagārika Dharmapāla, the Mahabodhi Society of Japan presented a Buddha image to the Buddhagayā Temple. It was to be placed at the Buddhagayā Temple in May 1894 but the Mahant prevented the *bhikkhus*, who were bearing the image, from entering the premises and his men forcibly carried away the image and placed it in the open square before the temple. The *bhikkhus* took refuge in the Burmese Rest House and legal proceedings were instituted by the General Secretary. The Great Buddhagayā Temple Case was the result. Finally, the High Court decided that the Mahabodhi Temple had never been converted into a Hindu shrine and that it was a Buddhist Temple.

The Government of Bengal under British Colonial rule did not support the Buddhist cause but the Governors, Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Sir Johan Woodburn were sympathetic. So were many influential Indian friends of Anagarika Dharmapala in Bengalā who remained staunch allies of the Mahābodhi Society. They belonged to the Bengali intelligentsia such as the educationalist Sir Ashoutosh Mookherjee and leaders of the business community such as Neel Comal Mookerjee and many others like them.

In 1915, the Mahabodhi Society became a registered body and a governing body was formed with Anagarika Dharamapala as its General Secretary. Its objectives were broadly defined as resuscitating Buddhism in the land of its birth with its headquarters at Buddhagaya, disseminating the philosophical and ethical Teachings of the Buddha, translating pali and Sanskrit texts into English, Bengali and Hindi and setting up a permanent office in Calcutta.

In 1949, the Government of Bihar initiated legislation and consequently the Buddhagaya Bill was passed in the Legislative Assembly of Bihar. This act would appear to be the culmination of the struggle the Mahabodhi Society had to face in order to gain control of the Buddhagaya Temple for the Buddhists.

On 28 May 1953 , the Buddhagaya Temple was transferred to a new management committee. This 9-man committee consisted of both Buddhists and Hindus.

c. Mahabodhi Journal: The Mahabodhi Journal was started in May 1892 for the purpose of propagating the Teachings of the Buddha and having an interchange of news between Buddhist countries, thereby uniting them.

The first number was printed at the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta and the second at the Bengali Press. Thereafter it was printed at Carton Press till 1905 after which the Mahabodhi Society of Colombo undertook the task of printing till 1916 when it was taken over by the Mahabodhi Society office at Calcutta.

Copies of the first issue were sent to oriental scholars in various parts of the world. One copy was forwarded to Sir W.W. Hunter, author of the *"Indian Empire"* and another copy sent to the American Consul in Calcutta. The journal gave Sir William Hunter material to write about the future of Buddhism in India in his work on Indian Buddhism. The copy that reached the hands of the American Consul was sent by him to the Chairman of the World Parliament of Religions, who invited the Mahabodhi Society to send a representative to the world Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893.

The first editor of the journal was Anagarika Dharmapala who was the General Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society as well. He remained its editor till his death in 1933 and thereafter his successor, Brahmacari Valisinha took over the editorship till 1938. He and Seela Bhadra were joint editors from 1939-41, then Seela Bhadra, Kalidas Nag and bhikkhu N. Jinaratana edited the journal from 1942-55 and from 1956 onwards an editorial Board was formed.

The journal started with an exchequer of only Rs. 25/- but somehow managed to put out a monthly publication, mainly due to Anagarika Dharmapala's personal funds. It has an unbroken record of publication for over one hundred years, since its inception.

The journal published reviews of books on Buddhism, articles on Buddhism and Buddhist news of interest. Among the contributors were B.Hodgson, Dr. Sylvan Levi, T.W. Rhys Davids, Dr. B.M. Barua, Dr. D.R. Bhandarka, Dr. A. Commaraswamy, Dr. B.C. Law and many other scholars. The journal attracted the Support of even non-Buddhists.

d. World Parliament of Religions : In 1893, the World Parliament of Religions was held in Chicago. It was one of the major events of the time. Anagarika Dharmapala was nominated by the Mahabodhi Society to attend the Parliament as its representative. He and Swami Vivekananda were the most popular speakers at the Parliament according to American newspaper reports. Dharmapala's paper on "The World's Debt to Buddha" was well received an the message of the Buddha's teaching reached a wide audience through the American press. it was on his return journey that he met Mrs. Mary T.R. Foster, the wife of a wealthy American Banker of Hawaii. She became one of the greatest benefactors of the Mahabodhi Society until her death. She left in her Will a handsome legacy to further the activities of the Society.

e. Mahabodhi Society Centres and Temples : The mahabodhi Society established an office in Calcutta in 1892 at 20/1 Gaugadhar Babu Lane, Bowbazar. It later shifted to 2 Creek Row and thereafter in 1908 it purchased the Beniapukur House.

In 1926, Anagarika Dharmapala purchased a house at Ealing in London with funds donated by Mrs. Mary T.R. Foster of Hawaii and called it Foster Home where lectures and meetings were held.

In 1928 Anagarika Dharmapala established a mission at 41 Gloucester Road in Regent's Park with three Buddhist monks from Sri Lanka. It was the first Buddhist monastery to be established outside Asia, known as the London Buddhist Vihāra. This *vihāra* is now housed at Chiswick, West London, the Gloucester Road House having been commandeered during the war. The *vihāra* is managed by the Anagarika Dharmapala Trust and administered in conjunction with the Mahābodhi Society of Sri Lanka which also appoints the *dhammaduta bhikkhus*.

The foundation stone of the Shri Dharmarajika Vihara at Calcutta was laid in 1918 and completed in 1920. A holy relic of the Buddha which was discovered in the process of archaeological excavations at Bhattiprolu Stūpa in the Madras Presidency was offered to this *vihara* and it was enshrined there.

Regular meetings for the propagation of Buddhism and religious ceremonies were conducted at the *vihāra*. It was a step forward in the Society's aim of propagating the Teachings of the Buddha. The Temple was built with funds donated by Mrs. Foster and Indian well-wishers. Its proximity to the University of Calcutta was an asset. Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta, Vice Chancellor of the University of Calcutta and president of the Maha Bodhi Society of India gave it much support.

Anagarika Dharmapala had to wage another protracted struggle with authorities, similar to the struggle he had at Buddhagaya, to restore the Dhammaka Tope at Sarnath. This stupa marked the site where the Buddha preached his first sermon. When Anagarika Dharmapala visited the holy shrine in 1890 the sacred spot was used as a breeding ground for hogs.

In 1901 he purchased a piece of land with donations from his mother and friends and erected a building there. In 1904 he began to set up the Beneres School of Arts and Agriculture.

In 1916 the government of India offered through the government of Bengal a relic of the Buddha for the Society if it would erect a suitable *vihāra*. The result is the present magnificient Mulagandhakuṭi Vihāra started by Anagarika Dharmapala in 1920 and completed in 1931. Despite many negotiations and disputes he had with the Department of Archaeology, finally they offered a suitable plot of land in 1926 for the *vihāra* and agreed to bear the cost incurred in connection with the foundation work. The Department of Archaeology also set apart twenty acres of land as an adjunct to the *vihara* and agreed to bear the cost of laying it out as a park with suitable trees.

The Buddha temple in New Delhi is situated on Mandir Marg. It stands on a piece of land given by Sarva Nand Barua to the Mahabodhi society. The then secretary, Brahmachari Devapriya Valisinha requested a donation from Raja Seth jugal Kishore Birla towards the building of the Vihara, but he bore the full cost of

erecting the Vihara. It was completed in 1939 and opened by Mahatma Gandhi. It has become a thriving centre of Buddhism and the most prestigious Buddhist institution in the capital.

As a result of the persuasion of Brahmachari Devapriya Valisinha, who succeeded Anagarika Dharmapala as General Secretary after the latter's death, the government of India supported and pressed claims to receive back the bone relics of Ven. Sariputta and Ven. Moggallana, the chief disciples of the Buddha, from the Victoria and Albert Museums in London. On 12 January 1949, they were finally returned and were enshrined in a specially built *vihāra* of the Mahabodhi Society at Sanchi.

f. Early Benefactors : Without the financial assistance of benefactors, the Mahabodhi Society would not have been able to forge ahead so vigorously and undertake its multifarious programme of activities.

One of the greatest benefactors of the Society from almost its inception was Mrs Mary Elizabeth Foster, the wife of a wealthy North American Banker in Hawaii. With her generous donations, temples, monasteries, schools and numerous other institutions were established in India and Sri Lanka.

Besides Mrs Foster, and Anagarika Dharmapala's parents, many scholars lent support to the Mahabodhi Centre at Calcutta, like the Ven. Krpasharan, Mahasthavira of Chittagong. It was he who started the Bengali Buddhist Association in 1892. As Dharmapala's circle of contacts became wider, many eminent educationalists, scholars and social reformers became associated with the Society.

The Mahabodhi Society was started at a time when there was a resurgence in Bengal in the Fields of Indian literature, culture and religion. Along with this wave of interest was a renewal of interest in Buddhism. Anagarika Dharmapala has acknowledged in the MBS journal of December 1901-January 1902 the help of many Bengali feiends. National leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlaa Nehru, Ravindranath Tagore also expressed their sympathy and moral support for the aims and objectives of the Society.

II. Humanitarian and Welfare Activities

a. Calcutta : A Welfare Home and orphanage was established when a famine had broken out in Bengal in 1943. The Society started a Relief Fund and jointly with the Ceylon Relief Society, started relief work in the premises of the Society in Calcutta. Six milk canteens were set up to distribute milk to six hundred destitute children and sick people. A free kitchen and centre distributed rice and clothes to one hundred persons daily.

With Ven. Jinaratana Maha Nayaka Thero's initiative, an orphanage was started with twenty boys who had lost their parents in the famine. At first, they were kept in the Arya Vihāra of the Bengal Buddhist Association. In 1945 they were removed to the Society's building at 46, Beniapukur Lane. Due to the continuous efforts made by Ven. Jinaratana Maha Nayaka Thero to construct a suitable building to accommodate more boys and also to start other social service activities, finally in 1962, the present five storied building of the Welfare Home and Orphanage was constructed in Calcutta.

The five storied building of the Anagarika Dharmapala Institute of Culture and International Guest House was declared open in 1891.

Jinaratana Memorial Free Homeopathic Dispensary was opened in 1984.

Mary Foster Allopathy Dispensary, where consultation was free, was opened in 1991.

An ambulance Service to serve the poorer section of the community has been introduced recently.

Anagarika Dharmapala Meditation Centre was inaugurated in 1978

Also attached to the Mahabodhi Centre at Calcutta are the following amenities :

Library and Reading Room
Mahabodhi Book Agency

b. Buddhagayā : The Mahabodhi Centre at Buddhagaya provides much needed accommodation, board and lodging as well as religious guidance to visitors.

The Dharmasālā was built in 1914 by Anagarika Dharmapala and it provides shelter to one hundred pilgrims at a time.

Medical facilities are provided for the needy through the Homeopathic Free Dispensary.

The Mahabodhi Book Stall at the Dharmasālā provides books on Buddhism and Indology.

There are a number of International Buddhist Temples working in cooperation with the Mahabodhi Centre such as the Japanese, Tibetan, Nepalese, Chinese, Royal Thai, Thai, and Burmese Temples and the Bhutanese and Vietnamese Monasteries. There is also an International Meditation Centre.

c. Sarnath : The Mulagandhakuṭi Vihāra conducts recitations of the *Dhammacakkappavattana sutta* daily by resident monks. It also conducts poojas and other Buddhist ceremonies and undertakes maintenance and development work.

There is a Library and Reading Room attached to the Vihāra.

Also at Sarnath are the following institutions :
Dharmapāla Vipassanā Meditation Centre
Mahabodhi Book Agency

Mahabodhi Inter College which is an educational institution with modern facilities up to the level of the General Higher Education examination with government assistance.

Dharmapala Bhikkhu Training Centre where Buddhist philosophy and the *Bhikkhu Vinaya* are taught with preliminary training in Buddhist missionary work.

Mahabodhi Primary School which has a trained staff to educate and supervise children.

Mahabodhi Birla Dharmasālā, a spacious building complex that provides residential facilities for pilgrims.

Mahabodhi Saṅgārāmaya, a hostel for resident monks with free food and other facilities

A multi storied building housing the General Office, Dharmapala Museum and Library.

III. Education : The *MBS* realized the need for the study of Pali in earnest for the proper understanding of the original texts of the Buddha's Teachings. This was essential for the revival and spread of Buddhism in India and the world. It therefore influenced the Indian government authorities to introduce courses in Pali studies at the University of Calcutta and the University of Bombay. Now several national universities conduct courses of study in Pali and Sanskrit.

A training unit for *bhikkhus* was initiated by the founder of the MBS at Sāntiniketan and later shifted to Sarnath. The college now exists under the name of "Dharmapāla Bhikkhu Training Centre".

IV. Conclusion : At present the Mahabodhi Society has centres and branches in Myanmar, Thailand, Japan, Chittagon, Darjeeling, Benares, Sarnath, New Delhi, Sanchi, Madras, Bombay, London, Lucknow and Chicago.

Due to the untiring efforts of its founder and able successors, places sacred to Buddhists in India such as Sarnath, Kushinagar, Sanchi, Lumbini and other holy places, once deserted, are now visited by thousands of pilgrims.

The support Anagarika Dharmapala received from distinguished scholars and sympathizers of Buddhism in calcutta helped to establish the *MBS* on a firm footing. The awakening of interest in Buddhist studies in Bengal at the time was very conducive to the growth of the MBS. The Buddhist Text Society had been founded by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, a scholar and pioneer in Tibetan studies in 1892. There was also Ven. Krpasharana, Maasthavira of Chittagong, who started the Bengali Buddhist Association in 1892.

In those early days, there seems to have been a symbiotic relationship between the *MBS* and the Indian intelligentsia. It is an acknowledged fact that Anagarika Dharmapala who was, in his life time, synonimous with the *MBS*, contributed much to the Buddhist renaissance in India. The propagation of Buddhism in the West was also ushered in by Anagarika Dharmapala and his most effective instruments were the *MBS* and the MB journal.*

Suvimali Karunaratne

MAHĀBODHIVAṂSA also called *Bodhivaṃsa* is a translation into Pali prose of a Sinhala original, which is not extant now, giving the history of the arrival of the *bodhi*-tree in Sri Lanka.

* This article has been maindy based on material obtained from the Centinary Volume of the Mahabodhi Society.

It begins with the history of Buddha Dīpaṅkara, and gives in a short summary an account of the various lives of the *bodhisatta* under previous Buddhas, the life of Gotama, his enlightenment at the foot of the *bodhi* tree, the planting of the *bodhi*-tree at Jetavana by Ananda providing the occasion for the Buddha to preach the *Kalinga-bodhi Jataka*, the *parinibbana* of the Buddha, the three Councils, Mahinda's mission to Lanka and the establishment of Buddhism there, the introduction there of the relics and a branch of the *bodhi* tree, its planting and the establishment of ceremonies (*bodhipūjā* (q. v.) in connection with it.

The book is divided into twelve chapters. In the whole of the first chapter the close dependence on the *Jātaka-nidāna-kathā* is evident. Even verbal identity is not rare. Usually the *Mahabodhivamsa* account is shorter and more like an epitome. It is interesting, however, to note that the story of the *Kālinga-bodhi-Jātaka* as given in the *Bodhivamsa* differs from the version in Faushboll's edition of it (*J.* IV, 228-236) among its peculiarities in the former version being a long description of clairvoyance (*dibbacakkhu*) and the seven gems (*sattaratanāni*) of a world ruler (*cakkavatti-rājā*). The later chapters show direct dependence on the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahāvamsa*, chiefly the former. Thus, the description of Mahinda's activities after his arrival in Sri Lanka agrees almost word for word with that in the *Samantapasādikā* (*VinA*. I, 73 f.), so mush so that we are led to the conclusion that the whole passage was directly borrowed from Buddhaghosa's commentary. The concluding verses of some of the chapters are the same as those of the *Mahāvamsa*. The quotations from works such as the *Mahavamsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* would lead us to believe that the author of the *Mahābodhivamsa* did not merely tanslate the Sinhala text directly, but also improved upon it in the translation, supplementing it with quotations from works which in the meantime had attained great authority.

Even where the *Mahābodhivamsa* borrows from other works, its style is different from theirs, more ornate and affected; the stanzas are written in sonorous Pali, the ornamental epithets are plentiful and the author is fond of long sentences. There are distinct traces in the language of the influence of Sanskrit on Pali, and we may regard this book as marking the beginning of the period of Sanskritised Pali. Sometimes Pali words are used in their Sanskrit sense; sometimes words not found perhaps elsewhere at all in the old Pali literature, and long Pali compounds possibly derived from his acquaintance with Sanskrit *kāvyas* are employed; the whole tone and manner of the work betrays a tendency to use a kind of Sanskritised Pali.

The book itself says nothing about its authorship or its date, except that it was a translation from a Sinhala original (*Mhbv*. p. 1). The *Gandhavamsa* (p. 61) mentions the work by name, but in a group of five works assigned vaguely to unnamed authors. The *Sāsanavamsadīpa* (v. 1262) calls Upatissa the author of the *Bodhivamsa*, but says nothing more about him. The *Sinhala Bodhivamsaya*, which is an enlarged Sinhala translation by Vilgammula Mahāthera of the Pali work, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, ascribes the authorship of the Pali *Mahā Bodhivamsa* to Upatissa, and so does Saranankara Sangharāja's inter verbal glossary (*sanna*) written at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Gurulugomi (author of the *Amāvatura*) who lived about the latter half of the twelfth century wrote a masterly commentary in the Sinhala language of the Pali *Mahā bodhivamsa*, called the *Bodhivamsaparikathā*, but better known as the *Dharmapradipika*, and there, too, the work is assigned to Upatissa. A Sri Lankan author Upatissa is mentioned in the *Gandhavamsa* (p. 67), but nothing more is said of him.

S. Arthur Strong, who edited the *Mahābodhivamsa* for the Pali Text Society, erroneously assigned its authorship to the same period as Buddhaghosa, his reason being that the *Gandhavamsa* mentions it as having been written at the instigation of one *Dāṭhānāga* whom he identified with another named Daṭṭha. Daṭṭha is said in the *Gandhavamsa* to have requested Buddhaghosa to write the *Sumangala-Vilāsinī*. Saranankara Sangharāja's verbal interpretation (*The Bodhivamsa-sanna*), called the *Madhurārtha-Vilāsinī* too, mentions that the *maha Bodhivamsa* was written at the request of a thera named Dāṭhānāga. Geiger, however, identifies Dāṭhānāga with the thera of the same name whom Mahinda IV, the king of Sri Lankā appointed to discourse on the *Abhidhamma* (*Mhv*. LIV, v. 36). If that supposition be correct, the *Mahābodhivamsa* would have been written in the last quarter of the tenth century (Geiger, *Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa*, p. 79).

The fact that the *Mahābodhivamsa* was considered a great Pali classic is shown by the existence of a glossary (*gāṭapada*) in Sinhala and a commentary (*ṭīkā*) in Pali to assist the study of it. Gurulugomī in the

twelfth century wrote his *Dharmapradipikā* with the *Mahabodhivamsa* as its basis. The whole chronicle was written down in Sinhala by Vilgammula Sangharāja during the reign of Parakramabāhu IV of Kurunagala. (1302-1326 A. C.)

But, Vilgammula did not write his *Sinhala Bodhivamsaya* as an aid to the study of the Pali work of Upatissa. His work was meant for the Sinhalese reader, and he attempted to make it a literary work by itself. The style and method of the scholar is evident in the *Bodhivamsaya*. He had before him both the glossary and the commentary. One finds passages from the glossary taken complete with quotations in such places as the description of the *Mahāsammata* dynasty or in the *Ananda-bodhi-katha*. The section dealing with the acceptance of the *Mahāvihāra* in the *Bodhivamsaya* is taken from the *Dharmapradipikā*. Nothing from the Pali *Mahābodhivamsa* has been omitted in the Sinhala work, and it is larger than the Pali work, inasmuch as several descriptions and anecdotes have been added. The division of chapters is according to the Pali version, and even the concluding verses have been quoted.

The author followed the ornate Sanskrit style in which the Pali *Mahā bodhivamsa* was written. Passages after the style of Sanskrit prose-poems (*gadya-kāvya*) like the *Kādambarī* are written in Pali by Upatissa, and Vilgammula turns them into Sinhala. Apart from following Upatissa's Sanskritised Pali style, Vilgammula himself was a Sanskrit scholar. He gives his own Sanskrit compositions in verse at the beginning and at the end of the *Bodhivamsaya*.

Saranankara Sangharāja of Välivita compiled a complete inter verbal interpretation (The *Bodhivamsa-sannaya*) called the *Madhurārthaprakāsinī*.

The history of the *bodhi*-tree is continued as far as the reign or Kirti-srī-Rājasimha of Kandy in a little work called the *Cūla-Bodhivamsaya*. This work gives an account of the places where saplings from the tree at Anurādhapura were planted. It also mentions the families of different craftsmen who accompanied the *bodhi*-tree to Sri Lanka.

Upali Karunaratna

MAHABODHIVIHĀRA See MAHĀBODHI, MAHABODHI SOCIETY

MAHACHAT. Introductory : The birth-stories are called in Thai "*Chadok*" (Pali-*jātaka*), and traditionlly they are 550 in number. They have been a storehouse of folk-lore and as literary productions in Thailand until recent times, and they have influenced the life and thought of the people. Of all these birth-stories, the last ten, before the Lord Buddha attained Buddhahood after a long chain of re-births, are deemed more important. They are called collectiverly "*Thotaachat*" (Pali-*Dasa Jati*) or "The Ten Births", a name peculiar only to Thai Buddhism. The last one called "*Wetsandon Chadok*" (*Vessantara Jātaka*) is the most important. It is called *Mahā Chat* (Pali-*Mahā Jāti*) or the "Great Birth". According to Buddhist belief, before he could attain Buddhahood, the Lord Buddha had to perfect himself with the Ten Virtues. These could not be done in a single lifetime but through the ten stages of virtuous life as depicted in the last ten births. A person striving to become a Buddha by perfecting the Ten Virtues is called a *Bodhisat* a would-be Buddha or one who seeks enlightement. Such a *Bodhisat* cult forms fundamentally the ideal of Northern Buddhism, the Mahāyana Sect. The *Wetsandon Chadok*, Buddha's last birth but one on earth, portrays the life of Prince Wetsandon fulfilling his mission as a Bodhisat. The life of Prince Wetsandon is the highest ideal of the faith and one which the people like to hear recited, for Prince Wetsandon's supreme sacrifice touches their hearts. For the story *vide* VESSANTARA JĀTAKA.

The story of Prince Wetsandon is divided into 13 parts or divisions called in Thai "*kan*" (Pali-*Khaṇda*). It is a very well-known story in Thailand and influences immensely the life of the people. The story serves as an inspiration to Thai poets and artists of the school. For the story contains noble sentiments, humour, pathos and beautiful descriptive scenes which fire the imagination and evoke artistic expression. The original story is in Pali. But there are, apart from its literal translation, many versions in paraphrase not to mention the versions in other languages. The versions are written generally as a kind of prose *kavya* in a non-metrical rhyming pattern, which allows a free play on words in a rhetorical manner. The oldest version which dates back some 400 years is used as a subject of literary study in the Universities. Many of the "*Kans*" or parts were written by famous Thai poets. The book as a whole is called "*Mahachat*" or "The Great Birth", a well known household name is the Thai language.

Customs: Every year after the traditional three month term of religious Lent and retreat of Buddhist monks expires, i.e. usually in the latter part of October, many *wats* or monasteries have their own "*Thet Mahā Chat*"

festival. "*Thet*" means to preach, to give a sermon, but in this instance, to recite the Mahā *Chat* or the Great Birth Story. The recitation may be performed during the *Sat* (Pali-*Sarada*) or Mid-year Autumnal Festival in early October, or on other special occasions such as the raising of funds for the monastery. The reason why it is usually performed after the Lent is obvious. For during the period October to December, food, especially fish and prawns, is found in abundance, and the people, in particular the countryfolk have a comparative leisure time, in former days the recitation of the *Maha Chat* might be performed at a private residence in special case or in the preaching hall of the village. Nowadays the performances, are confined to the preaching hall within the precincts of a *wat*. The recitation begins early in the morning and continues sometimes till midnight. It is the traditional belief of the people that whosoever hears the *Maha Chat* or the Great Life in its complete version will gain great merit. In the old days opportunities of hearing such recitations were rare for want of the texts and monks who were versed in such a recitation. But in Bankok the performance may be carried over many continuous days. The original text of the Great Birth contains a number of *gathas* in Pali or interspersed with the story. These stanzas may be collected in the form of one special text. They are called "*Gāthā Phan*" or the "Thousand Stanzas" Special attention is attached to this *Gathā Phan*.

Each of the thirteen *kans* or parts bears a name appropriate to an episode in the story, and at the end of each recitation there is a performance of music with a particular melody of its own. There are thirteen persons trained in each particular *kan* in its recitation which has its own musical theme. Accustomed to such a melody, many of the people know, when they hear the recitation or the music played at the end of each *kan*, the progress of the performance. In a village where music cannot be obtained there is no obligation and if there is music and the musicians cannot play the right melody the rule is not strictly adhered to. As long as there is music and noise to mark an interval between each *kan*, that is all that is required by the people. Each *kan* must have a sponsor either an individual or several collectively. It is the duty of the patron of a *kan* to provide a gift for the presiding monk with money and things fit for a merit offering. These are called "*Kreung Kan*" or material things of the *kan*. They include monk's robes and essential requisites for monks, eatables and sweetmeats and a large quantity of fruits of the season. Any person, apart from the owner, may join in the merit-making by contributing money or anything else to the common offering for whichever *kan* he prefers.

Nowadays the recitation of the version with all its thirteen parts takes too long to conclude. It begins early in the morning and does not come to an end before midnight. It is therefore curtailed on special occasions. Only the *Gāthā Phan* or the Pali Thousand Stanzas are recited. Such a recitation is not popular with the people. Although the hearing of such sacred words recited may evoke religious sentiment, the people do not understand them and their emotions are not satisfied. The people want something more. They want to hear the voice of their favourite presiding monk, to hear his melodious voice which is familiar to them, for many are able to recite too. They want to live in love and hate, in happiness and sorrow, to be sad or to be in humour, and to raise their sentiments to a higher plane and ideal, which the the various characters of the story manifest. Hence the reciting of the Pali Thousand Stanzas only, does not appeal to the masses. They want the recitation to be performed in full both the prose version and the stanzas. The contents in the version are more of a secular nature, and in fact in some parts of the story, the reciter has to display his and his own additions are thrown into the recitation which sometimes border on drollery and vulgarity. The pious people frown a it.

It has been a tradition in Thailand from the King downwards to have his eldest son, enter the order as a "*nane*" (Pali-*samaṇera*) or novice during his boyhood, and once to become a temporay monk for at least three months of the year when he reaches his manhood at the full age of twenty years. The popular belief is that when a son becomes a novice, the gates of hell are shut for the mother of that son, and for his father when he becomes a monk. This belief is important in a sense. For it constites a living force to the Faith, not to say to that of the *wat* or monastery which has remained a centre of learning and spiritual training up to the present day. The novice, apart from learning and observance of precepts is to be initiated in the recitation of the Great Birth. There is a certain *kan* with a popular and favourite melody which the father of the novice wishes his son to learn and recite. When he has mastered the *kan* with its melody, he is invited to give a recitation of that *kan* at his parents' house. It is a great day for there is a gathering of the family, also of friends and neighbours to hear the recitation of the Great Birth by the novice. As a rule the novice will recite only the

kan or the part he has learnt. This is done as a special instance and has nothing to do with the custmary recitation described earlier. Such a performance, it is believed, is done in initation of an episode of the Lord Buddha's life, when after having attained Buddhahood, the Buddha came back to his country and preached a sermon to the gathering of his family and recounted his last birth as Prince Wetsandon. The imitation is deemed to be a highly meritorious act, and it has been done with great display of piety by the family of the novice. They are proud of the novice's ability, and the friends and neighbour join in the rejoicing. Many kings and princes of the present dynasty have, in the past, entered the Faith as novices and have performed such recitations of the Great Birth.

Preparation: Before the *Thet Maha Chat* or the recitation of the Great Birth takes place, the monks of the *wat* where the performance is to be held, and certain leading members of the village or other committies, discuss the date and preparation for the performance. When everything has been planned as to who will be the patron and which particular *kan* will be recited, invitations are made in advance, in order that the invited persons may have ample time to prepare and arrange the presentation of gifts. Sometimes more than one family or group of persons combine as a single patron of a particular *kan*. Each owner vies with the other for the performance. They want to be the best in this matter of merit-making. For such an occasion comes but once a year. The village which does not have the *Thet Mahā Chat* performed, suffers loss of face, and nobody, if he can, will refuse an invitation to participate in the common merit-making of their own *wat* in their own village.

When one accepts the invitation to be one of the patrons of the thirteen *kans*, one has to prepare and arrange both food and other essentials as offerings for the occasion. There will be bustles and merriment in the house on the eve of the recitation, the cooking of food and the preparing of sweet-meats both for merit-making and for feeding the people. In such an occasion, neighbours will come to help. They will come voluntarily, and etiquette requires reciprocal help when opportunity arises. This custom has gradually disappeared in Bangkok and other urbon places where money is everything and the spirit of neighbourly help is somewhat lacking.

Usually there is a big basket made of bamboo in the shape of a huge blooming lotus flower with its many coloured-paper petals pasted on, together with other decorations. This basket is called *"Krachat Yai"* or 'big basket' and is used as a coutainer for things offered as merit-making. It is sometimes so big that it takes a number of persons to carry in procession from the house to the *wat*. If there are a great number of things as gifts, the basket is used for storing food, sweetmeats and fruits, as the case may be, while the other offerings such as monks' robes and other requisites are put in special valuable vesels or carriers. On the actual day when the recitation is to take place and when the time arrives, all the offering are carried in a procession with music and other performances as the case may be. One knows the approximate time when the recitation of the *kan* of which one is the patron, is to take place. gf it is the first or second *kan*, one has to reach the *wat* in time, early in the morning. If it is a later *kan*, say the tenth or eleventh, th time will be in the evening and one can gauge the approximate time. There will be crowds of people along the route to witness the procession. If a wealthy man gives meagre offerings, there will be gossip in the village. If there are many wealthy patrons of different *kans* or parts of the recitation, it will be a great day. For there will be competition among them as to whose offerings are the best and most costly, because everyone wants to *"gain face"* as much as possible. The traditional *Thet Mahachat* is still a living force but the aspect of the merry side is now on the wane. Many of the younger generation whose attitude of mind tends to subordinate the traditional to the modern, view the performance of the *Thet Mahachat* in disfavour. In order to save this old tradition from being lost altogether a novel way is introduced in Bangkok today when a theatrical performance of each episode of the story is given just before the recitation of each *kan*. This is to attract the attention of the people. It is an innovation in place of the merrier side of the custom which is not now to be seen in Bangkok.

The Wat and the performance: The entrance to the *wat* on the day of the *Maha Chat* recitation is made as a sort of gate decorated with branches of trees. This is called the *Pratu Pa* or the "Forest Gate". Along the path after passing the forest gate, a sort of ceremonial fence called *Eachawat* is erected at intervals and decorated with flags and banana trees. Banana trees with bunches of ripe fruit are preferred. On reaching the preaching hall there is another forest gate. Sometimes the path is made as a sort of maze or labyrinth in order to confuse those who have to pass along the passage. This maze is called *Khao Wongkot*, the name of the nountain where Prince Wetsandon had his hermitage.

In the preaching hall every post is decorated with a banana tree or sometimes with sugar cane plants. There hang in some preaching halls thirteen paintings depicting the life of Prince Wetsandon as narrated in the thirteen *kans*. In some places, the preaching hall is hung all over with home-made toys made of interlaced leaves and split bamboo or of wood, in the shape of birds, fish, etc. They are sometimes painted. These toys are distributed among the children after the recitation ends. There are also small flags in various colours to the number of one thousand, which is equal to the *Gatha Phan* or the Thousand Stanzas.

Arriving at the *wat* the procession passes the Forest Gate into the path leading to the preaching hall. If the path is made into a maze there will certainly be fun when one gets into a blind passage and becomes confused. One may even have to pay a fee to the guide if one is in a hurry to reach the preaching hall. When the procession arrives at the preaching hall, and if the preceding *kan* is still in progress, it means that you are before time. One will have to wait outside until the preceding *kan* comes to an end. Then one can carry all one's offerings to their proper place in the preaching hall, a place in front of the preaching canopy. There is bustle and ado during such times when the offering of the preceding *kan* which has ended, are taken out and the offerings of the next *kan* are carried in. Some of the people who have heard the recitation will come out and the new audience will go in. There is music marking the end of a *kan* and there is more music marking the beginning of another *kan*. As already described, there are small coloured flags equal to the number of a thousand of the *Gāthā Phan*. The number of these thousand *gāthas* is distributed unevenly among the thirteen *kans*. Besides the small flags, there are also small beeswax candles equal in number to that of the small flags. There are flowers for offering too. In some cases when there is a special *kan* in which the whole *Gāthā Phan* or the Thousand Stanzas are recited alone as a whole, the patron of such a *kan* has flowers, usually lotus flowers and small candles to the number of a thousand, as an offering.

Now when the preaching or recitation is to begin, candles and incense sticks as provided, will be lit, and an act of worship is made to the Three Gems, i.e. the Buddha, his Law and his body of the Clergy or Sangha. The presiding monk will pronounce an act of faith and administer the usual five precepts, which acceptance is binding on the receiver for at least that whole day and night. After such rite has been performed, the preaching or recitation may then begin.

The recitation of the first *kan* takes place early in the morning, therefore the congregation is few in number, with the exception of the patron of the *kan* and his party, and a few old people who wish for merit. There will gradually be more people in the congregation in the succeeding *kans* until the fifth *kan* describing the scenes of Chuchok, the aged Brahmin mendicant and his strew, young and beautiful wife. There is much drollery and humour which naturally attracts the people. If the reciting monk is well known for his wit and humour, the place is packed to the utmost, for people from far and near, come to hear the recitation. The young men will ask for encoures and more money contributions will willingly be made by the congregation. Such monetary offering are called *Tit Thian Kan Thet* or the sticking (of money) for the reciting *kan* to the candle, the custom of sticking money to a big beewax candle provided for the purpose. In former days such recitations with additions of drollery and humour in some cases over-stepped the limits of modesty and were distasteful to cultured minds. Through the progess of time such things are now seldom to be found, for moral ideas have changed, but the need of humour is still there with the folk. While in Bangkok the recitation in some *wats* has the tendency to be more prosaic and has become monotonous thus depriving much of its psychological value of display and ceremony which needs as well.

After the recitation ends with the thirteenth *kan*, there is a supplementary *kan* giving an exposition of the "Four Noble Truths" as preached by the Lord Buddha after he had recounted his last "Great Birth" to the audience. The preaching of the "Four Nobel Truths" is usually done on the next day after the recitation and may be preached by one, two or four monks in the manner of a dialogue, if required.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon

MAHĀGĀMA (identified as the present Tissamahārāma) was the capital of Rohana (s.v.), one of the three principal territorial divisions in ancient Sri Lanka . This City, situated in the south-east of the island about six and a half miles from the mouth of the Kirindi Oya was the birthplace of the great national hero Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, who brought-about the revival of Buddhism in the early part of the Anurādhapura period. Throughout history, as a seat of government, Mahagāma remained the most important place in Rohana playing a significant role as the centre of Buddhist activities in that region. It is said that the resourceful and devout

residents of Mahāgāma were ever generous to the community of Buddhist monks, who dwelt in great numbers in the hundreds of *vihāras* there (ed. Kiriälle Ñāṇavimalathera, *Rasavāhinī*, Colombo, 1961, p.106f; id. *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*, Colombo, 1954, p.416; D.E. Wickramasooriya, *Ruhuṇu Māgam Varṇanāva*, pt. 1, Anurādhapura, 1913, p.4f). Although the account given in the *Rasavāhinī* should not be taken in its literal sense, it nevertheless, suggests that people of Mahāgāma were well known for their devotion to the religion. In the capital were several Buddhist monuments. It is learnt that the Bhikkhus of Mahāgāma were reputed for their virtue and erudition (cf.T. Ratanasara thera, *Bauddha Stūpa*, Colombo, 1967, pp.10, 20-21).

Ancient Mahāgāma was located near the place where the ruins of the Tissamahārāma vihara lie on the left bank of the Māgama (or Kiriñdi) river[1] (W. Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa*, trsl. p. 146, n[5], also see E.W. Adikāram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1953, p.117; H.Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, London, 1909, p.241). Parker, who identifies Tammännāṭota (the landing place of Vijaya) with the mouth of the river Kirindi in South Ceylon, is of opinion that Mahāgama was the first seat of government of the original Āryan settlers in Sri Lanka (*ibid, loc.cit*). According to the chronicle *Rājāvaliya* (ed. B. Gunasekara, Colombo, 1926, p.15), Mahāgāma was founded by one of the six Sākya princes, the brothers-in law of king Paṇḍuvāsadeva. It has been surmised that, Mahagāma, as the capital of Sri Lanka, flourished even before the establishment of Anurādhapura (*ibid*, p. 240 f; *JRAS* (CB) Vol VIII, pt. I,pp 10-14; G.C. Mitton, *The Lost Cities of Ceylon*, London, 1917, p.251). This fact, however, is not corroborated by any authentic historical evidence. Until a comprehensive archaeological survey in this region is made, it is hardly possible to state with certitude anything about the original settlers of Mahāgāma. (cf. H.W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, London, 1947, p.10; P.A.T. Gunasinghe, *Purātana Rohaṇa Rājyaya*, Nugegoda, 1968, pp.20,22, and 24).

Mahāgāma could have been, at first a settlement (*gāma*) which had gradually developed to be a village (*mahāgāma*, lit. large village). By the time Buddhism was introduced to that region, it had already become the capital of South Ceylon. (Parker, *loc. cit*; G.C. Mendis, *The Early History of Ceylon*, Calcutta, 1935, p. 27). Like Anuradhapura, Mahāgāma might have been chosen as the seat of government considering its strategic importance. In addition to its central location, Mahāgāma "was safe from attack by foreigners on account of its distance from the sea" (*ibid, loc.cit*). On the other side the central mountain range together with the river Mahaväli seemed to have formed a rather impregnable barrier (cf. P.A.T. Gunasinghe, *op. cit*, pp.6-8). For a long time in the history of the Island it preserved its identity both as an independent kingdom and a vassal state of the Anurādhapura rulers, as well.

The first mention of Mahāgāma as the residence of a ruling dynasty begins with Mahānāga (s.v.), the younger brother of king Devānampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.), who fled to this region when his life was threatened due to a court intrigue (*Mhv*. XXIII; 2-9; *History of Ceylon*, published by the University of Ceylon, Vol. I, pt. 1, Colombo, 1959, p.145; W. Rāhula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1966, p.19). Mahānāga, according to a brāhmi inscription, had been hitherto a heretic, who became a convert to Buddhism at the Galauḍa vihāra at Kirida in Mahāgāma (T. Ratnasāra thera, *Bauddha Stūpa*, p.4.). The dynasty he thus founded there played a leading role in the history of the country's politics later. Although no historical data are available to establish that there was a ruling dynasty at Mahāgāma earlier than that, it is obvious that this part of the country was under the authority of a royal house that may or may not have been of the same dynasty of Anuradhapura kings.[2] (cf. *Mhv*. xix: 54, 62; *DPPN*. Vol. II, p.488; Rahula, *loc.cit.*)

Evidently the rulers of Mahāgāma were linked with those of Kälaṇiya. *Dhātuvaṃsa*, (ed. Dambagasare Sumedhaṅkara Svāmi, Colombo, 1930, p.30) and

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1. A small village on the left bank of the Māṇik-gaṅga between the Tissamahārāma ruins and the mouth of the stream still retains the appellation, Māgama (cf. Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa*, trsl. p.146, n[5]; Adikaram, *op.cit*. p.117; *JRAS* (CB), Vol.I, pt.I,p.18 etc.).

2. Reference should be made, in this connection, to the Kṣatriyas of Kājaragama who, on the occassion of the planting of the branch of the sacred Bo-tree, flocked to Anuradhapura to pay their homage (*Mhv*. XIX:54). Further, they were honoured by granting one of the first eight *Bodhi*-saplings to be planted in their locale (*ibid*, XIX: 62). Some maintain that the Kṣatriya of Kājaragāma were related to the ruling dynasty in Kälaṇiya and were descendents of the ruling dynasty of Anurādhapura (cf.P.A.T. Gunasinghe, *op.cit*, pp.27-29 and 32). Paranavitana, however, is of opinion that the Kṣatriyas of Kajaragāma belonged to a different family and they were present in Anurādhapura on the aforesaid occassion by invitation (cf. *God of Adam's Peak*, Ascona, 1958, p.66).

Anurādhapura (Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 17f.). The king Kākavaṇṇatissa, the great grandson of Mahānāga, married Vihāramahā Devi (s.v.) ,a princess from the ruling dynasty in Kälaṇiya, in a legendary fashion (*Mhv.* XXII: 13-22; Adikaram, *op.cit.*, p.60; *History of Ceylon, loc. cit.*) She bore two sons, one being Duṭṭhagamaṇī (s.v.), who bronght about a revival of Buddhism at a later stage. After his father's death, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī became the ruler of Mahāgāma and embarked on his campaign against the *Damilas* in the Rajaraṭa (s.v) from there (*Mhv.* XXVII, 8, 59; XLV; 42 etc.*DPPN. loc. cit.*; *History of Ceylon. op. cit.* p.155). Although Anurādhapura had once again become the chief seat of government of the Sinhalese kings after the triumph of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, Mahāgāma seems to have continued to enjoy considerable autonomy with her own ruler who at times exercised a powerful political sway over her dominant neighbour.[3]

In spite of the fact that Mahāgāma was situated far away from Anuradhapura, there was regular communication between these two capitals from early times (cf. *Mhv.* XXV: 6-51; Geiger, trsl., *Mahāvaṃsa*, p.165,n[3]; *History of Ceylon*, p.15 etc.) As a result a chage that took place in one capital, very often had its repercussions on the other.

The fact that the kingdom of Rohana had developed as a separate entity, more or less preserving its own identity from the kingdom of Rajaraṭa, is explicit in the cultural remains available at Mahāgāma. The remains of religious edifices at Mahāgāma show clear proof that they were not outright copies of the Anurādhapura monuments. The stūpa which is the most common religious monument of the ancient Sinhalese, could be taken as an example here. Recent archaeological excavations at several sites in Mahagama, such as Tissamahārāma Dagäba, Yaṭala vehera, Mänik vehera etc. have shown that these types which were found there were not common with those at Anurādhapura. The stupas like Tissamaharama are erected in the shape of a bubble (*bubbulakāra*), the dome (*aṇḍa*) being more global than pyramidal, which is not a common feature in the stupas found elsewhere in Ceylon (cf. T. Ratnasāra thera, *Bauddha stūpa*, p.28). Another striking feature of the stūpas built in Mahagama during the early Anurādhapura period is the size of bricks used. It is said that they "were much more uniform than those at Anurādhapura" (Parker, *op.cit.*, p.324).

Although several remains of Buddhist significance have been unearthed from Mahāgāma (cf. *JRAS, op. cit.* p.1ff), they bear "no comparison with those of Anurādhapura or Polonnaruwa" (*History of Ceylon, p.* 13). It is possible that most of the stupas in this region were built by those Sinhalese kings, from Uttiya dates to Duṭṭhagāmani (167-137 B.C.), who were forced to rule from the southern capital owing to the Tamil domination in the Rajarata (E.V. Suraweera, *Anuradhapura Saṃskṛtiya*, Maharagama, 1959, p. 62). It should also be said of the ruins at Mahāgāma that since they have not been fully explored and studied yet, the identification of most of them is only tentatve. Hence it is premature to speak of the religious edifices there with certainty.

The following, however, could be mentioned as the significant Buddhist sites in Mahāgāma dating from the earliest period. Mahānāga, the first king of the southern capital, built the Nāgamahāvihāra (s.v.) which is probably identical with the Mahānāga vihāra, the remains of which are still to be found according to Parker (*op.cit.*, pp.324-26)[4]. The original stūpa built by Mahānaga in the second half of the 3rd century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 324f), had been enlarged by Iḷanāga (33-43 A.C. : *Mhv.* XXXV: 32) while he was in exile in Rohana. It is presumed that Iḷanāga too, as in the case of Mahānāga, was a non-Buddhist at first, but became a convert after listening to the preaching of Mahāpaduma thera of the Tuladhara vihāra (J.M. Seneviratne, *The story of the Sinhalese*, Vol.II Colombo 1923, p.91), to whom he had given the renovated Mahānāga-vihāra together with land for its maintenance (*MhvA.* II, p. 643). Besides, Iḷanāga is said to have made several such endowments to various other Buddhist institutions in Mahagāma. The king Vohārakatissa (209-31 A.C.) is recorded to have erected a *chatta*-canopy-over the Nagamahā dāgäba (*Mhv.* XXXVI: 34 *MhvA.* II, p.662). Lying to the south east of the Tissa väva in

3. This is suppoted in the rebellion caused by the brahman Tissa during king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya's (104-77 B.C.) reign. Having caused a political upheaval in Mahāgāma, Tissa marched toward to Anurādhapura with his rebel force, which ultimately resulted in the dethronement of the king (cf. J.M. Seneviratne, *op. cit.* Vol.II, p.48 f.).

4. Authentic identification of the Nāgamahavihāra and the Tissamaharāma, in fact, presents a poser, which is to be unravelled with further archaeological and epigraphical exploration and study in that region. For. details see NĀGAMAHAVIHĀRA and TISSAMAHARĀMA.

Mahagāma is the most significant Buddhist monument in Mahāgāma, namely the Tissamahārāma *stūpa* (s.v.), which dates from the time of king Kākavaṇṇatissa (*Mhv.* XXII: 23). The monastery attached to *this stupa.* is recorded to have been "embellished with three hundred and sixty monastic cells" (*EZ*, Vol.V, pt. 2, p.278) and was, moreover, reckoned to be the headquarters of the Mahāvihāra in Mahagama. Kākavaṇṇatissa is also credited with the construction of sixty-three other vihāras (*Mhv.* XXIV: 22). Accordingly there could have existed several other religious edifices built by him in the vicinity. Another important *dāgāba* in Mahāgāma that dates from ancient times is the Maṇicetiya (s.v.) which is identified with the Māṇik-vehera situated to the west of Tissa-väva. In close proximity to it is the Yaṭhālaya-vihāra erected by king Yaṭhālayatissa. The *Rasavāhinī* (p.108) records a monastery called the Mahāvāpi that existed in the same locality, where resided about hundred monks (*Ency.Bsm.*, Vol.II, p.90 b,91 b). Two other monasteries situated within close proximity to Mahāgāma were the Ambariya-vihāra (cf. Adikaram, *op.cit*, p.117) and the Anurārama built by king Vasabha (65-109 A.C. : *Mhv.* XXXV: 83: Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa*, trsl., p.258, n[1]). The Perumäiyan-kulam rock inscription discloses that king Vasabha had bestowed on Anurarama eight thousand *karisas* extent of land (*EZ*, Vol.I, p. 68). King Aggabodhi, an independent ruler of Rohaṇa in the 7th century A.C., constructed the Mahāpāli Hall, a refectory and a *pariveṇa* called Dāṭhaggabodhi (*Mhv.* LXV: 42; *DPPN.* I, p. 1068; also see *History of Ceylon*, p.314). One may find the remairss of the Mahāpāli Hall, which is said to have been built on the model of the Mahāpāli Hall in Anurādhapura (Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, Wiesbavden, 1960, p.56), among those ruins that are to be found in the vicinity of the Māṇik Vehera and the Yaṭāle Vehera (P.A.T. Gunasinghe, *op. cit*, p. 158). Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110 A.C.) has built another prominent stūpa in Mahagāma, namely the Candagiri Stūpa (*Mhv.* LX, 62), which is known today as the Sañdagiri Vehera (cf. Geiger, Cūlavaṃsa I, trsl., p.220,n[2]). It is also interesting to note that there were two stūpas in Mahagāma by the name of Thūpārāma. These were said to have been destroyed by Tamils (*ibid*, p.219 and 220, n[1]), but subsquently restored by Vijayabāhu I (*Mhv.* LX. 56). Since no other mention of these two stupas is found elsewhere, they might have been two insignificant stūpas; or else the term 'Thūpārāma' could probably has been used as a common epithet to denote some architectural feature of these stūpas[5]. King Nissaṅka Malla (1187-96 A.C.) claims that having visited ancient vihāras in Mahāgāma he caused repairs to be done to them (*EZ.* Vol. II, p.119). Shortly after Nissaṅka Malla's reign there arose political disturbances in the country that continued for centuries resulting in the néglect, decay and abandonment of most of the ancient stūpas in this part of the country. However, with the inauguration of archaeological research in the late 19th century, the buried cultural heritage of the Sinhalese in South Ceylon too was brought to light. As a result, most of these dāgābas in Mahāgāma, which were in ruins for centuries, had already been brought under the restoration and conservation programme of the Department of Archaeology.

Besides the main religious monuments in Mahāgāma there are also other traditional adjuncts with religio-architectural significance. One such is the *Vāhalkaḍa*, a feature common to the stūpas of Mahagāma and Anurādhapura. Although most of the architectural appurtenances in the southern capital are inferior to their counterparts in Anurādhapura in respect of artistic skill, the *Vāhalkaḍa* appears to be an exception. "Near the large *stūpas* at Tissamahārāma are to be seen sculptured architectural fragments of the same type as have been employed in the construction of the Anurādhapura *vāhalkaḍas*" (S. Paranavitana, *The Stupa in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, p. 56). Another architectural feature Mahagāma shared with Anurādhapura is the massive stone pillars, most probably the structural remains of *Uposthagaras*, dating from the early Anuradhapura period (S. Paranavitana, *Siṇhalayo*, Colombo, 1967, p.16). It is also evident that some guardstones and stone engravings found in Mahāgāma are quite old, probably dating from the same period mentioned above (cf. T. Ratanasara thera, *Tissamahāramaya*, p.51; *Bauddha Stūpa*, p.29). The moon-stone in Mahagāma, however, shows a marked deterioration when compared with those of the Anurādhapura period. The specimen discovered at Tissamahārāma dāgāba, which depicts figures of horse

5. *Thupārama* could be a generic term applicable to a particular type of monument, as in the case of the Thūpārāma at Anurādhapura. According to Paranavitana (The *Stūpa in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, pp.89, 94,fig.13), it is an edifice that has common architectural features with the very early circular *caityagharas*. The existing rock-cut example from Junnar presupposes wooden structures of which no examples are found in India (cf. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, p. 167, Woodcut 911 also see JUNNAR in *Ency. Bsm.*

and elphants only, is the only noteworthy one of its kind. The examples unearthed from other sites in Mahāgāma are, in fact, without any motifs or designs (T.Ratanasāra thera, *Tissamaharāmaya*, p.54). The other Significant archaeological finds in Mahāgāma are the traditional stone pitchers, stone troughs and a urinal stone (*ibid.* p.35), which were quite common among the archaeologicl finds in Anurādhapura. On the whole, the ruins of the capital of South Ceylon, however, do not display the same artistic skill manifested in their corresponding specimens in the northern capital.

Some of the sculptural remains in Mahāgama, as in the case of the aforesaid architectural remains, date back to the early Anurādhapura period. Specimens of Buddha images, depicting various schools of sculpture of the day, have been discovered from the ancient capital of South Ceylon. Nevertheless, special mention should be made of those Buddha images in the round found at the Tissamahārama vihāra which are believed to have been fashioned after the Amarāvati style of sclpture. It is argued that those Buddha images in the round belong to an indigenous style.[6] If that fact is established, then it should be said that, from early times that the indigenous school of architecture had been represented in Mahagāma as well.

During the ancient and mediaeval periods Mahāgama played an important role in the sphere of learning, which was exclusively ecclesiastical in character. The monasteries of the southern capital *claimed* collections of religious literature (Rahula, *op.cit*, p.134). The ancient manuscripts discovered in and around this capital would corroborate this fact. From very early times Tissamahārāma vihāra was the most outstanding seat of learning in the kingdom of Rohana. Mahasiva thera, who resided there, was reputed for his erudition. He "is reported to have taught eighteen great groups (*aṭṭhārasa mahāgaṇa*) both texts and commentaries (*atthavasena ca pālivasena ca*) day and night without much rest. Even the commentators (*aṭṭhakathā therā*) came to him to clear their doubts" (Rahula, *op. cit.* p.293; *AA* (SHB), p.24; *DA*, p. 521f).

Like in Anurādhapura, all the three fraternities existed in Mahāgāma as well (*Mhv.* LXX, 181; Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p.209). It is probable that the follower of the Mahāvihāra had their headquarters in Rohaṇa at the Tissamahārāma monastery. Although the Mahāyānikas of the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana too had their respective monasteries in Mahāgāma, it is not known where they were located. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (LX: 56) the relic shrines belonging to these three fraternities were destroyed by the Cola invaders.[7] Vijayabāhu I is recorded to have restored those later.

In ancient Ceylon, two great convocations were held twice a year-before and after the *vassana* (rainy) season respectively. One was held at the Mahāvihāra in Anuradhapura while the other was held at Tissamahārāma in Mahāgāma. At the Mahāgāma ceremony, all the monks in Rohaṇa used to assemble there in order to fulfil their *vassana* observances (cf.Rahula, *op.cit.*pp. 172, 207-08 and 296). Hence, it is evident that during the Anurādhapura period Mahāgāma functioned not only as a centre of learning, but also as a centre of ecclesisstical activity being second only to Anurādhapura in importance.

The *Visuddhimagga* (p.31) states that there was a cave called Kuruṇḍakamahāleṇa near Mahāgāma, which was the residence of Cittagutta thera. The cave was known to have been beautifully painted with murals, of which some traces can be seen even to-day (T. Ratanasāra thera, *Bauddha stūpa*, p.8), depictiong the story of the renunciation of the last seven Buddhas.[8] It is further mentioned how the king of that time,[9] yearning to pay homage to that thera, who was renowned for his virtue, employed a stratagem savage trick to get down the thera to Mahāgāma (cf. Rahula, *op.cit*, p.206 f.)

Another intersting fact to be noted in respect of the southern capital is the preaching of the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta*, which appears to have been a popular event there. Several instances are recorded in connection

6. For a critical study on this subject see ArtA (Vol. XIX, 3/4, p. 251 ff) and CJHSS (Vol. III, no.1, 1960, p. 59ff).
7. Geiger, however, believes that probably refers to the plundering of Rohaṇa by the Damiḷas in Mahinda V's time (*Cūlavaṃsa*, trsl. p.219, n4).
8. These murals, which could be treated as examples of earliest Sinhalese paintings, prove the existence of the art of painting in South Ceylon. Although some remnants of paintinga belonging to the Anurādhapura period have been discovered from most of the sncient kingdoms and hallowed places from Mahāgāma they they have altogether disappeared leaving only some faint traces, probably due to ravages of nature and time.
9. Rahula (*op. cit*, p. 207, n[2]) conjectures that it was king Kakavannatissa.

with the preaching of this particular sutta in Mahāgāma. When the *Dighabhāṇaka* thera named Abhaya discoursed on the *Mahāariyavaṃsapaṭipada*, the whole of Mahāgāma thronged to listen to him (*MA*. I., p.79). On another occesion, a thera from the Kuḍḍarajja province is said to have gone to Mahāvāpi-vihara, which was also in Mahāgāma, to listen to the preaching of the *Ariyavaṃsa Sutta*. The Preaching of this sutta was held there annually and people flocked from distanct places to listen to it (*Rasavāhinī*, p.108; *Ency. Bsm.* Vol.II. p.90 [b] and 91 [b]; Rahula, op.cit., p. 269f)

Several are the interesting episodes occurring in the texts that speak about the piety of the people of Mahāgāma. If their acts of piety, as found in the texts, were true, then it should be said of them that some of those acts are not in accordance with Buddhist teachings since they amount to self-mortification, an extreme rejected by the Buddha. Once, an *upāsika* went to Maṇicetiya with her son in order to listen to a sermon. As she was listening to the dhamma, her son was bitten by a serpent; but she did not take any notice of it through fear of interruption to her listening (*Rasavāhinī*, p.107f; cf. Rahula, *op. cit*, p.130, n 1). Quite analogous with the aforesaid episode is the story of the monk of the Kuddarajja monastery, who continued listening to a sermon preached at the Mahavāpi-vihāra in Mahāgama enduring the pains of a viper-bite (*gonasasappa*: Rasavāhinī, p.108)

The *Manorathapuraṇī* (*AA*. II, p.249) relates how a young monk residing at the Tissamahārāma monastery had walked to Dighavāpi covering in one day, the entire distance of nine *yojanas* in order to listen to the Mahājātakabhāṇaka thera there preaching the *Mahāvessantara Jātaka* (No 547).

Amidst extremely pious and generous citizens of Mahāgāma, there were also fiendish evil-doers. One of them was Vidhola, a hunter, who had resorted to brutal forms of slaying. Having listened to the *Devadūtasutta* preached to him by the monks of the Tissamahārāma monastery, he had ultimately given up killing. In the latter part of his life he became a monk and eventually attained arahantship at the Tissamahārāma monastery (*Rasavāhinī*, pp.236-39; cf. Rahula, *op.cit.*, p.252,n[5]).

There are instances to illustrate the fact that not only in respect of their piety, but also in their generosity, the people of the capital of South Ceylon were outstanding. The *Manorathapūraṇī* (*AA*. II, pp. 60-65) gives a very touching story of a poor man named Darubhaṇḍaka Mahātissa (s.v.), who lived in Mahāgāma in the time of king Kākavaṇṇatissa. Spending twelve *kahāpaṇas* he had earned by hard work, Dārubhaṇḍaka offered alms to Piṇḍapatiyatissa thera of the Ambariyavihara, while he was on his way to worship a cetiya[10] at Mahāgama (Adikāram, *op.cit.*,p.117). The *Rasavahinī* (p.279) gives yet another generous act performed by an inhabitant of Mahāgāma called Saṅigāmacca, who inherited from his father a precious pair of garments (*saṭaka yugaṃ*), a sword and a dagger. Once, he noticed that Nāga thera of the Koṭṭagallapabbata returning to the monastery without receiiving any alms. Thereupon, he pawned his priceless necklace and, with that money, offered alms to the thera.

There is evidence to believe that along with the devout Buddhists, the existence, particularly in the earliest period, of non-Budduhists like animists, devotees of Siva (*issara-bhattiya*) and *Paribbājakas* and their institutions in Mahāgama (*Rasavāhinī*, p.268; *Saddharamālaṅkāraya*, p.704 f). However, since no mention of them is made in connection with the later history of the southern capital, it is probable that they might have been gradually absorbed as Buddhism course of time. See further ROHAṆA, and TISSAMAHĀRĀMA.

C. S. Ranasinghe

MAHĀJANAPADA, Sixteen Great Countries (*soḷasa Mahā-janapadas*) mentioned in several places in the Pali Canon as political divisions of India at or shortly before the time when buddhism arose (*A.I.* p. 213; IV, 252, 256; 260). It is a mnemonic list usually given in pairs as Aṅga, Magadha; Kasi, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Ceti, Vamsa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra, Kāmboja. These names, as observed by Rhys Davids, "are names, not of countries, but of peoples as we might asy Italians or Turks". (Rhys Dacids, *Buddhist India*, Calcutta, 1950, p.16). and he further points out, that "the main idea in the minds of those who drew up, or used, this old list was still tribal and not geograpical. In several other places this list appears sometimes incomplete and with variations.

A less complete list is found in the *Janavasabha Sutta*. (*D*.II.p.200) where the first two and the last four countries have been omitted. The *Niddesa* includes the Kalingas to this mnemonic list of sixteen countries and substitutes the Yona for the Gandhara

(*Nid.* p.37). In Buddhist Sanskrit literature also a similar list is found and in this list Gandhara and Kamboja have been omitted and Sibi and Dasārna have been substituted (*Mhvu*, I. p.34). The Jaina *Bhagavatīsutra* gives a slightly different list of the sixteen people viz:- Aṅaga, Baṅga, Magaha, Malaya, Malava, Accha, Vaccha, Kocchaha, Pādha, Lāḍha Bajji, Moli, Kāsi, Kosala, Avaha and Sambhuttara (Hoernle, ed. The *Uvāsagadasao*, appendix II. Calcutta, 1985, *Saya* XV, *Uddesa* I, pp. 6-7) . According to Bhandarkar, "the Sixteen Great Countries embrace that portion of India which was colonized by the aryans at the time" (Bhandarkar, *Ancient History of India*, University of Calcutta, 1919, p.48, 56) In the above list Vajji and Malla have been mentoned by their tribal names. and they formed two confederacies. When referrence was made in the Conon (*supra*) to these countries it was almost always a specification by pairs like Anga - Magadha and Kasi - Kosalaj. etc. which gives the right to Bhandarkar, "there can be no doubt that the countries of each pair are contiguous to each other". Some of the countries mentioned in the list were known as far back as the Vedic literature (eg: Ceti, Cedi - Cadya occur in the *Rgveda* VIII. 5.37.9 and Maccha Skt. *Matsya (Satapathabrāhmana)*. From the lists of names of the countries mentioned above,there can be no doubt, that during the time of the composition of the mnemonic list the Mahājanapadas remained as sixteen states of varying size vilage kingdoms but during the life-time of the Buddha, Aṅga ceased to be an independent kingdom and was annexed to Magadha and Kāsi was incorporated into the Kosalan dominions. By this process of centralization, according to Bhandarkar (*op. cit.* p.48,57) there developed four monarchies namely Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa and Avanti and of these the most prominent was Magadha which was in the process of expansion and during the reign of king Ajātasātru the dominions of the Licchavis (i. e. the Vajji country) and Mallas and some parts of Kosala wich included Kāsi were annexed to Magadha. The Magadhan expansion continued till a century after the death of the Buddha, as Bhandarkar says, the Magadha empire gradually extended and swalloved up Kāsi Kosala Avanti and Vatsa and Ugrasena Mahapādma made himelf master of about that whole portion of India, i. e. Sixteen Great Countries into which India was divided in the Buddha's tims.

For details regarding each country see under each name.

M. Karaluvinna

MAHĀKACCĀNA was a celebrated disciple of the Buddha who was honoured by the Buddha himself as the chief of the exponents of the *dhamma*. His speciality was the exposition in detail of terse pithy statements of doctrinal import.

According to *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* (I. 483) Mahākaccāna was a brahmin well versed in the Vedas who succeeded his father as the chaplain of King Candapajjota of Ujjeni. On the instructions of the king he visited the Buddha in order to invite the latter to Ujjeni. Kaccana listened to the doctrine and attained arahantship. When he informed the Buddha the purpose of his visit the Buddha replied that it is sufficient now if Kaccana himself returned to Ujjeni.

Mahākaccāna seems to have spent some time in close association with the Buddha before taking up residence at Avanti. During this time he had the privilege of listening to the rich discourses of the Buddha which would have acted as wholesome seeds sown on fertile soil. Very soon he became renowned as a great exponent of the doctrine, and this fact is amply testified by *suttas* such as *Madhupiṇḍika, Mahākaccāna Bhaddekaratta* and *Uddesa Vibhaṅga* all of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. These were *suttas* delivered at Kapilavatthu, Rājagaha and Sāvatthi respectively, perhaps when Mahākaccāna accompanied the Buddha during the course of his missionary tours. In all these three instances Mahākaccāna is called upon by the monks to explain in detail a terse statement made by the Buddha. The *suttas* show Mahakaccāna as suffering a sense of embarrassment on being asked to explain in detail. The reason for his embarrassment is clear from the simile employed. Just like a man who is in need of timber overlooks the turnk, and seeks timber among the foliage, the monks too having missed the opportunity of getting full details from the Buddha come to him for details. However he explains the issuse involved in detail and with a sense of modesty adds that he understands it in this manner and monks might as well get the Buddha's explanation also. When Mahākaccana's explanation is reported back to the Buddha he heartily endorses the views saying that he himself would have given the very same explanations.

During the Buddha's life time itself Mahākaccāna seems to have gone into residence at Avanti Dakkhiṇāpatha. *Udāna* (p.57) and *Vinaya* (I. 194) both of which describe the same episode show that Mahākaccāna had already laid the foundation for a

school at Avanti. The conditions prevailing there were different to those in Magadha, and therefore Mahākaccana suggests, through his pupil Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa Tissa, that certain ammendments be made to some existing *Vinaya* rules in order to make life more comfortable, and relax the conditions laid down for some ecclesiastical acts for the convenience of the monks dwelling there. Buddha regards them as useful suggestions and readily grants the concessions. The school founded here was still in its infancy for it is reported that monks were so scarce that collecting together ten monks for an *upasampadā* was itself a difficult task.

According to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, 65) Mahākaccāna was residing at one time at Vāraṇa on the bank of Kaddamadaha. There he delivers a discourse (similar in essence to the *Kalahavivādasutta* of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*) to the brahmin Āramadaṇḍa on the causes of disputes. At the end of it, in reply to a question of the brahmin Mahākaccāna says that Buddha is residing in a city called Savatthi in the east *"atthi puratthimesu janapadesu Sāvatthi nāma nagaraṃ tattha so bhagavā etarahi viharati arahaṃ sammāsambudhao"*. The wording of the reply suggests that Sāvatthi was not known at Vāraṇā" and the mention of *puratthimesu janapadesu* shows that the scene of this discourse was not situated in the east. Perhaps Vāraṇā was a town in the Dakkhiṇāpatha, the locality connected with the missionary zeal of Mahākaccāna. Therefore it may be surmised that this too is one of the places at Avanti to which he took the message of the Buddha.

The Kuraragharapabbata at Avanti seems to have been the headquarters of Mahākaccāna's missionary activities. It was from here that Soṇa was dispatched to the Buddha at Sāvatthi with a 'report' of the prevailing conditions. Here even lay folk, both men and women, seem to have taken a keen interest in studying the scripturees. Haliddikāni (*Saṃyutta* III, 9) quotes a stanza from the *Māgandiya sutta* of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (giving the exact reference) and requests Mahākaccāna to give a detailed explanation thereof. Mahākaccāna gives an eloquent explanation reading deep meanings into the apparently simple stanza, displaying profound philosophicla maturity to the entire satisfaction of the intelligent interlocutor. Again the same inquiring householder approaches Mahākaccana with a question from the *Sakkapañha sutta* (mentioned by name in *Saṃyutta* III, 13). The textual refereneces quoted are interesting for it shows that Mahākaccāna had introduced and popularised the study of the sacred scriptures as well. *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (IV, 115) shows Haliddikāni asking another question pertaining to sense perception. *Aṅguttara nikāya* (V, 46) records a discourse occasioned by a question raised by Kāli, an *upāsikā* in Kuraraghara. It is noteworthy that Mahākaccāna answers all these questions without any hesitation or embarrassment. As Buddha is not present in the immediate neighbourhood, he solves all problems posed before him as an excellent authority on the subject. Thus we see the early fruits of the pioneering efforts of Mahakaccāna in the propagation of the Buddha's teachings in Avanti. Not only did he succeed in gathering new adherents but also created a keen interest in the intelligent lay public for the serious study of the newly introduced doctrine.

Makkarakaṭa forest must have been another station of Mahākaccāna in Avanti. This may have been a brahmin stronghold, for the arrogant words used by the pupils of Lohicca (*Saṃyutta* IV, 116) show that they not only despised the shaven headed ascetics, but also envied (or were alarmed at) their growing popularity. *Ime pana muṇḍakā samaṇakā ibbhā kiṇhā bandhaupādāpaccā āimesam bhāratakānaṃ sakkata garukatā mānitā pūjitā apacitā tijata.* Reviling in these contemptuous terms they deliberately tried to cause annoyance to Mahākaccāna who was perhaps a new comer there. Undaunted by these words Mahākaccana silences them and addresses them in a few verses in which he unequiovcally exposed the brahmin hypocrisy and the futility of their practices. The brahmin pupils immediately inform their teacher that *śramaṇa* Mahakaccāna categorically denounces brahmin *mantras-yagghe bhavaṃ jāneyya samaṇo Mahākaccano brahmaṇānaṃ mante ekaṃsena apavadati paṭikkosati.* Hearing this complaint Lohicca, in his indignation hastens to question Mahākaccāna for an explanation. Then follows a detailed exposition at the end of which the arrogant Lohicca was converted. This episode perhaps portrays the resistance and opposition offered by brahmanism in Avanti in general, and how prudent Mahākaccāna was able to overcome them successfully with far reaching results.

Mahakaccāna seems to be an early pioneer to introduce the message of the Buddha to Madhurā as well. The king of Madhurā was called Avantiputta (*Majjhima* II, 83) which suggest that Madhurā belonged to the Western region. According to the *Madhurasutta* Mahākaccāna visited Madhura and was residing at Gundavana. Soon after arrival his fame

spread far and wide as an eloquent orator and a learned ascetic. and no less a person than the king himself pays him a visit. The question asked by the king shows that brahmanism was widespread in that locality. Mahākaccāna delivers a discourse on the much vexed problem of the brahmins' claims to superiority to the entire satisfaction of the king. Expressing his sincere appreciation of the rational exposition the king takes refuge in Mahākaccāna, saying *Kaccānaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*. Mahākaccana hastens to correct the king that he should take refuge in the teacher and not in himself. The king is eager to visit the Buddha, but to his disappointment is told that the Buddha has already passed away (*Majjhima* I, 90). *Aṅguttaranikāya* (I, 67) records another discourse of Mahākaccana at the Gundavana in Madhurā. Here a brahmin named Kandarāyana inquires why the *śramaṇas* do not pay homage to the brahmins and points out that it betrays lack of good manners not to respect brahmins (*tayidaṃ bho Kaccāna na sampannaṃ evāti*). This comment of Kandarayana shows to what an extent the brahmin influence had permeated the day to day life of society, for courtesy shown to brahmins was vested with conventional ethical dignity. It is therefore no wonder that both discourses recorded as having been delivered at Madhurā by Mahākaccana are related to the caste-pride of the brahmins.

This available evidence shows that Mahakaccāna was the pioneer who introduced the message of the Buddha to brahmanic territory of the West. Himself born and bred a brahmin in the west. Mahakaccāna would have been most suitable for the task which he took upon himself. As he had the advantage of knowing thoroughly the ins and outs of both contending schools he was able to handle this stupendous task with tact and confidence. In the choice of his disciples he seems to have acted with mature discrerion. It is said that he dissuaded Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa Tissa from joining the order thrice. It was only after realising the persistent earnestness of Soṇa that he conferred ordination on him. Thus his far-seeing wisdom would have cautioned him to recruit only the strong charactered whose convictions were sincere and firm. He won the hearts of the intelligent public by inculcating in them a thirst for knowledge of the *dhamma*. Whenever it was possible to tolerate he tactfully tried not to violate the long cherished die-hard customs of the people. For instance, because the people in Avanti believed in the efficacy of *udakasuddhi* he urged the Buddha to permit frequent baths for monks residing there. But this policy of following the path of least resistence did not deter him from exposing the vanity of brahmanic pretensions whenever necessary (e. g. *Saṃyutta* IV, 116).

The school established by Mahākaccāna in Avanti seems to have made steady progress. Not only did the number of adherents increases gradually, but it also produced monks of very great learning. *Saṃyuttanikāya* (IV, 283, 285) shows the maturity of of knowledge and discipline of the immediate disciples of Mahākaccana. Isidatta, a pupil of Mahākaccāna, who was described as the most junior (*sabbanavaka*) in a congregation of monks was the only one who could save much embarrassment for the Elders in whose company he was by answering a question raised by a householder named Citta at Macchikāsaṇḍa. Later the senior most Elder speaks in appreciation of Isidatta's wisdom and admits that the solution to the problem did not occur to him. A similar situation was repeated at another occasion, where Citta discovers that this learned monk was none other than his own *adiṭṭhasahāya* Isidatta of Avanti. Joyfully he invites Isidatta to reside at Macchikāsaṇḍa promising to provide him with all comforts. Isidatta thanks him for his kindness, and quietly leaves Macchikāsaṇḍa for good (*Saṃyutta* IV, 288). This last act is a good clue to his strength of character for it is said *sakkāro kāpurisena dujjaho*. Such was the calibre of the pupils of Mahākaccāna belonging to the school he established at Avanti.

After the demise of the Buddha the school at Avanti seems to have developed into an influential seat of learning. Hundred years after the *parinibbana* of the Buddha the Vesalian monks started indulging in ten unlawful practices. This was soon discovered by Yasa Kākaṇḍaputta who was an honest, virtuous and law-abiding disciple. He soon recognised the imminent danger threatening the *sāsana* and decided to take firm action. Perhaps, considering the degenerate state of monastic affairs he decides to seek the support of the others in order to raise their voice in protest. Immediately he thinks of the seat of learning in Avanti and sends a messenger seeking their co-operation. As a result of Yasa's painstaking endeavours, the *Cullavagga* records, a great assembly of arahants took place at Ahogaṅga in order to discuss their plan of action. It is interesting to note that the majority of arahants taking part in settling this issue, which they themselves described as difficult and unruly (*kakkhaṃ ca valañ ca*), hailed from Avanti. The east which was the cradle of Buddha's missionary activities had, a century after the demise of the Buddha, to solicit the support of the west

in order to crush its own growing indiscipline. The shift of emphasis from east to west becomes all the more conspicuous when Avanti of this day is compared with Avanti of Buddha's day, when monks were so scarce that an *upasampadā* had to be postponed for three years for want of a quorum of ten. The east too felt, and regarded with envy and alarm, the growing importance of the west, for they contended that Buddhas are born in the east and therefore the easterners are the upholders of truth and virtue.

According to tradition Mahinda the celebrated disciple who introduced Buddhism to Sri Lanka also hails from Ujjeni. Thus he may have been a representative of the school established by Mahākaccāna in Avanti, sent here to convert Sri Lanka. History shows that Buddhism took deep roots in the island and moulded the national character with a distinctive Buddhist stamp. This mission. Perhaps may be considered as the crowning glory of the untiring efforts of Mahākaccāna in the propagation of Buddhism.

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MAHĀKARUṆĀ. Though the term *Karuṇā* occurs frequently as one of the four *brahmavihāras*, the term *mahākaruṇā* does not seem to occur in any of the first four *nikāyas*. In the Pali canon *mahākaruṇā* occurs for the first time in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. In the *Ariyapariyesanasutta* (*M*. I, 169) the Buddha says that he looked at the world with his Buddha-eye out of compassion for the worldlings (*sattesu kāruññataṃ paṭicca*) and saw beings at different stages of development. But *karuṇā* is rarely used to denote the Buddha's compassion, the term used instead is *anukampā* with much greater frequency. The Buddha urged his first sixty disciples to go out into the world and spread the sublime message out of compassion for the world and spread the sublime message out of compassion for the world (*lokānukampāya*, *Vin*. I, 21). In the *Dhammadāyādasutta* (*M*. I, 12) the Buddha expresses the wish that his disciples should be inheritors of his *dhamma* and not material gain because he has compassion for them (*atthi me tumhesu anukampā*). In a number of *suttas* the Buddha exhorts his disciples saying: I have done everygthing that could possibly be done by a kind sympathetic teacher for his disciples. There are shady trees, go and meditate. Do not have room for regret later on (*M*. I, 118, iv, 373, *A*. IV, 139).

The Buddha's compassion for the suffering masses stands out in bold relief through his words and deeds in numerous *suttas* even though it is not spelt out in words such as *karuṇā* and *anukampā* always. Tirelessly the Buddha walked miles to meet people who could benefit from his teachings. He walked about 120 miles from Gaya to Benares in search of the *Pañcavaggiya* monks. Aṅgulimāla was a ruthless murderer, but fearlessly the Buddha approached him out of compassion to rescue him from an imminent spiritual disaster (*M*. II, 98). There are two recorded instances when the Buddha personally attended on sick monks (*Vin*. I, 301; DhpA. I, 319). He even pronounced that attending on the sick is equval to attending on the Buddha himself.

The episode of Suppavāsā (*Ud*. p. 16) is a clear example which illustrates the power of the Buddha's compassion. She was suffering labour pains for seven days after an unusually prolonged pregnancy and the matter was reported to the Buddha. The Buddha pronounced the words; "May Suppavāsā be well and may she deliver the baby with ease." Immediately after his compassionate benediction the baby was delivered. When Suppavasā invited the Buddha and the monks for a meal the next day the Buddha went so far as to change an appointment which was already made in order to accommodate Suppavāsā's request, as he felt that her need was greater.

On another occasion the Buddha postponed a tour that was planned on the request made by a slave girl named Puṇṇā as she was promised freedom from slavery by her master if she succeeded in getting the Buddha to postpone his tour. (*M A*. IV, 34)

In all these episodes the compassion of the Buddha is quite obvious, but no particular words have been used to express it.

There are instances when the Buddha resorted to harsh action out of compassion for his disciples. According to the *Udāna* (p. 25) once the Buddha chased away a group of 500 monks for noisy behaviour. They went to the bank of the river Vaggumudā and strove hard to attain arahantship as they felt that the Buddha chased them away out of compassion to discipline them. After they attained arahantship the Buddha sent for them and sat in meditation with them for a long time. A similar instance of chasing away monks for noisy behaviour is reported in the *Cātumasutta* (*M*. I, 457).

The *Abhayarājakumārasutta* (*M*. I, 395) illustrates with a simile the Buddha's use of severe measures out of compassion. Supposing a child put a pebble in the

month, an elder would force it out even if the mouth bled, because the elder has compassion for the child. Similarly sometimes the Buddha uses stern measures to discipline his monks. Pothila (*DhA.* III, 417-21) was a learned monk, but he had not disciplined his mind according to what he learned. Therefore in order to incite him a on to meditative action the Buddha jibbed him by addressing him as Tuccha Pothila, Empty Pothila.

With great compassion the Buddha went from place to place touring a large area in northern India spreading his message, preaching tirelessly for 45 years. He has preached to earnest seekers even when he was on his alms round as is evidenced from the episode for Bāhiya Dārucīriya (*Ud.* p. 8). On his death-bed too he counselled Subhadda, the mendicant who came in search of his help. The Buddha was also much concerned about the feelings of those who supported him. He left a message of comfort for Cunda the black-smith who served him the last meal. Cunda should not be remorseful that the Buddha fell ill after partaking of the dish prepared by him. In fact great merit accrues to him who served the last meal.

It appears that the later stratum of the Pali canon has paid special attention to compassion as a great quality of the Buddha, and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* mentions the term *mahākaruṇa* for the first time. This text maintains that the Buddha's knowledge of great compassion is one of the knowledges he does not share with his disciples - a notion not found in the first four *nikāyas*. According to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* when the Buddha sees that worldlings are burning and that they are without refuge etc. great compassion descends on him. The text devotes an entire chapter to the question of the Buddha's attainment of great compassion (*Pts.* I, 126-1).

By the time of the commentarial tradition the great compassion of the Buddha had assumed much importance. The commentaries to the first four *nikāyas* open with the phrase *karuṇāsītalahadayaṃ* meaning the Buddha who has a heart cooled by compassion. Dhammapāla's commentaries to *Udāna, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu* and *Itivuttaka* start with *mahākāruṇikaṃ nāthaṃ* as an epithet of the Buddha, meaning the Lord of great compassion. It appears that the concept of *mahākaruṇā* is an offshoot of this concept of *Buddhacakkhu*. The commentary to the *Brahmajālasutta* (*D A.* I, 47-48) gives a succinct account of the Buddha's daily routine. According to this the Buddha surveys the world with his Buddha eye during the latter part of the third watch of the night, in order to locate people who have done meritorious deeds during the dispensation of previous Buddhas. *Mahākaruṇāsamāpatti* is not mentioned here, but *Buddhacakkhu* is mentioned in its place. In the commentary to the *Aṅgulimālasutta* too *mahākaruṇā* is conspicuous by its absence. It merely says *taṃ divasañ ca Bhagavā paccūsasamaye lokam olokento Aṅgulimālam disvā* etc. But it is noteworthy that *mahākaruṇāsamāpatti* is mentioned in a number of places in the commentaries. The Buddha is said to rise from the *mahākaruṇāsamāpatti* during the last watch of the night to survey the world to pick those who had the potential to benefit from his teaching. The following are a few such references: *SA.* I, 68; *AA.* I, 322, 150; *DhA.* I, 26, 367 etc. In some places *Buddhacakkhu* too is mentioned along with *mahākaruṇāsamāpatti* as in *SA.* I, 319 which runs as *mahākaruṇāsamāpattiṃ samāpajjitvā Buddhacakkhunā lokaṃ volokento* ....

There are a number of *jātakas* which portray compassion and altruism as great qualities of the Bodhisatta. The *Sasajātaka* and the two *Mahākapijātakas* can be cited as three outstanding examples. In the former the Bodhisatta was a hare who sacrificed himself by jumping into a fire to provide the flesh of his body to a brahmin who came begging for food. In the *Mahākapijātaka* No. 407 the Bodhisatta who was born as a monkey helpled his large retinue to cross over a river along a long bamboo shoot the end of which he himself held fast against a tree. The retinue carefully crossed over to safety without hurting their leader, but Devadatta who was the last to cross jumped on his back so hard that the impact broke his back. Thus through compassion and resourcefulness the Bodhisatta helped his retinue to reach safety at the cost of his own life, The next *Mahākapijātaka* No. 516 relates how the Bodhisatta as a monkey helped a man to come out of a deep pit into which he had fallen. Later this man tried to kill the Bodhisatta monkey to get its flesh to satisfy his hunger. The injured monkey leapt out to safety, but through compassion for this man who was lost in the forest, showed him the way out of the forest jumping from tree to tree out of reach of the treacherous man. There are very many similar *jatakas* which portray the compassion of the Bodhisatta.

AA. III, 10 maintains that the knowledge which enabled the Buddha to penetrate into the truth and gain enlightenment has wisdom as its origin, while the

knowledge with which he preached to make others realise the truth has compassion as its origin (*paññāpabhāvitaṃ attano ariyaphalāvahaṃ paṭivedhañāṇam, karuṇāpabhāvitaṃ sāvakānaṃ ariyaphalāvahaṃ desanāñāṇaṃ*). According to *AA.* V, 84 *paṭivedhapaññā* has *samādhi*, concentration as its basis, while *desanāpaññā* has *karuṇā*, (compassion) as its basis. The Visuddhimagga (I, 203) states that the Buddha's attainment of knowledge finds fulfilment in omniscience, while his attainment of virtuous conduct finds fulfilment in great compassion (*vijjāsampadā Bhagavato sabbaññutaṃ pūretvā ṭhitā caraṇasampadā mahākāruṇikataṃ*). With omniscience he knows what is good and bad for all beings, with great compassion he prevents them from doing what is bad, and encourages them to do what is good (*so sabbaññutāya sabbasattānaṃ atthānatthaṃ ñatvā mahākāruṇikatāya anatthaṃ parivajjetvā atthe niyojeti*).

By the time of the *ṭikās* the division of the virtues of the Buddha into two main categories as *karuṇā* and *paññā* had become so proninent that even the three *piṭakas* have been categorised accordingly. The *Dīghanikāya Aṭṭhakatha Ṭīkā* (*DAT.* I, 2) maintains that in preaching the *vinaya, karuṇā* is predominant in preaching the *abhidhamma, paññā* is predominant and in preaching the *suttas*, both *karuṇā* and *paññā* are predominant. The *DAT.* I, 3 further adds that all Buddha qualities have compassion as their matrix (*karuṇānidānā hi sabbe pi Buddhaguṇā*).

The *Visuddhimagga Ṭīkā* (p. 192 Sinhala ed.) has a long discussion to show that wisdom and compassion play complementary roles in the attainments of the Buddha. The translation of the passage would run as follows:

"Here the teacher's possession of knowledge shows the greatness of his wisdom (*paññamahattaṃ*) and the possession of virtuous cenduct shows the greatness of his compassion (*karuṇāmahattaṃ*). It was through wisdom that the Exalted one attained the kingdom of righteousness (*paññāya dhammarajjappatti*), and through compassion that he shared it (with the rest of humanity) through compassion he endured it. Through wisdom he fully understood the suffering of others, through compassion he undertook to treat them. Through wisdom he came face to face with *nibbāna*, through compassion he attained it. Through wisdom he crossed over himself, through compassion he made others to cross over. Through wisdom he accomplished Buddhahood, through compassion he accomplished the function of a Buddha.

Or through compassion he faced the round of births as a Bodhisatta, through wisdom he took no delight in it. Similarly through compassion he practised non-violence towards others, through wisdom he feared none. Through compassion he protected others to protect himself, through wisdom he did not torment himself. Therefore of the four types of people beginning with the one who works for his own welfare, he accomplished the state of the fourth type. Similarly through compassion he became the support of the world, through wisdom he became his own support. Through compassion he had the humility (of a Bodhisatta), through wisdom he had the dignity (of a Buddha). Through compassion he helped all beings, through wisdom associated with that compassion he kept a mind detached from them all. Through wisdom he had a mind detached from all things, through compassion associated with that wisdom he was helpful to all beings. Just as the Blessed One's compassion was devoid of sentimental affection and sorrow, his wisdom was free from thoughts of 'I' and 'mine'. The Buddha's accomplishment of knowledge and conduct (*vijjācaraṇa*) has the speeial quality of being perfectly pure as they purify each other."

When *mahākaruṇā* of the Buddha is compared with *karuṇa* as a *brahmavihāra* enjoined on all disciples one sees a *marked* difference in degree and intensity between the two concepts. The great compassion of the Buddha moves him to work for the liberation of all beings, while the compassion of the disciple is only a means of getting rid of his negative emotions and egoism for the purpose of personal liberation. According to the Pali texts Buddha Gotama as ascetic Sumedha first resolved to attain Buddhahood at the feet of Buddha *Dīpaṅkara* in spite of having the possibility of attaining *nibbāna* during that very life-time (*J.* I, 13-14). No doubt he was moved by compassion for suffering beings, and admiration for Buddha Dīpaṅkara but the Pali texts extol the virtue as a great determination. According to the commentary on the *Khaggavisāṇasutta* (*Sn* AI, 49 and *J.* I, 14-15) the resolve (*abhinīhāra*) to attain Buddhahood, and the ardent desire (*chandatā*) for the same goal were so strong and unshakable that he would not hesitate to suffer for aeons even in hell if that would give him enlightenment. Even if he had to traverse the entire universe

filled with burning embers, he would not hesitate to do so if that would give enlightenment. Even if the whole universe was filled with thorns and spikes, he would not hesitate to walk across if enlightenment was assured. Even if the whole universe was covered with water and he had to swim across, ... even if the whole universe was overgrown with bamboo bushes and he had to clear his way through, he would not hesitate to do so if that would guarantee enlightenment. The firm determination, while the Buddhist Sanskrit texts (*Mahāvastu* II, 164) cite the very same to show the depth and force of the great compassion which moves the heart of the Bodhisattva.

The concept of compassion reaches its climax with the Bodhisattva doctrine in Mahayana Buddhism. A Bodhisattva is a spiritually mature being who is greatly moved with compassion for the suffering masses. He contemplates how he could best relieve them of their suffering and realises that it is only by becoming a Buddha that he could do so. Then he sets about cultivating methodically the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicittotpāda*) so that it becomes a firm determination, an all-conceiving concern. The texts delineate two important methods of systematically conceiving the spirit of enlightenment. One is the "mother-recognition technique" and the other is the technique of the "equal exchange of self and other".

The first method depends on the conviction that in this beginningless *saṃsāra* all beings are born over and over again a countless number of times. All these beings have limitless potential and they all desire happiness and dread suffering. Then one contemplates one's own mother who is biologically the closest being to oneself. As there have been innumerable births there have been innumerable mothers too. In this beginningless cycle of births all beings would have been one's mother at some time or other, and one continues to relate emotionally and imaginatively to all species of living beings as a child to its mother. This culminates in a profound emotional experience of the biological unity of all living beings. Then one begins to appreciate all the loving care one has received from one's own mother and the kindnesses one's mother has done to oneself. Similarly in all previous births all beings as mothers would have rendered such loving service to oneself. Contemplating thus one begins to feel great tenderness towards all beings. As all beings who as mother have meant so such to oneself, and as they are undergoing great suffering, one is moved with a profound sense of compassion to repay the kindnesses they have done to oneself. The only way one can give them lasting happiness is by becoming Buddha. Thus moved by great compassion for beings who have been recognised as one's own mother, one conceives the spirit of enlightenment and resolves firmly to become a Buddha.

The other major techinque of conceiving the spirit of enlightenment is called the "equal exchange of self and other." This consists of the meditation on the equality, the essential sameness of self and others. Just as one wants happiness and does not want suffering so all beings desire happiness and wish to avoid suffering. So one should identify oneself with all beings and take their suffering as seriously as one's own suffering. Moved by great compassion one conceives *bodhicitta*. *Śāntideva* in his *Bodhicaryāvatāra* immortalises this *bodhicittotpāda* and the compassion which moves one to make his great resolve, in a long poem:

May I be the doctor and the medicine
May I be the nurse
For all sick beings in the universe
Until everyone is healed.
May a rain of food and drink descend
To clear away the pain of thirst and bunger
And during the aeon of famine
May I myself change into food and drink

Thus *bodhicitta* comprises a special form of love and compassion for all beings. The magnificent conception of this will to enlightenment is a central moment in the evolutionary career of a living being, the moment in which a new spirit of love and compassion pervades its whole life and destiny, and its further evolution becomes a purposive, creative progress.

Not only at the outset of a Bodhisattva's career does compassion operate. The scriptures whow it present through all later stages of a Bodhisattva's development. Through compassion he practises virtues, purifies his dispositions, undertakes discipline, cultivates heroism and even sacrifices himself for the good of the others. The *Vyāghrī Jātaka* is a well known illustration of a Bodhisattva's self-sacrifice motivated through compassion for a hungry tigress who was about to devour her own cubs being unable to bear hunger. Another moving episode relates how the Bodhisattva was sailing in a ship with five others when the ship met with disaster. Moved by compassion for his companions the Bodhisatta thought of a way of saving them. He asked them to cling on to his body and

committed suicide by slitting his throat with a blade. As the sea does not keep a dead body the waves cast the body ashore and the five companions who clung to the body were thus saved. Such is the compassion of a Bodhisatta who sacrifices himself for the sake of others. Thus *karuṇā* is intimately associated with the *dānapāramitā*. Through compassion a Bodhisattva perfects himself in every way and at last attains Buddhahood. According to a famous simile in the Lotus Sūtra he then becomes like a lifegiving rain cloud, pouring forth the rain of his teaching upon all creatures. At the highest stage of attainment compassion reaches an infinite dimension dispensing its bounty impartially in all directions.

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MAHĀKASSAPA one of the eminent disciples of the Buddha and the chief among those who practised minute observances of form (*etadaggaṃ dhutavādānaṃ yadidaṃ Mahākassapo* A. I. p. 23; *Mama sasane dhutavādānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ Mahākassapo aggoti theraṃṭhānantare thapesi AA*. I. p. 183). He was born in a *brahman* village called Mahātittha in Magadha. His father was *brāhman* Kapila and his mother was called Sumanādevī. He was named Pippilāyana. (The *Apadana* gives his father's name as Kosigotta, *Kosigotto dijo pitā, AP.* II. p. 583 v. 56). Mahākassapa was endowed with seven qualities of a great man (*Mahākassapassa sattamahāpurisalakkhaṇapatimaṇḍitam, AA. 1*, p. 182), but no specific mention is made of the several marks. To distinguish him from other Kassapas and also as he was possessed of great virtues he was called Mahākassapa.[1]

When Mahakassapa grew up, he was reluctant to marry in spite of the wishes of his parents, but ultimately, to escape from their importunities, he agreed to marry if a suitable wife could be found resembling a statue which he had made of gold. With difficulty, his parents' endeavour to find a suitable wife resembing the statue was successful. Bhaddakapilāni, who was born in the family of the brāhman Kosigotta in the city of Sāgala in the country of Madda, fulfilled all requirements. But the two of them wrote to each other suggesting that somebody else should be found as a match for each. Their attempts failed as their letters were intercepted and finally they were married. By mutual consent, the marriage was not consummated as the two spent the night separated by a chain of flowers.

Pippali was very rich. He had immense wealth. He used twelve measures of perfumed powder, each measure a *magadhanāli*, daily for his person alone. He had sixty lakes with waterworks attached (*yantabaddāni sattimattāni talakāni ibid.*) and his workmen occupied fourteen villages each as large as Anuradhapura, and his workplace was extended over twelve *yojanas*. He possessed fourteen troops of elephants and an equal number of troops of horses and chariots. (*cuddasaatthā nīka ..... assānīka .....rathānīka. op. cit.* p. 178).

One day Pippali went to one of his fields which was being ploughed and saw the birds eating the worms turned up by the plough. On being told that the sin therein was his, he decided to renounce all his possessions. In the meantime, Bhaddā-Kapilānī had seen watching the crows eating the little insects which ran about among the sesame seeds that had been put out to dry. When her attendant woman told her that hers would be the sin for their loss of life, she also determined to renounce the world.[2] The husband and wife,

1. *Mahākassapoti uruvelakassapo, Nadīkassapo, Gayākassapa, Kumārakassapo time khuddānukhuddakathere upādāya ayam mahā, tasmā Mahākassapo ti* vutto *AA*. I. p. 163:
Mahantīhi Sīlakkhandahi Samannāgatattā, *VibhA*. p. 60).

2. Mahākassapa told Ānanda that when he decided to embrace the religious life that he left his sumptuous home, renounced his eighty cartloads of gold, fivehundred bondsmen, fivehundred head of cattle, fivehundred fields and villages, ninehundred and ninety-nine ploughs, goodly and shiny ploughshares made at Kapila. And, taking my one patched cotton cloak with me, I wandered out in quest of whatever arahants there might be in the world (*Mhvu*. III. p. 50).

finding that they were of one accord, took yellow rainments from their wardrobe, cut off each other's hair, took bowls in their hands, and passed out through their weeping servants to all of whom they granted their freedom, and departed together, Pippali walking in front. But soon they agreed that it was not seemly they should walk thus together, as each will prove hindrance to the other, and also they thought that the people would say that these two, though taken to religious life are unable to give up each other, and they thus having thought ill of the two of them, accrue sins (*ime pabbajitvāpi vinābhavitum nasakkontīti cintetvā amhesu paduṭṭha citto mahājano apāyapūrako bhaveyya. AA.* I, p. 180). And at the cross-roads, he took the right and she the left and the earth trembled to see such virtue. The Buddha, sitting in the Gandhakuṭi in Veluvana, knew what the earthquake signified, and having decided to receive them, walked three *gāvutas*, sat down at the foot of the Bahuputtaka Nigrodha, which was between Rājagaha and Nālandā, resplendent in all the glory of a Buddha. Pippali saw the Buddha thus seated and recognising him at once as his teacher prostrated himself before him saying, "my teacher, lord, is the Exalted one, His disciple am I"[3] (*satthā me bhante Bhagava sāvako ham asmīti S.* II. p. 220).

The Buddha told him to be seated and he accepted Pippali as his pupil saying "I would give you inheritance" (*dāyajjaṃ te dassāmi, AA.* I. p. 182). The Buddha in three homilies gave Mahakassapa his ordination viz:- There shall be a lively sense of fear and regard (*hirotappa*) towards all monks, seniors, novices and those of middle status; whatever doctrine I shall hear, bearing upon what is good, to all that I will hearken with attentive ear, digesting it, pondering it, gathering it all up with my will; and happy mindfulness with respect to the body shall not be neglected by me (*S.* II. p. 220). The Buddha having given instructions as to Mahakassapa's training, set off to Rājagaha with Mahākassapa as his attendant (*SA.* II. p. 170; *pacchāsamaṇaṃ katvā AA* I. p. 182). On their way the Buddha desired to sit at the foot of a tree by the side of the road and Kassapa folded his under-robe of Cut Clothes (*paṭapilotikānaṃ saṃghāṭiṃ*) and offered it to the Buddha as his seat. The Buddha sat on it and feeling it with his hand praised its softness. Kassapa, thinking that the Buddha preferred to wear it, requested, the Buddha to accept his under-robe of patched clothes, and on the suggestion put to him by the Buddha, agreed to wear the Buddhas rough rag-robe past wear which he would praise above the whole world, and the robes were thus exchanged. This exchange of robes is very significant, in that, it had never happened before and Mahākassapa always referred to it with pride as an exclusive privilage he had (*S.* II. p. 221). Mahākassapa himself is mentioned to have told that the earth quaked in recognition of his virtues, for no ordinary being would have been fit to wear the Buddha's rag-robe. It was after the exchange of robe that Mahākassapa took to the practice of minute observances of form from the Buddha, and having practised for seven days, he attained Arahantship on the eighth day[4] (*Buddhānam santike yeva terassa dhutaguṇe samādāya sattadivasamattaṃ puthujjano hutvā aṭṭhame aruṇe saha paṭisambhidāhi arahattam pāpuṇi. AA.* I. p. 183).

The *Manorathapūraṇī* records several birth stories of the past of Mahākassapa and Bhaddā as husband and wife and companions in good works. In the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, Kassapa was a rich householder named Videha in the Deer park called Khema in the city of Haṃsavatī. He married Bhaddā and was very devoted to the Buddha. One day he heard the Buddha's third disciple in rank, Nisabha by name, being awarded the place of pre-eminence among those who observed austre practices and he registered a wish for a similar honour for himself in the future. He listened to the sermon preached by the Buddha and invited the Buddha and the *saṃgha* for alms and for seven

3. The account given in the *Nikāyas*, of Pippali's renunciation, does not confirm with the account given of Mahākassapa in the *Manorathapūraṇī*. The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* mentions that while Mahākassapa was still leading household life, it cooured to him that 'Stuffy it is to live in a house, a dusty procedure. Free as air is life out of the world ...." and decided to shave his hair, don the saffron raiment and go forth from home into the homeless. And taking an under-robe made of cut cloth and following the example of the world's Arahants, left home for the homeless and met the Teacher at Bahuputtaka *cetiya*. He was never a pupil of any other teacher, save the Exalted one. *S.* II. p. 219).

According to the *Mahavastu* Pippali met the Buddha at the foot of the Bahuputraka Cetiya at the end of a full year's time after renouncing the worldly life (*Mhvu.* III. p. 51).

4. The *Mahāvastu* mentions that when Pippali bowed down and told the Buddha 'Lord Thou art my Master; I am thy disciple, the Buddha is mentioned to have said "Even so, Kassapa, I am your Master, you are my disciple ...." (*Mhvu.* III. p. 51).

days he offered alms to the Buddha and sixty-eight hundred thousand of monks and made his wish. He was inspired by Nisabha and further he learnt from the Buddha of the qualities in which Nisabha excelled the Buddha himself and determined to obtain them. When he wished for pre-eminence among those who observed austere practices, the Buddha Padumuttara assured him that during Gotama Buddha's time his wish will succeed. Having this as his goal, he expended all his energies in good deeds in all his subsequent births.

Ninety-one *Kappas* ago, in the time of Vipassi Buddha, Kassapa was known as the *brahman* Ekasāṭaka and Bhaddā was his wife. He was very poor, and once he went to listen to the *dhamma* preached by Vipassi Buddha. He was impressed by the Buddha and offered to the Buddha the only cloak (*ekasāṭaka*) the two of them (the husband and wife) had to put on in turn when they go out of the house. King Bandhuma who was in the same assembly came to know of his conduct and was very pleased and supplied him a pair of cloaks which also he offered to the Buddha, and this was repeated till he kept two cloaks for him and his wife and offerred the rest to the Buddha. On a subsequent occasion the king was very much pleased with the *brāhman's* conduct and wanted to have his services and therefore made him his *Purohita* (*AA*. I. p. 167). In the interval between Konāgamana and Kassapa Buddhas, once Kassapa was born in the family of a householder in Benares. He helped a *pacceka* Buddha to dry his robes without damage and wished that he experience no downfall in his future births. Then again in a subsequent birth he was a treasurer (*seṭṭhi*) in the same city and married Bhaddā, but because of an evil deed she had done in the past, she became unattrative to him and he left her, but took her as wife again when she became attractive. Having seen from what had happened to his wife, and thinking of the great powers of the Buddhas, the *seṭṭhi* worshipped Kassapa Buddha's golden *cetiya* with costly robes and decked it with golden lotuses each having the size of a cartwheel. In the next birth he was Nanda-the king of Benares and as he had given robes in the past lives, he had thirty-two wishfulfilling trees (*Kapparukkhas*) which provided him and all people of his kingdom with garments. At the suggestion of his queen, he made preparations to feed holy-men and fivehundred *pacchekabuddhas*, sons of Paduma came to accept his gifts. In that life, too, Nanda and his queen renounced the world and became ascetics. They developed *jhānas* and were reborn in the *brahma* world (*AA*. I. pp. 163-175).

Mahākassapa was not present at the final passing away of the Buddha. He was journeying with a company of monks from Pāvā to Kusinārā when he met an *Ājivaka* carrying in his hand a *mandārava* flower picked up by him from among those which had rained from heaven in honour of the Buddha, and it was the *Ājivaka* who told Mahakassapa the news. It was then the seventh day after the Buddha's death. (*D*. II. p. 162) Rockhill records that according to the Tibetan sources, at the passing away of the Buddha "the Venerable Mahākāsʹyapa was stopping in the Kalantakanivasa Bamboo grove at Rajagrha; and when the earth quaked, he sought what might be the reason, and he saw that the Blessed one had utterly passed away ..... then he thought that Vaidehiputra Ajātasatru, who has such infinite faith, suddenly heard that the Blessed one has died, would die of hemorrhage and therefore, he told the *brāhman* Vassakāra to make arrangements to get Ajātasatru recovered. After giving these instructions, Mahākassapa started for Kusinārā, and Vassakāra did as Mahākassapa had told him and Ajātasatru's life was saved (Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1907, pp. 141-42).

The Mallas, who took upon themselves the privilege of attending to the funeral rites, had been trying in vain to set fire to the pyre of the Buddha. On being questioned by the Mallas, the venerable Anuruddha who was present at the place of the pyre with the other *arahant theras*, told them that the pyre would not be kindled until Mahakassapa and his fivehundred companions had saluted the Buddha's feet (*D*. II. 162). When Mahākassapa was nearing Kusinārā people saw him coming from afar and took perfumes and wreaths etc. and went out to meet him and then they bowed down at his feet and followed after him to the place where the Blessed One's body was (Rockhill, *op. cit.* p. 144). Mahākassapa went to Makuṭabandhana, to the shrine of the Mallas where the funeral pyre of the Buddha was made and he arranged his robes on one shoulder, and thrice walked reverently round the pyre, and then uncovering feet, he bowed down respectfully at the feet of the Buddha (*D*. II. p. 163). Buddhaghosa elucidates that the Buddha's feet became visible from out of the pyre in order that Mahākassapa might worship them when he wished for the same. Then he stretched his hand and got hold of the feet up to the calves and kept-them on his head (*Thero ... hatthe pasāretvā suvaṇṇa-vaṇṇa-satthu-pade yāva goppakā gāḷham gahetva attano siravare patiṭṭhāpesi DA*, II. p. 603). Mahākassapa was followed by his fivehundred colleagues, and when all of them had worshipped, the

feet disappeared and the pyre kindled of itself (*D.* II. p. 163). Tibetan sources mention that Mahākassapa changed garments which enshrouded the Blessed One, for others from his store; having replaced the cover of the coffin, the fire burst forth from the pile and consumed the body (Rockhill, *op. cit.* pp. 144-45). After the division of the relics among those who clamoured for a share of the remains of the Buddha, Mahākassapa who was mindful of the enshrinement of relics by Emperor Asoka, ... had a great and well-guarded treasure made at Rājagaha out of the share of relics that king Ajātasatthu received as his share (*Mhv.* xxxi. *vv* 20, 21).

After the funeral rites were over, Mahākassapa was thoughtful of the words uttered by Subhadda at Pāvā, on the announcement of the passing away of the Buddha. Mahākassapa considered the implications of the remark 'That they were well rid of the *Mahāsamaṇa* and could now do as they liked,' and thought of the desirability of holdings a recital of the Buddha's teachings. Mahākassapa announced his intentions to the assembled monks and as he was the most senior among them (*saṃghathera*) and as having being considered by the Buddha himself to be fit for such a task, he was supported by other *theras* to make all necessary arrangements. (*DA.* I. p. 3. *VA.* p. 30). It was decided by a formal resolution (*ñatti*) moved by Mahākassapa at the assembly of theras to hold the Recital (*saṃgāyana*) during the rainy season (*vassa*), and according to his wishes all monks, other than the fivehundred *arahants* chosen for it, left Rajagaha. The fivehundred *arahants* who were selected met for the recital under the presidency of Mahākassapa and recited the *dhamma* and *vinaya* and it became known as the *Therasaṃgīti* or *Theravāda*.

According to the Tibetan sources, Mahākassapa is mentioned to have expounded the *mātrkā* to preserve the sense of the *sūtrānta* and *vinaya* as it was spoken. (Rockhill *op. cit.* p. 160) and when Mahākassapa had finished compiling the metaphysical parts of the doctrine, the *yakṣas* obove the earth praised Mahākassapa and other *arahants* (*op. cit.* p. 161). In Buddhist literature Mahākassapa figures as a monk *par excellance*. In addition to the position he held among the eighty great disciples (*asiti mahāsāvaka*) he is classed with Moggallāna, Kappina and Anuruddha for his great psychic (*iddhi*) powers (*S.* I. pp. 145-46). The Buddha regarded Mahākassapa as equal to himself in exhorting the monks to lead the active and zealous lives. According to the *Kassapa-saṃyutta*, the Buddha invited Mahākassapa with the words 'Exhort the brethren, Kassapa. Give them discourse on doctrine, Kassapa. Either I, Kassapa, or thou must exhort the brethren. Either I or thou must give them discourse on doctrine" (*S.* II. pp. 203-210). The Buddha also thought Mahakassapa equal to the Buddha himself in his power of attaining the *jhānas* and abiding therein (*S.* II. pp. 210-14). Mahākassapa was considered by the Buddha as an example to others in this great contentment and his ability to win over families by his preaching (*S.* II. pp. 194-95). These are clear indications that the Buddha was grooming Mahākassapa to lead the *saṅgha* after the Buddha's passing away. In point of fact, after the passing away of the Buddha, there did arise an occasion for Mahākassapa to dispell all malicious talk about his authority to lead the *saṅgha* and he did put his claim in the words "Verily, friend (Ānanda), if one might speak truly of me (i. e. Mahākassapa), truly might he say that here is a very son of the Exalted one, born of his mouth, born of the Norm, created by the Norm, heir to the Norm,[5] who has received from him his rough cast-off rag-robes. 'I friend, according as I desire (can) attain to and abide in each of the several nine *Jhānas* I (can) enjoy the diverse forms of mystic potency, hear by *deva*-hearing, know by will the will of other beings, remember my former lives, see by *deva*-sight the fates of other beings, and, by the withering of the intoxicants I have entered into and abide in that sane and immune emancipation of will, emancipation of insight which I have come thoroughly to know and to realize for myself even in this present life.[6] It were as easy, friend, to imagine that an elephant seven to eight cubits high could be hidden under a young palm leaf, as to imagine that the six super-knowledges of me could be hidden (*S.* II. pp. 221-22; *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, pt. II. *PTS.* pp. 149-50). This passage recapitulates the salient qualities of Mahākassapa.

5. According to the *Mahāvastu*, he was a probationer of eight days and on the ninth day attained perfect knowledge (*Mhvu.* III. p. 53).

6. According to a passage in the *Aggañña Sutta*, all Sākyaputtiya Samanas had the right to call themselves as veritable sons of the Exalted one, born of his mouth .. etc. provided their faith in the Tathāgata is settled, rooted, established and firm, a faith not to be dragged down by recluse or brahmin, by *deva* or Māra or Brahma or any-one in the world (*D.* III. p. 84).

Mahākassapa was willing to help monks to lead the higher life and he gave exhortations to them (*A.* V. pp. 161-64; *Thag.* vv. 1051-57; 1072-81). Though Mahākassapa was a *thera* of the highest calibre, he was very sensitive to criticism. He would not address monks unless he was convinced that they were tractable and differential to instructions. When the Buddha requested him to exhort the brethren he is mentioned to have refused to exhort, politely with the words "Just now, lord, it is difficult to speak to the brethren. They are in a state that makes it difficult to speak to them. They are intractable, they pay no deference to instruction ..." Mahākassapa's explanation for refusing to address the brethren shows that he had good reasons for not wishing to address recalcitrant monks (*S.* II. pp. 203-210). Once, according to the *Kuṭidūsaka Jātaka*, one of his disciples - Ulunka-saddaka, annoyed by some admonition by Mahākassapa burnt the latter's grass hut while he was away on his alms round (*J.* III. p. 71). He was very reluctant to preach to the nuns; but once he was persuaded by Elder Ānanda, and acompanied by him he visited the nunnery and gave a discourse to the nuns. At the end of the discourse a nun-Thullatissā by name, openly reviled Mahākassapa for what she considered his impertinence in having dared to preach in the presence of Elder Ānanda whom she held in high esteem. She expressed her displeasure in the words "As if the needle-pedlar were to deem he could sell a needle to the needlemaker" (*S.* II. pp. 215-16). Once there arose occasion for Mahākassapa to blame Elder Ānanda and called him 'boy' (*Kumārakavādena*), and Thullanandā who heard that Mahākassapa had blamed Elder Ānanda, was displeased and gave vent to her displeasure saying 'What now, does Mahākassapa, who was once a heretical teacher, deem that he can chide Elder Ānanda the learned sage, calling him 'boy'. This thoughtless comment of Thullanandā made Mahākassapa feel sorry for her and he made it clear that he acknowledged no other Teacher save the Buddha (*S.* II. p. 219). Thus it is seen that Mahakassapa was not popular among the nuns.

Mahākassapa loved Elder Ānanda dearly. According to the Tibetan sources, the Buddha shortly before his death had told Ānanda that he must turn to the *Bhikkhu* Mahākassapa as to the head of the order (Rockhill. *op. cit.* p. 150). When Elder Ānanda attained arahantship in time to attend the first council which consisted of five hundred arahants, Mahakassapa was delighted and when Ānanda appeared before the arahants, it was Mahākassapa who led the applause (*DA.* I. p. 10). But he was more concerned about the preservation of the good name of the Order and once he blamed Elder Ānanda for admitting into the order new members incapable of observing discipline, and tour about with young brethren who have the gates of their senses unguarded, who are without moderation in their food, who are not devoted to vigils. He said "Corn-trampler me thinks art thou! Despoiler of families... thy following, friend Ānanda, is breaking up. Thy youngsters, friend, are melting away! This boy does not know his own measure." (*S.* II. pp. 219). Elder Ānanda was annoyed at being called 'boy' and his protest was 'Surely my head is growing grey hairs, your reverence' and expressed his displeasure at being called 'boy'. According to Buddhaghosa, this incident took place after the passing away of the Buddha and when Ananda was a new arahant. It is possible that the two nuns mentioned-Thullatissā and Thullanandā Championed Elder Ānanda against Mahākassapa (*S. op. cit; Mhvu,* III, pp. 48-49).

Rockhill mentions, that according to the Tibetan sources when the first council was to be held Kassapa excluded Ānanda from the assembly and when Elder Ānanda wanted some explanation from Kassapa for his action, Kassapa charged Ānanda for having done wrong to the congregation (for charges against Ananda see. ĀNANDA). And if the *saṃgha* was willing Mahākassapa agreed to appoint venerable Ānanda to bring water to the assembly. Ānanda had no other alternative as he was instructed by the Buddha before his passing away to "be patient and do as ......he (i. e. Mahākassapa) shall tell thee." When the work of the first council was over Mahākassapa said to Ānanda 'The Blessed One committed to my care the keeping of the doctrine and passed away. Now, when I shall have passed away, thou shalt take care of the doctrine" (Rockhill. *op. cit.* pp. 149-61).

Venerable Sāriputta had high regards for Mahākassapa. The *Kassapasaṃyutta* records two discussions they had when they were staying at Benares, at Isipatana in the Deer Park. On one occasion Sāriputta consulted Mahākassapa on the necessity of zeal (*anātāpī*) and ardour (*anottāpī*) in the attainment of Nibbana (*S.* II. pp. 195-97) and on the other occasion the subject of discussion was the existence of *Tathāgata* after death (*hoti tathāgato parammaraṇā* *S.* II. pp. 222-23). Mahakassapa with suitable explanations cleared Sāriputta's doubts. On the other hand Kassapa also had regards for Sāriputta in that when

Mahākassapa saw the great honour paid to Sāriputta by the *devas* he rejoiced greatly and broke forth into song (*Thag*. vv. 1082-85).

Mahākassapa took a serious note of the growing laxity among members of the order with regard to the observance of rules, even in the very lifetime of the Buddha and the falling off in the number of those attaining arahantship. He asked the Buddha as to why formerly there were both fewer precepts and more brethren were established as arahants, and now-a-days there are more precepts and fewer brethren are established as arahants, and consulted the Buddha as to the remedy available. (*S*. II. pp. 223-25). Since he was concerned about the discipline of the *Saṃgha*, at the first council, Mahākassapa opposed to do away with minor rules of the order for it would lead to slackness among the monks and contempt from the laity (*V*. II. p. 287). Mahākassapa led an exemplary life of a monk. He used to dwell in the forest, subsisting solely on alms, wearing rag robes, always content with little, holding himself aloof from society, ever strenuous and energetic. It was his belief that these observances are a must for a monk. Once at Rājagaha in the Bamboo-Grove, the Buddha requestid Mahakassapa.to give up his cherished practices-i.e. his coarse-rag-robe etc. and dwell near the Buddha, since the Buddha felt that Mahākassapa was too old to continue the same practices. Then Mahākassapa begged to be excused, and when questioned by the Buddha as to the advantage that Kassapa had discerned by practicing that course of his for a long time, he replied that 'Discerning two advantages, lord, have I for many a day lived on this wise:- discerning mine own present happiness, and being filled with compassion for them who will come after us. For surely these may fall into error .....". Then the Buddha praised him with the words "Well said Kassapa .... For the good of many, truly, hast thou thus practised, for the happiness of many folk, out of compassion for the world...." and permitted him to continue his practices (*S*. II. pp. 202-203). The *Theragāthā* contain forty verses whose authorship is attributed to Mahākassapa and the verses contain his sentiments (*Thag*. vv. 1051'-1090). Once when Mahākassapa was at Pipphaliguhā, he stared suffering from a dire sickness. The Buddha visited him and inquired about his health. When Mahākassapa complained of his sickness the Buddha reminded him of the seven *bojjhaṅgas* which he had practised. Then Mahākassapa had the knowledge that he had profited by the Buddha's teaching. This thought calmed his blood and purified his system and the sickness fell away from him 'like a drop of water from a lotus leaf' (*S*. V. pp. 79-80; *SA*. III. 128). The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* records a story according to which a goddess wanted to wait upon him as she was benefited in her former birth by Mahākassapa. But he refused permission as it might lead to a bad example (*DhpA*. III. pp. 6-9).

Owing to his great saintliness, even the gods vied with each other to give alms to Kassapa. Once when he had risen from a trance lasting seven days, fivehundred nymphs, wives of Sakka, appeared before him, but, snapping his fingers, he asked them to depart, saying that he bestowed his favours only on the poor. When Sakka heard of this, he disguised himself as a weaver worn with age, and accompanied by Sujātā transformed into an old woman who appeared in a weaver's hut along the lane where kassapa was begging. The ruse succeeded and Kassapa accepted their alms; but soon Mahākassapa discovered the truth and chided Sakka. Sakka begged pardon and on being assured that in spite of his deception the almsgiving would bring him merit, he flew into the air shouting '*Aho dānam, parama dānam, Kassape suppatiṭṭhitam*'. The Buddha heard his cry and sympathised with Sakka in his great joy (*DhA*. I, pp. 423-430). But on one occasion so great was the importunity with which the monks of Ālavi had wearied the people, that even Mahākassapa failed to get alms from them (J. II. 282). According to the *Visuddhimagga*, once when Mahākassapa was begging for alms in Rājagaha, in the company of the Buddha, on a festive day, fivehundred maidens were going to the festival carrying cakes. They saw the Buddha but passed him by, and gave their cakes to Kassapa. The Elder made all the cakes fill just his single bowl and offered it to the Buddha (*Visuddhimagga*. Vol. II. p. 403).

The story of Kālavilangika is an example of Mahākassapa's compassion for the poor. Once after a seven days' trance, he went to the house of Kālavilanga and received alms from his wife, which he gave to the Buddha for their greater benefit. The Buddha took a portion of this and gave the rest to fivehundred monks and said that as a result Kālavilangika would become a *seṭṭhi* within seven days (*MA*. II. p. 812).

Mahākassapa lived to be very old and when he died, he had not lain on a bed for one hundred and twenty years. He was one hundred and twenty years old at the time of the first Council (*SA*. II. p. 130). According to Northern sources Kassapa did not die; he dwells in the Kukkuṭagiri mountain wrapt in

samādhi awaiting the arrival of Metteyya Buddha (Beal, II p. 142). A tooth of Mahākassapa was enshrined in the Bhimatittha vihāra in Ceylon (*cv.* Lxxxv. 81).

The Tibetan sources mention that when the work of the first council was over, Kassapa thought that he had done all that was necessary for the preservation of the doctrine for future generations, his time had come to pass away. So he entrsuted the care of the doctrine to Ānanda and worshipped all the objects of worship that were available of the Buddha and wanted to see King Ajātasatthu. Since the latter was asleep Mahākassapa climbed the southern peak of Kukuṭupāda mountain and having arranged a grass mat in the centre of the three peaks he went through the marvelous manifestations customary on such occasions and entered *parinirvāna*. When Ajātasatthu heard of Mahākassapa's passing away, he was grieved and climbed the mountain and built a *caitya* on the spot of Kassapa's passing away and honoured it (Rockhill, *op. cit.* pp. 161-62). According to some scholars Mahākassapa died after twenty years of the Buddha's passing away (Hsiun Tsang). Mahākassapa is several times referred to in the *Jātakas*. He was the father in the *Gagga Jātaka* (*J.* II. p. 17), the *brāhman* in the *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (*op. cit.* p. 381); one of the *devaputtas* in the *Kakkāru Jātaka* (*J.* III. p. 90), Meṇḍissara in the *Indriya* (*op. cit.* p. 469) and *Sarabhaṅga Jatakas* (*J.* V. p. 151); the father in the *Padakusalamānava Jataka* (*J.* III. p. 514), the teacher in the *Tittira Jātaka* (*op. cit.* p. 545), Mātali in the *Bilārakosiya Jātaka* (*J.* IV. p. 69), one of the seven brothers in the Bhissa Jataka (*op. cit.* p. 314), the bear in the *Pañcuposatha Jātaka* (*op. cit.* p. 332), the chaplain in the *Hatthipāla Jātaka* (*op. cit.* 491), Vidhura in the *Sambhava Jātaka* (*J.* V. p. 67), the senior ascetic in the *Saṅkhapāla Jātaka* (*op. cit.* p. 177), Kulavaddhana Seṭṭhi in the *Cullasutasoma Jātaka* (*op. cit.* p. 192), Suriya in the *Suddhabhojana Jataka* (*op. cit.* p. 412), the tree-spirit in the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka* (*op. cit.* p. 511), the father in the *Sāma Jātaka* (*J.* VI. p. 95), and Sūra-vāmagotta in the *Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka* (*op. cit.* p. 157). *DPPN.*

M. Karaluvinna

MAHĀMAṄGALA SUTTA See **MAṄGALA SUTTA**

MAHĀMATI, the bodhisattva, who is given as the chief interlocutor in the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*. He is there called the bodhisattva the great-minded (*bodhisattvaḥ mahāsattvaḥ*[1]) and is the leader of the large company of the learned and wise men who were surrounding the Buddha at the time the *sūtra* was preached. He is the only one who interrogates the Buddha and hence he becomes the only one to whom the Buddha addresses himself in this *sūtra*.

When Rāvaṇa invited the Buddha to preach in Laṅkā, Mahāmati was the only other person that was personally requested to accept the invitation. Once the invitation was, accepted and the Buddha and the retinue were conducted to the city, Mahāmati was specially selected to interrogate the Buddha as he was the best speaker (*vadatāṃ varaṃ*; *Laṅka.* I, V. 28) among those who were present and hence the most qualified to undertake the responsiility. He is described as a great debator and a powerful *yōgī*, (*vādināṃ tvaṃ mahāvādī yōgīnāṃ yogavāhakaḥ: ibid. v. 30)* and also as a highly proficient person *(visārada.)*

Prior to the preaching of the *sūtra* proper, the Buddha is made to laugh and this laughter becomes an occasion for Mahāmati to begin his interrogation, of the Buddha. The Buddha praises him for accepting the responsible task of interrogating him on deep philosophical problems. Subsequently (Ch. II) before putting his long series of questions he introduces himself to the Buddha as a person who is well-versed in the Mahāyāna (*Mahāyāna-gatiṃ gataḥ*: II, *v.* 9). Henceforward the dialogue continues and no personal information about him is given. D.T. Suzuki, in the introduction to his translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra,* (pp.XV-XVI) makes the following observations about Mahāmati: "The Bodhisattvas, who have gone up successively all the rungs of the Bhūmi ladder, and who are thus capable of extending their help over us, are really our own brethren. Therefore Mahāmati of the Laṅkā opens his questions generally with this "I and other Bodhisattvas etc.' Mahāmati is our mouthpiece voicing our wants and aspirations." It is sometimes supposed that Mahāmati of the *Laṅkavatāra* is none other than the Well-Known Mahāyāna bodhisattva Mañjusrī (See Charles Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p.54).

1. This is a very common epithet of the bodhisattvas as they are referred to in Buddhist Sanskrit works.

It is possible that Mahāmati was a learned man in pre-Vijayan Sri Lanka who had met the Buddha when he paid his first visit to the country. This surmise becomes possible when one considers the references to king Rāvaṇa, Laṇkāpura and the Malaya mountain in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. God Sumana of Samantakūṭa may be compared with Mahāmati.

A.G.S.Kariawasam

MAHĀMĀYĀ. Many legends have gathered round the birth of the Bodhisatta in his final birth and it is mainly in those accounts that references are found to Mahā Māyā Devi. In whatever text they are found, whether in the Pali canon or in the Sarvāstivāda Sanskrit accounts such as the *Lalita vistara* and the Lokottaravāda Sanskrit work, the *Mahāvastu*, the legends bear a striking resemblance to each other. The *Lalita vistara* and *Mahāvastu* have far more embellishment though they conform to the same framework found in the Pali texts with very few differences. However, in the Sanskrit texts mentioned the embellishment seems to allow a tendency towards the Lokottaravāda dogma of the Buddha being supramundane, whereas the Pali canon emphasises a natural interpretation of the legends concerning the Bodhisatta's birth.

What is underscored in the Pali canon, then, is the human nature of the Bodhisatta's birth. That is to say, he was born naturally from a human father, king Suddhodana of Kapilavatthu, and a human mother, queen Mahā Māyā. It is mentioned in all the accounts that the Buddha's previous birth had been in the Tusita heaven from where he descended into his mother's womb in the fullness of time. The *Soṇadaṇḍa sutta*[1] explicitly states that the Buddha was born from the union of his father and mother:

"Samaṇo khalu bho Gotamo ubhato sujāto
mātito ca pitito ca
saṃsuddha - gahaṇiko yāva sattamā
pitāmaha yugā akkhitto anupakkuṭṭho Jātivādena"

That is to say, he was born of pure descent on both sides, through the mother and through the father down through seven generations with no slur put upon him and no reproach in respect of birth.

The *Mahāpadāna suttanta*[2] states:

"Bhagavato mārisa suddhodana rājā pitā, Māyā devi mātā janetti, Kapilavatthu-nagaram rājadhānī."

That is, the father of the Buddha was king Suddhodana and was given birth to by Māyā devi in the royal city of Kapilavatthu.

Again, in *Apadāna* ii[3] Dhammaruci thero's biographical verses relate the story that the previous Buddha Dipankara told Sumedha that in the same cycle of time (*kappa*) Buddha Gotama will come into being and that he will be born from his mother Māyā Devi and father, Suddhodana:

"Imassa janikā mātā Māyā nāma bhavissati
pitā Suddhodano nāma, ayaṃ hessati Gotamo."

In Apadāna ii[4] Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī' s verses state that her father was Añjanasakko and her mother Sulakkhanā and that she married Suddhodana in Kapilavatthu. Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī was queen Māyā's younger sister. Both sisters married king Suddhodana.

Thera Kāludāyin's verses[5] in the *Theragāthā* also confirm the fact of the Buddha's natural birth from a father and a mother:

"Surely a hero lifts to lustrous purity Seven generations past wherever he is born and so methinks can He, the vastly wise, the god of gods. In thee is born in very truth a seer. Suddhodana is named the mighty prophet's sire, And mother of the Buddha was (our queen) Māyā. She, having borne the Wisdom-being in her womb, found, when the body died, delight in Tusita. She, Gotamid, dying on earth, deceasing hence, now lives in heavenly joys attended by those gods."

1. *Soṇadaṇḍa sutta, D.I. S.B.B., P.T.S.*, edited by Max muller, London, (1899) 1977, translated by T.W. Rhys Davids, P. 113.
2. *Mahāpadāna Suttanta, D.* II, p.52
3. *Apadāna* II, p. 429.
4. *Ibid.* p. 538 vs. 115
5. *Theragāthā*, Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Baddhists*, P.T.S., London, (1909) 1964 *vv* 533-534.

Mrs. Rhys Davids has given a very free translation of the word 'Mahesi' (Mahaisi from Sk. maharsi) which is used as a mere epithet of the Buddha in Buddhist poetic literature. It dose not have the usual Biblical connotation of 'prophet'.

The union of the Buddha's parents is recognized explicitly in the Tibetan *Vinaya* also.[6]

The *Avidūrenidāna* or second part of the introduction to the book of *Jātaka* stories[7], which is a canonical book belonging to the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, states that the Bodhisatta while in the Tusita heaven surveyed the world, looking for a suitable place in which to take a human birth. He then selected the Middle country (Majjhima Desa) in Jambudīpa (India) within the Khattiya clan in Kapilavatthu and king Suddhodana to be his father:

"*Suddhodano nāma rājā me pitā bhavissatīti ...*"

Further, it states concerning the mother whom he saw and selected,

"*Tato mātaraṃ vilokento Buddhamātā nāma lolā surādhuttā na hoti, kappasatasahassaṃ pana pūritapāramī, jātito paṭṭhāya akhaṇḍapañcasīlā yeva hoti, ayañ ca Mahāmāyā nāma devī edisā, ayañ ca me mātā bhavissatīti pan assa ayuṃ" ti dasannaṃ upari sattadivasāni passi.*"

He saw that his (future) mother was not fickle or greedy, not given to intoxicants and had been for a period of one hundred thousand cycles (*kappa*) of time developing qualities (suitable to be a mother of a Buddha which she had previously determind) and had estabblished herself in observing an unbroken record of following the *pañcasīla* (five precepts) and that her name was queen MahāMāyā. He also saw that the balance of her life span remaining was limited to ten months and seven days.

The account goes on to relate that on the full moon day of *Uttarasaḷha Nakkhatta*, after the seven day Āsala festival in which queen Mahāmāyā participated, she had a perfumed bath, spent four hundred thousand on a generous almsgiving, partook of a delicious meal of fine food, then took upon herself the *Uposatha* vows of chastity and kept the fast. While sleeping she had a dream. The four Regent Gods of the four Quarters lifted her in her bed and took her to Himavā (Himalayas) and placed her under a Sala tree on Manosilātala mountain. Then their wives came and took her to Anotatta lake, bathed her to wash away all human impurities from her, clad her in divine robes, anointed her with scented perfume, decked her with divine flowers and led her into a golden palace situated on a silver mountain and laid her down on a divine couch. Then the Bodhisatta in the form of a white elephant, bearing a white lotus in its gleaming silver trunk, trumpetting all the while, circumambulated her bed three times and striking her right side, entered her. Thus the Buddha's conception took place in his mother's womb. When she woke up, she told the king of her dream and he summoned several brahmin sages to interpret the dream. From that day of the conception, she was guarded by the Four Regent Gods and she had no desire for men. The child in her womb could be seen from outside. After ten months, she wished to return to her parents' home at Devadaha but the way she broke journey at the Lumbini Grove and there, while holding on to the branch of a Sāl tree, she was delivered of the Bodhisatta.

Another account in the *Jātaka* stories[8] relates that Māyā resolved to be a mother of a Buddha during the time of Buddha Vipassi, ninety one cycles of time before she was born as Māyā Devi. In that narative it is said that a certain sub king sent king Bandhuma a gift of a golden wreath worth a hundred thousand pieces of money with precious sandalwood. The king had two daughters and he gave the sandalwood to the elder and the golden wreath to the younger. Both wished to offer the gifts to the Master. The elder powdered the sandalwood and filling a golden box with the powder, reverently sprinkled the powder on Buddha Vipassi's golden hued body and scattered the balance over the floor of his cell, making the wish at the same time that she would in a future birth, be the mother of a Buddha such as he.

As a consequence of her deed, she was born in the Tavatimsa heaven and at the close of her life span was granted ten boons by God Sakka. She requested that

6. Rockhill, p. 15, quoted more in detail by Foucaux, Rgya tch'er pa, Vol. 2. P. xxi
7. J. I, edited by V. Fausboll. P.T.S. London. (1877) 1962, pp 49-50
8. J. VI edited by Prof. E.B. Cowell, translated by E.B. Cowell and W.H.D. Rouse, PTS. London. (1895) 1973 480f

she be born with dark eyes, dark eyebrows, dark hair, to be named Phusati, to have a son, to keep a slim figure, to have firm breasts, soft skin and to save the condemned. She was then born as Phusati, the mother of the Bodhisatta, king Vessantara. She was born as Māyā in her following birth.

In the *Acchariyabhūtadhamma sutta*[9] the Buddha requests Ven. Ānanda to repeat to a gathering of bhikkhus what he had related to him earlier. An extract of the *sutta* is given below:

"Face to face with the Lord, revered Sir, have I heard, face to face have I learnt: "When, Ānanda, the Bodhisatta is entering his mother's womb, the Bodhisatta's mother is virtuous through her own nature, restrained from onslaught on creatures, restrained from taking what has not been given, restrained from wrong enjoyment of pleasures of the senses, restrained from lying speech, restrained from the occasions of slothfulness resulting from (drinking) strong intoxicants. And inasmuch, revered sir,.....I regard this too as a wonder, a marvellous quality of the Lord's.

"Face to face with the Lord, revered Sir, have I heard, face to face have I learnt: "When, Ānanda, the Bodhisatta is entering his mother's womb, no desire connected with the strands of sensual pleasures arises in the Bodhisatta's mother towards men, and the Bodhisatta's mother is not to be transgressed against by any man of infatuated thoughts." And inasmuch revered sir,....I regard this too as a wonder, a marvellous quality of the Lord's.

"Face to face with the Lord, revered Sir, have I heard, face to face have I learnt: "When, Ānanda, the Bodhisatta is entering his mother's womb, the Bodhisatta's mother is enjoying the five strands of sensual pleasures and she diverts herself, endowed with and possessed of the five strands of sensual pleasures." And inasmuch, revered sir,....I regard this too as a wonder, a marvellous quality of the Lord's.

"Face to face with the Lord, revered Sir, have I heard, face to face have I Learnt: "When the Bodhisatta is entering his mother's womb, no ailment whatever arises in the Bodhisatta's mother, the Bodhisatta's mother is at ease, her body not tired: and within her womb the Bodhisatta's mother sees the Bodhisatta complete in all his limbs, his sense-organs perfect. As, Ānanda, an emerald jewel of lovely water and well cut into eight facets might be strung on a thread - a deep green or yellow or red or white or an orange-coloured thread and as a man with vision, having taken it in his hand, might reflect: "This is an emerald jewel of lovely water, it is well cut into eight facets and strung on a thread - a deep green---or an orange-coloured thread", even so, Ananda, when the Bodhisatta is entering his mother's womb... the Bodhisatta's mother sees the Bodhisatta, complete in all his limbs, his sense-organs perfect. "And inasmuch, revered sir ...I regard this too as a wonder, a marvellous quality of the Lord's.

"Face to face with the Lord, revered Sir, have I heard, face to face have I learnt: "Ānanda, the Bodhisatta's mother dies seven days after the Bodhisatta is born and arises in the Tusita group." And inasmuch, revered sir ,...I regard this too as a wonder, a marvellous quality of the Lord's.

"Face to face with the Lord, revered Sir, have I heard, face to face have I learnt: "While, Ānanda, other women carry the child in their womb for nine or ten months before they give birth, the Bodhisatta's mother does not give birth to the Bodhisatta in this way. The Bodhisatta's mother carries the Bodhisatta in her womb for exactly ten months before she gives birth." And inasmuch, revered sir .... I regard this too as a wonder, a marvellous quality of the Lord's.

"Face to face with the Lord, revered Sir, have I heard, face to face have I learnt: "While, Ānanda, other women give birth sitting or lying down, the Bodhisatta's mother does not give birth to the Bodhisatta in this may: the Bodhisatta's mother gives birth to the Bodhisatta while she is standing."

According to the Dictionary of Pali Proper Names[10] Mahāmāyā's father was the Sakyan Añjana of Devadaha, son of Devadaha akka and her mother was Yasodhara, daughter of Jayasena (*Mhv* ii 17ff). Daṇḍapāni and Suppabuddha were her brothers and Mahāpajāpatī, her sister. Elsewhere, her father is called Mahā-Suppabuddha (*Thig.* A.141) while Apadāna II 538

9. *M.* III pp. 166-167
10. G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, London (1937) 1974

gives her mother's name as Sulakkhanā. Both Mahāmāyā and Mahāpajāpatī were given in marriage to king Suddhodana. The Buddha, it is said, was born to Mahāmāyā when she was between 40-50 years of age. (*Vibh* A. 278)

The Buddha is said to have visited Tāvatiṃsa heaven immediately after he performed the twin miracle at the foot of the Gandamba tree, on the full moon day of Āsallha, and there, during the three months of the rainy season, he stayed preaching the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* to his mother, Māyādevaputta, who came there to listen to him, seated on Sakka's *paṇḍukambasilāsana* at the foot of the Päricchattaka tree. It is said that during this time, at certain intervals, the Buddha would return to earth, leaving a seated image of himself in Tāvatiṃsa heaven to continue the preaching while he attended to his bodily needs, begging alms in Uttarakuru and eating his food on the banks of Anotatta lake where Sāriputta waited on him and learnt of what he had been preaching to the devas. (*Dhs A.* i.15; *Dh.A.* III 216 f.)

In the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta*[11] the Buddha explains to Ānanda that there are eight causes for earthquakes. One is when a Bodhisatta quits his temporary form in the heaven of delight and descends into his mother's womb, and another is when he quits his mothers' womb and is born into the world.

In a note to the first of these statements, Rhys Davids comments that there are many curious leggends concerning the Bodhisatta's voluntary incarnation and that the earth quaking and the legend regarding the white elephant are repeated in identical terms in the Buddhist birth stories. He mentions that it is a hallowed sun myth by which Buddhist converts embellished the life story of the Teacher.

Mahāmāyā is mentioned in several *Jātaka* stories as the mother of the Bodhisatta, such as the *Alīnacitta, Kaṭṭhahāri, Kurudhamma, Kosambi, Kaṇḍhahāla, Dasaratha, Bandhanāgāra, Mahaumagga, Mātuposaka, Vessantara, Susīma, Somanassa* and the *Hatthipāla*. In the *Vessantara Jataka*, Māyā as Phusatī was the daughter of king Kiki and became the chief queen of the Sivi king, Sañjaya.

In the introduction to the Sanskrit work, *Mahāvastu*, the translator[12] comments that the *Mahavastu* is a collection of practically all the history, quasi-history and legends (*Avadāna*) relating to the Buddha that passed current in the long period during which it was compiled. It consists of compositions of several authors and it is conjectured that these compositions date from the second century B.C. to the third century and fourth century A.D. One finds influences from the Pali texts in it as well as the subsequent Mahāyāna. In these highly descriptive accounts there appears to be a tendency towards the Lokottaravādin dogma of the Buddha being supramundane. Excerpts from the *Mahavastu* quoted bellow[13] illustrate this point.

"The Bodhisattva considered the matter of the place in which he should be reborn. "The king Suddhodana", thought he, "is worthy to be my father." He then sought a mother who should be gracious, of good birth, pure of body, tender of passion, and short-lived, of whose span of life there remained only seven nights and ten months.

"The mothers of all Bodhisattvas die on the last of the seven days following their delivery of the Supreme of Men. Now what is the reason why mothers of an Omniscient One should die so soon after givingg birth to the Best of Men?

"While he is still dwelling in Tusita the Bodhisattva makes this his care as he searches for a mother whose *karma* is good.

"I will descend, "says he, "into the womb of a woman who has only seven nights and ten months of her life remaining. See PLATE XLVIII.

"And why so? "Because, "says he, "it is not fitting that she who bears a Peerless One like me should afterwards indulge in love."

"For if the mother of a Sugata should indulge in the pleasures of love, the hosts of *devas* would say that the king was violating his duty.

"The Exalted One, indeed, at all times proclaims the depravity of sensual desires. Should then the mother of the Saviour of the world indulage in the pleasues of sense?

"(To take an illustration from) the Jewel-casked which are found in the palaces of princes the Best of Men is the jewel, his mother the casket."

11. *D.* II (Vol .III Part II) Translated by T.W. Rhys Davids, p. 116.
12. Translated by J. J. Jones, P.T.S., London, 1973
13. *Ibid* 3ff

Although this account does not ascribe parthogenesis to the Bodhisatta's birth, the beginnings of a Buddhological trend is evident in it.

The account goes on:

While he seeks a mother who was to be short-lived on earth, the Bodhisattva sees in Kapilavastu the chief queen of Suddhodana. And she was gracious, of good birth, pure of body, tender of passion, and short-lived; for of the span of her life only seven nights and ten months remained. Then the Bodhisattva thought to himself. "She is worthy to be my mother...."

"....Then Māyā like the consort of an immortal, rose up from her lovely couch and said to the king just as the sun had set, "I will cultivate harmlessness towards living things, and the chaste life. I will abstain from theft, intoxication and frivolous speech.

"I will, my lord, refrain from unkindly speech and from slander. I will, O king, refrain from abusive speech. This is my resolve.

"I will not nurse envy of the pleasures of others, nor cause injury to living things. And I will abjure false beliefs.

"I will, O king, follow these eleven rules of moral conduct. All this night has this resolve been stirring in me.

"Do not then, I pray you, O king, desire me with thoughts of sensual delights. See to it that you be guiltless of offence against me who would observe chastity."

"The king replied, "I shall have all your wishes fulfilled. Be at ease, you who have entered upon a noble life. I and my whole realm are at your cammand."

" ... Lo, I depart" So did the Exalted One speak out and utter the happy word. And at that very moment the conqueror's mother saw in a dream him who had won maturity of fruition, entering her body in the form of a noble elephant, light of step, flawless of limb, gleaming like snow-white silver, with six tusks, a gracefully waving trunk and a crimson head."

"Bodhisattvas do not descend into their mothers' womb during the dark fortnight, but on the night of the full moon in the month *Pausa*. Bodhisattvas enter the womb of a mother who observes the fasts, who is outstanding among women, who is Joyful, distinguish ed, holding no intercourse with what is mean, who is gracious, pure of body and tender of passion, is of good birth and family, comely, beautiful, renowned, tall and well-proportioned and accomplished, and who is in the prime of life, learned, wise, mindful, self-possessed, in all ways right minded and perffect - the very best of women."

The account also mentions the following:

"Again, a Bodhisattva's mother is not delivered as she lies or sits down, as other women are, but in a standing position. And the Bodhisattva, mindful and thoughtful, issues from his mother's right side without doing her any harm."

This last statement does not occur in the pali texts which is significant. There is a reuluctance in the Sanskrit accounts to allow the Bodhisatta to be born in the normal way for the same account goes on,

"His body is untouched by impurities of the womb, even like the exquisite lotus that is born in the mud of pools. Beautiful as the newly risen sun he excels the immortals in Brahma's heaven."

Further on it is stated that as soon as the Bodhisatta is born he takes seven strides over the earth, surveying the regions and laughs a loud laugh because it is his last birth.

There is a parallel in the Ṛgveda concerning the birth of God Indra who also contemplates emerging from his mother's side and not from the normal passage which he considers not good. After he is born, he takes seven strides and proclaims he is chief among all. The event of the Bodhisatta's birth therefore, seems to have been 'brahmanized' and overlaid with embellishments from legends current in the oral tradition.

Dr. P.L. Vaidya,[14] suggests that *Lalita Vistara* is a recast of the old ballads found in the orthodox Sthaviravāda Pali texts but at the same time admits the possibility that both the Pali and the Sanskrit accounts could have originated from an earlier common source, namely, the oral tradition.

14. *Lalitavistara* translated by P.L. Vaidya, Dharbhange 1958 p. 18.

An extract is given below from the *Lalita Vistara* which illustrates the highly ornate embellishments which are absent in the Pali canon.

"......The wife of Suddhodan was the daughter of Suppabuddha of the Sakya clan, the young and fresh, endowed with youth and beauty, exceedingly charming, pleasant as a painted figure, adorned in all ways like a celestial maiden, devoid of all impurities of a woman, not harsh in truthful speech, not unkind, not prattling. of very pleasant speech, devoid of all hatred, conceit, pride and arrogance.....endowed with generosity, virtuous, satisfied with her husband, chaste, with a mind not inclined towards other men, well formed head, ears and nose, having dark hair similar to the colour of a bee, with a pleasing fore-head, with lovely eyebrows and face, not wrinkled with frowns, with a smiling face, of measured speech, of refined speech, receiver of respect, straight and not deceitful, not crafty, not deluding others, (amāyā) not fickle, not vacillating, not quarrelsome. of unscattered speech, of little *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*, endowed with patience and good character... with some, supple limbs, with a touch as soft as that of *'kakacincika'* with eyes as pure as the petals of a fresh blue lotus, with a pink, erect nose, well formed limbs, extremely well-disciplined... virtuous, with lips similar to the colour of 'bimba' fruits, of pleasant appearance, having a well shaped neck, adorned with a good and pure mind, extremely good deportment, orderly, pure bred.....shanks like that of an antelope, hands and feet like the colour of lac, pleasing to the eyes of the world, with unimpaired faculties, of pleasant sight, exclusive jewel among womankind. like the reflection (shadow) of an illusion created by a magician, a symbol of an illusion (Māyā)....."

The last statement offers an explanation of the name "Māyā" According to the passsage quoted, in appearance she resembled an illusion of a celestial being, a perfect image. In actual fact she was no illusion but real. She was really 'amāyā' in both appearance and inner spiritual qualities, the opposite of deceit. Although the name may seem to be a *'double entendre'* it is clear what is meant. She looked like an unreal illusion of a perfect celestial being but in actual fact she was a real human being as beautiful and perfect as a heavenly goddess.

It is clear that the accounts both Sanskrit and Pali represent Mahamāyā as the epitome of feminine beauty, chastity and goodness, conforming to the standards that were present in the Indian tradition. Even the fact that she enjoyed the five strands of senssal pleasure is not lost sight of but emphasised. She was a woman moulded in the Indian tradition which upheld the ideals of *artha, kāma* and *dharma.*

The women who step out of the Pali Canon after Mahāmāya exhibit Buddhism's influence, that of giving up the bonds of *kāma* and attachment. The difference is seen in a marked manner between Mahāmāya on the one hand and Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī on the other though they both fulfilled their roles as mothers, one nourishing the child in the womb not only physically but by providing a perfectly wholesome environ ment for the developing embryo and the other nurturing the Bodhisatta after birth both physically and with tenderness. The difference in the two is seen in that Mahāmāyā after the break up of her body attained the bliss of heaven but Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, who as the Buddhs's foster mother came under the direct influence of the Buddha's teaching, ended up not in heaven but in the sainthood of arahantship.

Suvimalee Karunaratna

MAHĀMEGHAVANA the park situated to the south of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka which was laid out by king Muṭasiva (307-247 B.C) This park was called Mahāmeghavana, because, at the time the land was chosen for the park, a great cloud (*mahā mehga*) was gathering at an unusual time which subsequently poured down a torrential shower of rain (*Mhv.* chapter XI 2f). Mahāmeghavana has been considered as a sacred park, because, all the four Buddhas of this *kalpa* (aeon) are said to have visited this park during their life time (*Mhv.* ch. xv).

In the time of Kakusanda Buddha the Mahāmeghavana was known as Mahatitthavana; in the time of Konāgamana Buddha it was known as Mahanomavana; in the time of kassapa Buddha it was known as Mahāgāgaravana. All the three Buddhas have caused the planting of branches of thier *bodhi* trees on the same spot in the Mahāmeghavana, where the southern branch of the *bodhi* tree in India, under which the Buddha Gotama attained Enlightenment and

14. *Lalitavistara* translated by P.L. Vaidya, Dhwibhange 1958 p. 18.

which was brought to Sri Lanka by Arahat Sangammittā theri in the 3rd century B.C., was planted. *Mahāvamsa* records (ch. 1) that the Buddha in his Third visit to Sri Lankan in the eighth year of his Enlightenment went to the Mahāmeghavana and consecrated several spots in it, for the Buddha foresaw that very important religious edifices in his dispensation whould be erected on those spots in the course of history. after his demise.

Arahat Mahinda thera who came to Sri Lanka during the reign of king Devānampiyatissa was invited by the king to reside in the Mahāmeghavana, as the park was niether too far, nor too near to the city of Anuradhapura. The thera accepted the invitation and lived there until his demise. The place where the thera lived is presently known as the Nivatta Cetiya.

The day after Arahat Mahinda Thera came to reside in the Mahāmeghavana the king inquired from the thera whether it was suitable for *bhikkhus* to accept *ārāmas* (monasteries) as their residences, and the *thera* intimated to the king how the Buddha approved of the acceptacne of *ārāmas* by the bhikkhus, on the occasion of accepting the Veluvanārāma offered by king Bimbisāra to the *bhikkhusaṅgha* (*Mhv* ch xv). King Devanampiyatissa thereupon poured water from the ceremonial pot (*bhiṅkāra*) on the hands of the *thera* and offered the Mahameghavana to the Mahāsangha (order of monks). It is said that the earth quaked at this moment signifying the firm establishment of the Buddhāsāsana in Sri Lanka. The king caused to be erected an *ārāma* in the park for the monks and named it Mahāmeghavanarāma which gradually developed into a great monastery complex by name Mahavihāra (q.v.) which functioned as the pivot of Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka, for several centuries.

The first important Buddhist shrine to come up in the Mahāmeghavana was the Sri Mahābodhi (q.v.), brought to Sri Lanka by Arahat Sanghamittā theri who came to Sri Lanka several months after the arrival of Arahat Mahinda thera. The Thūpārāma (q.v.), the first Buddhist Dāgāba to be erected in Sri Lanka after the official introduction of Buddhism by Arahat Mahinda *thera*, was built by King Devānampiyatissa in the Mahāmeghavana, enshrining the collar-bone of the Buddha. In subsequent times many religious shrines and buildings were put up in the Mahāmeghavana. The *Mahavamsa* (Ch. XV.) gives a list of the chief spots associated with Buddhism which came into existence there. Chief among these are the thirty-two *mālakas*, the *Catussāla*, the Mahāthupa (q.v.) the Lohāpāsāda (q.v.) and various *parivenas* (educational institutes) connected with Arahat Mahinda thera: Sunhāta, Dīghacamkamana, Phalagga, Therapassaya, Marugana and Dighasandasenāpati. In later times the Abhayagirivihāra (qv.) and the Jetavanārama (q.v.) were also erected there (*DPPN*).

D. Saddhasena

MAHĀ-MOGGALLĀNA, Var. MOGGALLĀNA, Skt. MAHĀ-MAUDGALYAYĀNA, one of the two chief disciples (*aggasāvaka*) of the Buddha. The Pali commentaries and later literary works make him the second (*infra*) of the two chief disciples. He was born in a brahmin family in Kolitagāma half a *yojana* away from Rājagaha (*Mhvu.* III. p. 56). His mother was a brahmin woman named Moggalī (var. Moggallānī). His father was the chief householder of the village named Kolita. In his young days he was called Kolita, a name derived from the village in which he was born, and it has been used in the *Mahāvastu* as his personal name even after his ordination (see. *Mhvu.* p. 5, 27 etc.). The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakatha*, the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the *Mahāvastu*, and some of the Sinhalese classical literary works mostly written as commentaries on Pali literary works, give the early life history, the ordination and the elevation to the unique position of chief disciple, of both Sāriputta (s. v.) and Mahā Moggallāna. The account of Mahā Moggallāna's life is closely connected with that of Sāriputta and it appears that they were almost inseparable twins (*infra*). He was born on the same day as Sāriputta. Their families had maintained an unbroken friendship for seven generations and the two children became friends from their childhood. The *Mahāvastu* adds that the two of them were co-pupils, studying Vedic *mantras* under the same *guru*. After completing their education Upatisza (i. e., personal name of Sāriputta) went to his native place called Nalandā while Kolita went to his village. But the two of them continued to visit each other. Once at Rājagaha the two friends went, on a festive day, to see a mime play called the Mountain-top Assembly (Skt. *giriyagrasamāja*, Pali *giraggasamajja*). But they could not enjoy the mime-play, and both of them realised impermanence of things and decided to go forth on renunciation. They first became wanderers (*paribbājaka*) under Sañjaya, a reputed sophist at the time. They wandered all over Jambudīpa meeting learned men and discussing with them in search of inner satisfaction. They separated for a short period each giving his word to the other that the first to find 'ambrosia' (*amata*) should tell the other of his discov-

ery. Sāriputta wandering about in Rājagaha, met Assaji (s. v.) one of the *pañcavaggiya* monks, and was coverted by him to Buddhism and became a *sotāpanna*. Soon he remembered his bosom friend Moggallāna and went to him with his new experience. He repeated the stanza (*gātha*) he heard from Assaji:

'Of all phenomena sprung of a cause
The teacher the cause hath told;
And he tells, too, how each shall come to its end,
For such is the word of the sage.'

Moggallāna also became a *sotāpanna* when he heard the stanza from Sariputta. The two of them wanted to visit the Buddha along with their teacher Sañjaya and his pupils, five hundred in number. When Sañjaya refused, Sāriputta and Moggallāna went with the five hundred pupils of Sañjaya and saw the Buddha at Veluvana. The Buddha preached to them and gave them ordination by the formula Come Monk! (*ehi bhikkhu pabbajjā*). All but Sāriputta and Moggallāna became arahants. Moggallāna went to the hamlet of Kallavāla (var. *Kallavāla mutta*) where on the seventh day after his ordination, drowsiness overcame him as he sat meditating. The Buddha saw this with his divine eye and appeared before him and exhorted him to be zealous, that same day he attained arahantship.

Sāriputta and Moggallāna were made the two chief disciples of the Buddha on the very day they entered the order. In the assembly of monks the Buddha announced, even before Sāriputta and Moggallāna entered the order, that he has assigned to them the place of chief disciples. The monks were offended that new comers should be shown such great honour. The accusation brought against the Buddha, was an opportunity to relate how those two had foa a whole innumerable number of years strenuously exerted themselves to win this position under him. In the past they had made the first resolve in the time of the Anomadassi Buddha. Moggallāna and Sāriputta were then two householders named Sirivaḍḍha and Sarada. The latter gave away his riches and became an ascetic. The Buddha visited his hermitage and Sarada and his pupils showed him great honour. Anomadassi's chief disciple, Nisabha, gave thanks and this induced Sarada to make a vow that he should become the chief disciple of some future Buddha. The Buddha Anomadassi foretold him that his wish would be fulfilled. Then Sarada went to his friend Sirivaḍḍha and announcing the Buddha's prophecy, wanted Sirivaḍḍha to wish for the place of second disciple. On this advice Sirivaḍḍha acted promptly, made elaborate preparations and entertained the Buddha and his disciples for seven days and finally announced his wish to the Buddha who declared that his wish would be fulfilled. From that time the two friends in their subsequent births engaged in good deeds. (*Vin*. I. pp. 39-43; *DhpA*. I. pp. 73; *AA*. I. pp. 84, *Ap*. II. 31; *SnA*. I.).

From the above account it appears that nowhere has the Buddha mentioned that Elder Moggallāna as the second chief disciple. He referred to Sāriputta and Moggallāna as his two chief disciples and the commentators considering the fact that Sāriputta was the first of the two to be converted to Buddhism, and Moggallāna susbsequently, has assigned for the latter the second place. Both of them enjoyed equal status. Though Sāriputta's name precedes Moggallāna's when both are mentioned jointly. When Moggallāna was elevated to the exalted position of a chief disciple the honorific title *Maha* (Great) was prefixed to his name.

Sāriputta and Moggalāna were ideal disciples and the Buddha wanted the others to follow their example (*S*. II. p. 235; *A*. I. 85). In the *Saccavibhanga sutta* the Buddha has distinguished these two twin brethren thus. "Sāriputta is as she who brings forth and Moggalāna is as the nurse of what is brought forth; Sāriputta trains in the fruits of conversion, Moggallāna trains in the highest good. Sāriputta is able to teach and make plain the four noble truths, Moggalāna, teaches by his psychic power (*iddhipātihāriya*)." The *Anguttara nikāya* mentions that the Buddha classed Mahā-Moggallāna as the chief among those of psychic powers (*Etad aggaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvakānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ iddhimantānaṃ yadidaṃ Mahā Moggallāno, A*. I. p. 23). Thus Maha Moggallāna's pre-eminence lay in his possession of *iddhi* power. He could create a living shape innumerable times and could transfer himself into any shape at will. He claims to have all magic power at will (*Thag*. v. 1183). He is recorded as saying that he could crush mount Sineru like a kidney bean (*DhpA*. III. 212) and rolling the earth like a mat between his fingers, could make it rotate like a potter's wheel or could place the earth on Sineru like an umbrella on its stand. It is said, that when, once, the Buddha and his monks failed to get alms in Verañjā, Mahā-Moggallāna offered to turn the earth up-side down, so that the essence of the earth, which lay on the under surface, might serve as food. He also offered to open a way from Nalerupucimanda to Uttarakuru, for the monks to go there easily for alms; but the Buddha did not permit him to perform these

miracles (*V.* III. p. 7; VA. I. 182, *DhpA.* II. 153). But the *Iddhipāda sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* mentions that the Buddha once requested Mahā-Moggallāna to give a good stirring to some monks who sat in the ground-floor of the terraced house of Migāra's mother (*Migāra-mātupāsāda*) talking loosely and frivolously, regardless even of the fact that the Buddha was in the upper story. Then Moggallāna by concentrating on the element-of-water-device, contrived a feat of magic power and with his great toe shook and rattled and made the building quake and quake again till those monks were panic-stricken and their hair stood on ends. At this juncture the Buddha explains to the monks that by cultivating and making much of the four bases of psychic power that Moggallāna enjoys manifold form of magic power (*S.* V. pp. 269-71; *SnA.* I. pp. 336-39). Once, when Moggallāna visited Sakka to find out if Sakka was profited by the teachings of the Buddha, Moggallāna found him far too proud and obsessed by the thought of his splendour. Then to humble Sakka's pride, Moggallāna shook Vejayanta the Sakka's palace, till Sakka's hair stood on end with fright (*M.* I. p. 251). Once Moggallana visited the Brahma world to help the Buddha to dispell the arrogance of Baka-brahmā. On this occasion Moggallāna himself questioned Baka-brahmā in solemn conclave in the Sudhammā hall in the Brahma world and made Baka confess that his earlier views were erroneous (*M.* I. pp. 326-31; *Thag.* v. 1198; *ThagA.* II. p. 185). He had visited the Brahma world several times and had conversations with Tissa Brahmā (*A.* III. p. 331; IV. p. 75. etc.). The *Māratajjaniya sutta* mentions that once Māra started worrying Moggallāna by entering into his belly, but Moggallāna ordered him out and explained to Māra how Moggallāna himself had once been a Māra named Dūsī. His sister Kāli was the mother of the present Māra (*M.* I. p. 332-38).

Moggallāna's greatest exhibition of *iddhi* power was the subjugation of the *nāga* named Nandopananda (*Divy.* p. 395). This combat has been dealt in detail in various commentaries. It is said that no other monk could have survived the ordeal, because no other was able to enter so rapidly into the fourth *jhāna* and this was the reason why the Buddha would give permission to no other monk but Moggallāna to bring the *Nāga* under control, (*Thag A.* II. pp. 188). The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* also records another similar story where Moggallāna subjugated a *Nāga* who lived near the hermitage of Aggidatta (*DhpA.* III, pp. 242).

Moggallāna's vision was *par excellence.* He could see without entering into any state of mind, *petas* and other spirits invisible to the naked eye (*DhpA.* II. p. 64; III. p. 60; 410, 479). The *Saṃyuttanikāya* mentions that once while in the company of Lakkhana, Moggallāna saw *petas.* He visited various worlds and brought back to the Buddha reports of their inhabitants. The *Mahāvastu* gives in detail the visits Moggallāna made to the *Nirayas* and to the *deva* worlds (*Mhvu.* I. pp. 4-65). The *Vimānavatthu* also contains a collection of stories of such visits. Moggallāna's visits to the *deva*-worlds like that of *Tāvatiṃsa* were always welcome to the *devas* (*S.* V. p. 366). It appears that from reports received from Moggallāna about inhabitants of other worlds the Buddha used to illustrate his sermons.

In wisdom Moggallāna was second only to Sāriputta. The *Dhamma-padaṭṭhakathā* mentions that these two could answer questions within the range of no other disciple of the Buddha (*DhpA.* III. p. 227). Like Mahākaccāna (s.v.) Moggallāna was a great preacher. The Buddha, once paid a compliment to Moggallāna's power of preaching, the Buddha having preached himself to the Sākyans at Kapilavatthu, asked Moggallāna to deliver a sermon to the monks, as the Buddha was weary. Then Moggallāna preached to them on lusts and means of getting rid of them. At the end of the sermon the Buddha praised him warmly (*S.* V. p. 366). The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* contains several other eloquent sermons preached by Moggallāna on the *jhānas.* (*S.* V. pp. 262-69); and elewhere on qualities that lead to true emancipation (*A.* V. p. 155). Sakka in company with numerous other gods used to pay visits to Moggallāna to hear him preach. The other *devas* like Candana, Suyāma, Santusita, Sunimmita and Vasavatthi also used to visit him to hear his sermons (*S.* IV. pp. 269-80). Moggallana was consulted by Vacchagotta (*S.* IV. p. 391), and Vappa (*A.* II. p. 196) eager to learn from him the teachings of the Buddha. When the Buddha went to Tāvatiṃsa to preach the *Abhidhamma*, the Buddha entrusted to Moggallāna the task of preaching to the people who were waiting for the Buddha's return. When the time drew near for the Buddha's return, at the request of the people, Moggallāna went to Tāvatimsa, diving into the earth and climbing Sineru, in full view of them all in order to find out what the Buddha intended doing so that people might be kept informed (*DhpA.* III. pp. 219-224; J. IV. 265. *Divy.* p. 375).

Moggallāna was an obedient disciple of the Buddha. Whatever task he might be asked by the Buddha to perform, he did to the best of his ability. Once the Buddha employed him as a messenger to the arahant Uggasena, telling him that the Buddha wished to see him (*DhpA*. IV. p. 62). He was sent to Sakkhara, to Macchariya-Kosiya (s.v.) to check his miserliness and bring him to Jetavana (*DhpA*. I. p. 369; *J*. I. 347) and also to Sīlavā, whom Ajatasatthu was plotting to kill (*ThagA*. I. p. 257). When Visākhā was building the Migāra-mātupāsāda, Moggallāna by his *iddhi* power, and five hundred monks supervised the construction, and the work was completed without difficulty (*DhpA*. I. p. 414).

The Buddha had full confidence in his two chief disciples and wanted them to keep the order pure. When, once, the Buddha said that the assembly was not pure Moggallāna fixed his thought intently upon all the monks of the order there, compassing their minds with his and seized the wicked and impure monk by the arm and thrust him outside the porch and bolted the door (*A*. IV. pp. 204-206). Once, when a monk charged Elder Sāriputta with having offended him and without asking his pardon has set out on a journey. The accusation, explains the commentary, was out of jealousy and to stop Sāriputta's departure (*DA*. I. p. 276). Then Moggallāna and Ānanda went from lodging to lodging to summon monks that they might hear Sāriputta vindicate himself (*A*. IV. pp. 374-75). The fame of Moggallāna as one of the two chief disciples had reached even to the Brahma world. Tudu-brahmā sang their praises though it was to the annoyance of the Kokālika monks who had a great hatred for them (*A*. V. pp. 169-74; *SnA*. II. 473 etc.). When Devadatta created a schism in the order of monks and took five hundred of them to Gayāsīsa the Buddha sent the two chief disciples to bring them back and their mission was successful (*DhpA*. I. 143). Once they were sent to admonish the Assajipunabbasukā (see. v., *DhpA*. II. p. 109). Once Kakudha Koliyaputta, who was a servant of Moggallāna and later born in a huge *manomayakāya* had warned Moggallāna of Devadatta's intrigues against the Buddha. Moggallāna passed the information to the Buddha, but the latter ignored it (*Vin*. II. 185; *A*. III. 122).

Moggallāna was Rāhula's teacher (*J*. I. p. 161); but elsewhere Moggallāna is spoken of as Rāhula's *Kammavācācariya* (*SnA*. I. p. 304). Moggallāna carried out diligently the charge laid on him by the Buddha of looking after the welfare of the monks. The *Theragāthā* contains several verses recited by Moggallāna as exhortations to his colleagues. Some of the colleagues Tissa Vaḍḍhamāna and Poṭṭhila are mentioned by name (*Thag*. *VV*. 1146-49, 1165; 1162, 1163, 1174). Once he lived at Kāḷasilā with a company of five hundred monks, watching over them and discovering all of them were arahants Vaṅgīsa witnessed this and praised Moggallāna in verse before the Buddha (*S*. I. p. 194).

The friendship between Moggallāna and Sāriputta was unique. Their love was mutual as was the admiration. It appears that Sāriputta's verses in praise of Moggallāna (*Thag*. vs. 1178-81) are more eloquent than those of Moggallana in praise of Sāriputta (*ibid*. *VV*. 1176-77). Their strongest bond was the love of each for the Buddha, even when they were away from him, they would relate to each other how they had been conversing with him by means of the divine ear and the divine eye. In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* mention is made by Moggallāna to the monks of a conversation he held with the Buddha by means of divine powers (*S*. II. pp. 273-74). Moggallāna and Sāriputta had several discussions in this manner. The *Mahāgosiṅgha sutta* mentions them as staying in the Gosiṅghasālavana in the company of Mahā Kassapa, Ānanda, Revata, and Anurādha engaged in friendly discussion and referring their conclusions to the Buddha for his opinion (*M*. I. p. 212). Once Moggallāna, Sāriputta and Anuruddha stayed at Ketakīvana at Sāketa (*S*. V. pp. 174-75;). Among discussions between Anuruddha and Moggallāna is one in which Anuruddha speaks of the value of cultivating the four *satipaṭṭhanas* (*S*. V. pp. 294-98). It was customary for Moggallāna and Sāriputta as the two chief disciples, to travel together at the head of the monks. The lay disciples were anxious to include the two of them in their invitations for alms, as Veḷukaṇḍakī in Dakkhinagiri (*A*. III. p. 336, IV. p. 63) and Cittagahapati in Macchikāsanda (*DhpA*. II. p. 74).

Moggallāna died before the Buddha, but after Sāriputta, for the *Theragathā* contains several verses attributed to Moggallāna regarding Sāriputta's death (*Thag*. *VV*. 1158-61). Sāriputta died on the full moon day of *Kattika* and Moggallāna two weeks later on the new moon day (*SA*. III. 181). Buddhaghosa mentions that Moggallāna's death resulted from a plot of the *Nigaṇṭhas* who treated Moggallāna as their despicable enemy. Moggallāna's visits to various worlds (*supra*) and his report that he had discovered that those who followed the Buddha's teachings reached happy

worlds, while followers of the heratics were reborn in woeful conditions. These statements of Moggallāna reduced the number of heratics and the *niganthas* bribed brigands to kill Moggallāna. The brigands surrounded Moggallāna's hut in Kālasilā, but he escaped through the key-hole on six successive days. On the seventh day they caught him and beat him and crushed his bones. But Moggallāna recovered consciousness with his effort of will and dragged himself to the Buddha to take his leave and there he died. The commentaries explain that Moggallāna's sad death was the result of a sin he committed in a previous birth. It is said that once acting on the instigations of his wife he had taken his blind parents into the jungle and pretending that they were being attacked by robbers he had beaten them to death. For this sinful action he suffered in hell for innumerable years and consequently in his last birth he lost his life by violence (*J.* V. pp. 125-27). Elsewhere this account given of Moggallāna's death by violence differs in several details. The *Dhammapadaṭṭha-kathā* mentions that thieves tried for two months before succeeding in their plot and in the story of the past, when the blind parents were being beaten, they cried out to the thieves to spare the life of their son. Moggallana was moved by this sentiment and did not kill them. Before he finally passed away, it is said that Moggallāna preached to the Buddha at the latter's request and performed many miracles and returned to Kālasilā to die. (*DhpA.* III. p. 65). The *Jātaka* mentions that his cremation was performed with much honour and the Buddha had the relics collected and a *Thūpa* built in Veḷuvana. (*J.* V. p. 127). Emperor Asoka visited and worshipped this shrine and made an offering of a hundred thousand to the shrine on the advice of Elder Upagupta (*Divy.* p. 395).

Traditionally it is said that Moggallāna's body was of the colour of the blue lotus (*nīluppala*) or the rain cloud. And the oral tradition in Ceylon is that this colour is due to his having suffered in hell in the recent past. In paintings in Ceylon where the Buddha and his two chief disciples are depicted, Moggallāna is always depicted to the left hand side of the Buddha and the colour used is blue, though in fact the colour ought to be dark or black (See. *PED. nīla*). Moggallāna is identified with several characters in the *Jatakas*. He was Kisāvaccha in the *Indriya Jātaka* (*J.* III. p. 469). Sakka in the *Illīsa Jātaka* (*ibid.* I. p. 354), one of the *devas* in the *Kakkāru Jataka* (*ibid.* III. p. 90), the tortoise in the *Kuruṅgamiga Jātaka* (*ibid.* II. 155), Candasena in the *Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka* (*ibid.* IV. 157), the Commander in the *Cullasutasoma Jātaka* (*ibid.* V. p. 192), the youngest bird in the *Javanahaṁsa Jātaka* (*ibid.* IV.218), the elephant in the *Tittira Jātaka* (*ibid.* I. p. 220), Āyūra in the *Desaṇṇaka Jātaka* (*ibid.* III. p. 341), the jackal in the *Pañcūposatha* and *Sasa Jātakas* (*ibid.* IV. p. 332; III. p. 56), Suriya in the *Bilārakosiya Jātaka* (*ibid.* IV. p. 62), the tiger in the *Tittira*, *Vanāroha* and *Vyaggha Jātaka* (*ibid.* III. p. 543, 149; II. p. 358), one of the brothers in the *Bhisa Jātaka* (*ibid.* IV. p.314), Subhaga in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* (*ibid.* VI. p. 219), the old tortoise in the *Mahāukkusa Jātaka* (*ibid.* IV. 297), Migajina in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (VI. p. 68), Bījaka in the *Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka* (*ibid.* VI. p. 255), the king's charioteer in *Rajovāda Jātaka* (*ibid.* II. p. 5), the garuda-king in the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* (*ibid.* VI. 329), the rat in the *Saccaṅkara Jātaka* (*ibid.* I. p. 32), Bhadrākara in the *Sambhavajātaka* (*ibid.* V. p. 67), Canda in the *Sudhābhojana Jātaka* (*ibid.* V. p. 412), and Gopāla in the *Hatthipāla Jātaka* (*ibid.* IV. p. 491).

M. Karaluvinna

MAHĀNIDDESA See NIDDESA

MAHĀPACCARIAṬṬHAKATHĀ, is one of the three main Sinhala commentaries (Sinhala Aṭṭhakathā) that Ven. Buddhaghosa used as his basis, when he translated the Sinhala commentaries into Pali in the 5th century A.C. The *Mahāpaccari* is not extant today. According to Malalasekera, 'tradition has it that it was so called, because it was compiled on a raft' (*DPPN* Vol.II p.522).

The *Sāratthappadīpanī*, a sub commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā* by Ven. Sariputta written during the Polonnaruwa period (edited by B.Devarakkhita, published by D.C. Wickramasinghe, Vijjābhūsana press, Colombo 1914, p 17 Sinhala script) records the same tradition as follows:

> *Mahāpaccariyanti, paccarīti vuccati ulumpaṃ,*
> *Tasmiṃ nisīditvā kataṭṭā tameva nāmam jātaṃ.*
>
> "Here *Mahāpaccari* means: *ulumpaṃ* (raft) is called *paccari*, written seated on a *paccari*, that itself became its name."

The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* a short chronical containing the history of Buddhism, written by Ven. Dhammakitti of Ayodhya in the 14th century A.C. describes the origin of the *paccari* in the same way.

Mahāpaccariyaṃ nāma, sihalabhāsāya ulumpo kira atthi tasmiṃ
nisiditvā kaṭatta paccariyaṃ nāmeva jātā aṭṭhakathā

"In the Sinhala language *paccari is ulumpa* (raft). The commentary written seated on it is also named *paccari*" (*JPTS*. 1890, p.5).

Buddhadatta provides little more information regarding the origin of the name *Mahāpaccari*. According to him, during the calamity, the famine Bäminitiyāsāya, *bhikkhus* assembled in Jambukola Paṭtana to proceed to Jambudipa and made a big raft (*paccari*). The bhikkhus having boarded the raft and thinking of the future, (danger) prepared a *vāinaya* exegesis (*vinaya vaṇṇanā*) and that became the *Mahāpaccari* commentary (*Pali literature*, Swabhasa Press 1966 p. 151). But the source of the additional information is not given.

Adikaram also records the same conventional theory of writing on a raft as regards the origin of the name. Further, according to him. (Adikaram) the *Mahāpaccari* and the *Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā* apparently had much in common and suggests that it is possible that *Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā* might have been an abridged version of the *Mahapaccari*. Further he reports that apparently the *Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā* has also been known as *Cullapaccari*. But some hold the view that the *Cullapaccari* referred to in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīka*, as a separate commentary (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon,* Colombo 1946 p. 12). Law doubts the conventional explanation of the origin of the name. He says that the suggested origin of the name is quite fanciful. *Mahāpaccari* appeaars to have been a distinct compilation of a monastic shcool of Ceylon (*History of Pali Literature,* Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner, London 1953 Vol. II p. 375).

As regards the origin of the names of the other Sinhala commentaries, we find that they have been named after the place of origin. The *Kurundi Aṭṭhakathā* is so called because it was written in the Kurundiwela Vihāra, while the *Andaka Aṭṭhakathā* was so named by reason of its being written in the Andhaka country. Similarly *Paccari* might refer to a place name, either a village or a temple though it is difficult to identify due to distortion. If a *paccari* (raft) is involved, as pointed out by Buddhadatta, it might refer to the place where the decision was made to compile a Vinaya Exegesis, though the actual writing might have taken place elsewhere subsequently. There is no evidence to show that either people or bhikkhus lived on rafts in ancient Sri Lanka.

It is evident from the references Buddhaghosa has made to it that the *Mahāpaccari* had occupied a very important place among the Sinhala commentaries. According to the colophon, Buddhaghosa has recognized only three commentaries as Sinhala commentaries, out of which the *Mahāpaccari* is one.

> *"Mahāaṭṭhakathañ ceva Mahāpaccariya mevaca Kurundiyancāti tissopi Sihala aṭṭhakathā imā"*
>
> Three Sinhala commentaries such as *Mahāaṭṭhakathā, Mahapaccari, Kurundi* etc." (*Vin A*. Vii p. 1455 *PTS*)

Although he has referred to *Andhakaṭṭhakathā*, *Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā* in the *Samantapāsādikā*, he had not included them in the category of *Sinhalatthakatha*, as seen above. Further it is seen that only the *Mahāpaccari* is given the title *Mahā* (Great) other than the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. *Mahāpaccari* is being referred to only in the *Samantapāsādikā*. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the *Mahāpaccari* was confined to the *Vinaya Piṭaka* only.

By examining the quotations and references to the *Mahāpaccari* that exceed a hundred, found in the *Samantapāsādikā*, it is possible to understand the nature of this ancient Sinhala commentary, which is lost for ever. And also one could see how Buddhaghosa has made the best use of it as a source, and its influence on the Pali commentaries he composed. It is obvious that Pali quotations that are given, as quoted from the *Mahāpaccari* in the *Samantapāsādikā* are the Pali renderings of Sinhala lines of the *Mahapaccari*.

Buddhaghosa has recorded the views expressed in the *Mahāpaccari* although they do not agree with the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* and other *aṭṭhakathās*.

Under the first *Pārājikā* the Buddha laid down, when a monk was resting in seclusion during the day time (after meals) that he should keep the door shut, as a result of a woman abusing the body of a monk who was sleeping, with the door open.

While discussing the circumstances under which a person may fall into the category of one who has committed an offence and those who are exempted, if they sleep keeping the door open, *Samantapāsādikā* records the *Mahāpaccari* view as follows:

"Mahāpaccariyaṃ tāva eka bhaṅgena nipannako eva muccati. Pade pana bhumito mocetvā nipanno yakkhagahito pi visannibhutopi na muccatiti vuttaṃ"

"When the door is kept open only the person who falls asleep instantly is not guilty. (Apparently he had no time to close the door). When the feet are raised above the ground even if he is possessed by a demon or unconscious (if sleeps with the door open) he is guilty".

But according to the *Kurundi Aṭṭhakathā* only the person tied and made to sleep is acquitted if the door is kept open. (*Bandiṭvā nipajjāpito'va muccatīti vuttaṃ*).

But the explanation of the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is different from both. *Mahāaṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana yo caṅkamanto mucchitva patito tattheva supati, tassapi avisayattā āpatti'na dissati. Ācariyā pana evan na kathayanti. Tasma āpattiyeva'ti* (If one falls asleep while walking (when the door remains open) there is no guilt due to unconsciousness. But the *acariyas* do not say so (do not say not guilty). Therefore, there is guilt. (*VinA*. 283)

In certain instances the *Mahapaccariya* appears to be strict in the application of a *vinaya* rule.

The killing of a human being (*manussaviggaha*) the third grievous offence that a monk could commit where he is liable to be expelled. One of several means, a person may deploy to kill a person is to excavate a pit for a man to fall and die (*manussaṃ obissa opatam khanati*) when discussing the application of this rule the Mahaatthakatha says if a person excavates a pit in (sufficient) length breadth and depth and lifts soil baskets with the vested intention of (Killing a person), the intention produces results without interval. Thus if a person falls and die there vene after 100 years he is guilty of committing the third *parajika* offence (Killing of a human being.

But the explanation offered by the Mahapaccari and also the Kurundiathakatha appears more severe. According to the latter explanation, if a person hits the ground with a spade once only and a person dies having stumbled there he is guilty of the third *parajika* (*VinA*. II, 454).

There are instances where the Mahapaccari appears more liberal than the Mahaatthakatha. In the context of discussing the *Bhesajja Sikkhapada* (the rule of medicine) the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* says (medicinal) drink such as sugar cane juice is suitable only for the noon. But the *Mahāpaccari* having paused a question whether it is suitable or not says that there is no such thing as sugar cane drink is not suitable for the afternoon. (*Mahapaccariyan... etaṃ savatthukapakkaṃ vattati no vattati ti pucchaṃ katvā ucchuphānitaṃ pacchā bhattaṃ no vattanakaṃ nāma natthi ti vuttaṃ* (*VinA*. III 716).

There are instances where Buddhaghosa finds that a particular point has not been properly explained in the *Mahaatthakatha* but the *Mahapaccari* has explained it well.

Under the *Saṅghādisesa* rule No. 13 *Kuladūsaka Sikkhāpada* (Vin III 177 f) the Buddha admonished Assaji Punabbasuka monks who were planting flowers, watering them, picking flowers, making garlands, taking garlands to women playing with them etc. and enacted a *Vinaya* rule prohibiting such practices.

Buddhaghosa finds that the circumstances where one would fall into category of committing an offence (as regards planting of flower plants) are not well explained in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* but the *Mahāpaccari* has done it well.

"Ayaṃ pana nayo Mahaaṭṭhakathāyaṃ na suṭṭhu vibhatto Mahapaccariyaṃ vibhatto' ti.

This rule has not been properly explained in *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. *Mahapaccariya* has done well. (*VinA*. III 617).

Similarly Buddhaghosa has also commented that a certain point is not clear in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*, but clear in the *Mahāpaccari*. *Nissaggiya*, rule no. 25 (the *Suttaviññatti sikkhāpada*), the Buddha prohibited monks to provide thread and get robes woven by the weavers. Buddhaghosa explaining the application of this rule says:

"Ayam pana' ttho Mahāaṭṭhakathāyaṃ apākato Mahāpaccariyādisu pākaṭo idha sabbakārene va pākaṭo

This meaning is not clear in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* but is clear in the *Mahāpaccari* etc. Here it is very clear. (*VinA*. III 726).

The *Mahāpaccari* view as regards the *Bhānaka* tradition (recitors who preserved the *tipiṭaka* orally) is found recorded in the *Samantapāsādikā*. As recorded

in the *Samantapāsādika* the recitors of the *Anguttara nikāya* (*Anguttara bhānakā*) should learn half of the *nikaya* from the beginning or from the end. But the *Mahāpacari* held the view that if a bhikkhu wants to take one (*Nipāta* of *Anguttara*) only, he should take either the fourth *nipāta* (*Catukka Nipāta*) or the fifth *nipata* (*Pañcaka Nipāta*). Further according to the *Mahāpaccari*, the *jātaka bhānakas* (in addition to *jātakas*) should learn the *dhammapada* with the relevant stories (*VinA*. IV 789). This shows that to be *'bhānaka'* or recitor, one need not learn the entire text of a *Nikāya*, and that one could become a *bhānaka* by studying a prescribed part. Further, it is also clear that different schools held different views regarding the extent that should be learnt to become a *bhānaka* of a particular text.

It is a rare instance where Buddhaghosa has rejected the explanation offered by the *Mahāpaccari*. In the *Pācittiya bhikkhuni vagga samvidhāna sikhāpada* where the Buddha prohibited monks and nuns going to villages together. .... Buddhaghosa has rejected the explanation found in the *Mahāpaccari* regarding the *Samvidhana Sikkhāpada* (rule).

> ...*Mahāpaccari vuttaṃ taṃ neva pāliyā na sesa aṭṭhakathāya .sameti.*
> ...*Mahāpaccari* says so, that does not agree either with the texts (Pali) or with the rest of the commentaries *VinA*. IV 807-8).

There are instances where Buddhaghosa has not brought in the views of any commentary other than the *Mahāpaccari*. While explaining the *Saṅghādisesa* rule nos. 5 *Samcarita Sikkhāpada (VinA*. III 553) where the Buddha prohibited bhikkhus to arrange marriages between men and women, Buddhaghosa cites only the *Mahāpaccari*.

An examination of the references and quotations of the *Sihala Aṭṭhakathā* (Sinhala commentaries) found in the *Samantapāsādikā* shows that it was the *Mahāpaccari* that Buddhaghosa has consulted more than *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* in compiling the *Samantapāsādikā*. Buddhaghosa has quoted or referred to the *Mahāpaccari* approximately 109 times and the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* approximately 47 times in the compilation of *Samantapāsādikā*. The significance of the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is that it covers the entire tipiṭaka. But as far as the *Vinaya* is concerned, it is the *Mahāpacccari* that is significant, ecause it concentrates only on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. The influence of the *Mahāpaccari* is very much seen in the exegesis of the *Pārājikā Khaṇḍa* of the *Samantapāsādikā*. But when it comes to the exegesis of the *khandakas* (*Mahavagga and Culllavagga*) it is the *Kurundi Aṭṭhakathā*, which is also a *Vinaya* commentary, that is most quoted. The *Mahāpaccari* comes next. The *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* apparently becomes insignificant, being quoted approximately three times in the *Mahāvagga* and four times in the *Cullavagga*.

Since the *Mahāpaccari* specialized in the *Vinaya piṭaka*, it is natural that it contained more details than the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* on *Vinaya*. It is evident from the quotations that the *Mahapaccari* discussed the application of the *Vinaya rules* with minute details and clarity. It is the very reason that Buddhaghosa is seen consulting the *Mahapaccari* more often that the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*.

The *Vinaya Viniccaya*, the summary of Vinaya writen in vverse by Ven. Buddhadata of Uragapura, is another source where one could catch a glimpse of this non-extant *Sihala aṭṭhakathā*. According to the *Buddhaghosuppatti* (biography of Buddhaghosa) and Ven. Sariputta's sub commentary (*tika*) on the *Samantapāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa coming to Sri lanka and Buddhadatta returning from Sri Lanka met at sea. On the request of Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta summarized the *Samantapāsādikā* and composed the *Vinaya Viniccaya*.

But since no mention either of Buddhaghosa or of the *Samantapāsādikā* is found in the *Vinaya Viniccaya*, Buddhadatta doubts the story of the *Buddhagosuppatti* and the Tika (*Buddhadatta's Manuals* Part II), introduction, PTS., London 1927 XI). He further adds that Buddhadatta (of Uragapura) would have composed the *Vinaya Viniccaya* independently, with the help of the *Sihala Aṭṭhakathā* to which he has had access as seen from the *Buddhavamsa* Commentary, without summarizing the *Samantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghosa.

The *Vinaya Viniccaya* contains quotations from the *Mahāpaccari* (here too it is the *Mahāpaccari* that is quoted more than the *Mahaaṭṭhakathā*, which is quoted only three times.

> *Upaddabhāgam dātabbam iti vuttaṃ kurundiyaṃ Thoka thokam ti niddhiṭṭham Mahāpaccariyaṃ pana.*

> *Kurundi* (*Aṭṭhakathā*) says one fourth should be given. *Mahāpaccari* prescribes little by little.
> (Buddhadatta's Manuals Part II p. 33)

Aññassa Atthāya niddhiṭṭhaṃ bhikkhuno pariganhato
Dukkaṭam tassa hoti ti Mahāpaccariyaṃ pana

The monk who takes what is prescribed for another is guilty of Dukkata according to the Mapaccari. (*Ibid.* p.47).

Puna taṃ patitaṭṭhane datvā tassa pan' indhanam
Aggim vattati kātum ti Mahapaccariyam rutam

According to the Mahapaccariya it is proper to kindle fire-putting fuel where it fell (the torch of grass) *ibid.* p. 71).

Form the quotations it appears that the author Buddhadatta (of Uragapura) is quoting direct from the Mahapaccari itself and not from a secondary source.

Therefore some idea could be formed of this great Sinhala commentary *Mahapaccari* from the material available as discussed above.

K. Arunasiri

MAHĀPAJĀPATĪ GOTAMĪ, Step mother of Siddhartha gotama. She was born at Devadaha in the family of Suppabuddha (Q.V.) as the younger sister of Mahāmāyā (Q.V.). At the birth of each sister, interpreters of bodily marks prophesied that their children would become *'cakkavattin-s'* or universal monarchs. King Suddhodana (Q.V.) married both sisters and when Mahāmāyā died seven days after the birth of the Bodhisatta, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī looked after him and nursed him. She was the mother of Nanda (Q.V) but it is said she gave hir own son to nurses and herself nursed the Bodhisatta. When the Buddha visited Kapilavatthu on the first occasion after his enlightenment, he ordained Nanda on his wedding day, against his wishes, it is said. Under the Buddha's guidance and instruction, Nanda shed away his extreme attachment to sensuality and became an Arahant. The Buddha declared him foremost among the *bhikkhus* in the training of self-control.

Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī was also the mother of Sundari-Nandā(Q.V.) who renounced lay life on seeing that many members of her family had entered the Order. Later, she became an Arahant, having followed the Buddha's instructions regarding meditation, earning from him the praise that she was foremost among the community of nuns who practised meditation.

The name Mahapajāpati could be a title for it means 'Great Lady' or the wife of a chieftain, a queen. Some have interpreted the name as denoting a person who has a large following such as a renowned teacher. Gotami was her clan name.

King Suddhodana died when the Buddha was at Vesali and Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī then decided to renounce the world and waited for an opportunity to request permission from the Buddha to join the Order. Her opportunity came when the Buddha visited Kapilavatthu to settle a dispute between the Sakyans and the Koliyans as to who had the right to take water from the river Rohiṇī. When the dispute had been settled, the Buddha preached the *Kalahavivāda sutta* as a result of which five hundred young Sakyan men joined the Order. Their wives, led by Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, went to the Buddha and asked leave to be ordained, but, it is said, the Buddha refused to give her permission, three times. After he concluded his visit to Kapilavatthu, the Buddha went to Vesali and Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī and her companions, nothing daunted, shaved off their hair, put on yellow robes and followed the Buddha to Vesali. There, at the gates to his monastery, Ananda saw Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī standing weeping with swollen feet and dusty limbs. This record of the founding of the Nuns' Order is found in Chapter X of the Cullavagga. (*Vin.* II 253 ff. and *A.* 8.51). Learning the reason for her visit, Ananda conveyed the request to the Buddha but again he is said to have refused the request three times. Ananda then asked the Buddha whether women could attain the different stages of stream entry and final liberation from *samsāra*. The Buddha acknowledged women's ability to do so. Next Ananda asked the Buddha whether it were not good to grant Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī her request considering this impoctant fact and also because she was his aunt and step mother who nurtured him; Since she had been of great service to the Buddha, Ananda asked whether it would not be a fitting thing to do to help her to obtain emancipation from *samsara.* The Buddha then granted permission to Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī to enter the Order provided she complied with eight Special Rules which he laid down as conditions for entry to the Order. These conditions were accepted joyfully by Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī when they were conveyed to her by Ananda. Her acceptance of them became her induction into the order as well as her higher ordination. Later, she went to the Buddha personally to clarify the position regarding the Sakyan women who had followed her and after she had heard Dhamma from him and had left the presence of the

Buddha, he summoned the *bhikkhus* and having deliberated on the matter declared that monks could ordain nuns. Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī later requested, again through Ananda's good offices, whether the first of the Eight special Rules could be waived and replaced by homage being paid *vis a vis* monks and nuns according to seniority in the two-fold Order. This request the Buddha is reported to have refused, retaining, it would appear, the seniority and leadership of the *Bhikkhu Saṅgha* over the *Bhikkhunī Saṅgha.*

After the ordination, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī came to the Buddha on yet another occasion and having worshipped him, requested that he teach her Dhamma. The Buddha preached to her and gave her a subject on which to meditate. Accordingly, she practised meditation on the given topic with great earnestness, developed insight and attained Arahantship while her five hundred companion attined the same after listening to *Nandakovāda sutta.* Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī's declaration of her *aññā* is set down in 6 beautiful stanzas, in the *Therigāthā.* The second of those stanzas states her realization of *nibbāna* in the following manner:

"*Sabbadukkhā pariññātā hetu taṇhā visositā,*
ariyaṭṭhaṅgiko maggo nirodho phusito mayā."

"All forms of sorrow known,
craving, the cause, dried up,
touched have I
the noble Eight Fold Path
that puts a stop to birth."

Once at an assembly of monks and nuns in Jetavana, the Buddha declared Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī chief among the *bhikkhunī*-s who had gained recognition by virtue of beihg long standing (*A*.I.xiv 6) *"Etad aggaṃ, bhikkhave mama Sāvikānaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ rattaññūnaṃ yadidaṃ Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī."*

In the *Samaññaphala sutta* (*D*.I.2) Ajātasattu says of Makhali Gosala:

"*Ayaṃ deva Makkhali Gosālo Saṅghi c'eva gaṇi ca gaṇācariyo ca ñato yasassi titthakaro sādhusammato bahu-janassa rattaññu c'eva pabbajito addhagato vayo anuppatto.*" Here the meaning of *rattaññu* comes out as recognition gained through being a recluse of long standing who has, as a renowned teacher a vast following.

At *DA* 1.143 the word *rattaññu* is explained as "*Pabbajato paṭṭhāya atikkantā bahū rattiyo jānāti ti rattaññu*". Here again many years spend after enouncing the world is meant. The meaning of *rattaññutā* in this sense is also found at *M*.I.445.

Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī was ordained when she was already advanced in years. She qualified to being given foremost recognition as a long standing peson among the nuns from the fact that she was the first to be ordained as a nun and was virtually the founder of the Nuns' Order. She was entitled in special recognition lecause she was the person who led the original group of Sakyan women, a veritable concourse of prospective renunciates, to press for permission from the Buddha to enter the order. She was acknowledged the leader of the group by virtue of the fact that she had been the queen of Suddhodana, chief of the Sakyans and also she was the step mother of the Buddha.

From the view of feminist history, she was the first woman to focus attention on an issue concerning women's rights, if not human rights. The Buddha's doctrine was the only doctrine at the time which recognized the spiritual equality of the sexes. She would have been convinced of the fact that her request was reasonable because of the Buddha's stand in the doctrine.

It is said that once Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī made a robe for the Buddha of wonderful material and marvellously elaborate. But when it came to be offered to the Buddha, he refused it, and suggested it should be biven to the order as a whole. She was greatly disappointed, and Ananda intervened on her behalf. But the Buddha explained that his suggestion was for her own greater good and also as an example to those who might wish to make similar gifts in the future. This was the occasion for the preaching of the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga sutta* (*M*. III 253).

Once when she was ill and no monk could visit her because of the *Vinaya* rule prohibiting monks visiting nuns who were ill, the Buddha himself amended the rule and visited her. (*Vin*.IV 56)

Some time after her ordination, while at Vesali, Mahāpajāpatī Gotami realised that her life was drawing to an end. It is said she was one hundred and twenty years old. She took leave of the Buddha and at his request performed various miracles to dispel the doubts in the minds of many who were skeptical of women's attainments. This is recorded in the *Apadāna*, V. 305.

"*Thīnaṃ dhammābhisamaye ye bālā vimatiṃ gatā*
tesaṃ diṭṭhipahānatthaṃ iddhim dassehi gotamī."

It is also said that the marvels which attended her cremation rites were second only to those of the Buddha.

According to the tradition that has come down *via* various commentaries which embody myth and legend concerning the *theris*, it was in the time of Padumuttara Buddha that Hahâpajāpatī Gotamī made her resolve to gain eminence. She then belonged to a clansman's family in Maṃsāvatī, and, hearing the Buddha assign the foremost place in *rattaññutā* to a certain nun, wished for similar recognition herself, doing many good deeds to that end.

After many births, she was born once more at Benares, foremost among five hundred slave girls. When the rains drew near, five Pacceka Buddhas came from Nandamūlaka to Isipatana seeking lodgings. Pajāpatī saw them after the treasurer had refused them assistance, and, after consultation with her fellow slaves, they persuaded their several husbands to erect five huts for the Pacceka Buddhas during the rainy season and they provided them with all requisites. At the end of the rains they gave three robes to each Pacceka Buddha. After that she was born in a weaver's village near Benares, and again ministered, this time to five hundred *Pacceka Buddhas*, sons of Padumāvati (*Thig A.* 140 ff; *AA.*I. 185 f; *Ap.* II. 529-43).

Mahāpajāpatī's name appears several times in the *Jātakas*. She was the mother monkey in the *Cūlanandiya Jātaka* (*J.*II, 202), Candā in the *Culla- Dhammapāla Jātaka* (*J.*III, 182) and *Bhikkhādāyikā*, daughter of Kiki, King of Benares (*J.*VI, 481).

There is a story related of a nurse employed by Mahāpajāpatī Gotami who was born in Devadaha. She renounced the world with her mistress, but for twenty five years was harassed by thoughts of lust till, at last, she heard Dhammadinnā preach. She then practised meditation and became an Arahant. (*Thig A.* 75f. *S.V. DPPN*)

Suvimali Karunaratne

MAHĀPĀḶI, a refectory (*bhattasālā*). In ancient Sri Lanka there were two refectories known by this name. One was the royal refectory at Anuradhapura maintained by the Sinhalese kings of that period and the other was at Mahāgāma (s.v.) in Rōhaṇa. The Mahāpāḷi alms-hall located at Anuradhaura was by far the more significant and prominent than that at Rōhaṇa.

The word Mahāpāḷi (*mahā* = *great* + *pāḷi* = row) literally means 'long line' Most probably the Mahāpāḷi Hall could have been so named owing to the fact that there was a long queue of monks lined up regularly at the royal refectory to receive their ration of alms. The very fact that the monks had to assemble there for their morning and midday meals suggests that it occupied an important place in the monastic life in early Sri Lanka (*University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon*, Vol I, Colombo, 1959, p. 400).

Although some do believe that the term Mahāpāḷi could be applied to a refectory attached to any monastery (of. *EZ.* Vol. III, p. 134, n3), investigation would prove that it was not so. There is much evidence to confirm that the refectory which belonged to the Mahāvihāra alone was referred to by the name of Mahāpāli (Cf. W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. 131; W. Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 56). According to the Jetavanārāma slab inscription (No. 1) of Mahinda IV datable to the 10th century, the Mahāpāḷi at Anuradhapura was also known by the name Purimālā Mahāpela (Mahāpāḷi: *EZ.* Vol. I, p. 219; *JCBRAS*, NS, Vol. VI, 1959, p. 140).

The Mahāpāli alms-hall was located in the inner city adjacent to the temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic (*Daḷadāge*) and the royal palace (*ASC Mem.* Vol. III, pp. 2, 18; S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India,* Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1958, p. 445, etc.). It formed a part of the royal palace (*ABCMem. op. cit*, p. 2) and was maintained by the monarch himself. This practice seems to have continued up to the end of the Anuradhapura period (*circa* 10th century A. C. *JCBRAS*, NS, op. cit, p. 139). With the fall of the Anuradhapura kingdom the institution, like the royal palace and the *Daḷadāge* might have been abandoned and neglected and gradually fell into ruin. Probably the political turmoil that prevailed in the island at the time may have led to the final dereliction of the Mahāpāḷi, which depended mainly on royal patronage for its maintenance. When it was rediscovered in the present contury, it was only a mound of earch with a few pillar stumps remaining above the ground. Guided by certain references to it in the chronicles, E. R. Ayton, one time Commissioner of Archeology in Sri Lanka, rightly conjectured it to be the remains of the Mahāpāḷi Hall[1] (*ASCMem.* Vol. I, pp. 50 f; *EZ.* Vol. III, p. 134). Excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeoloty, in 1933, corroborated the authenticity of his assumption. The decipherement of certain inscriptions discovered on the stone canoe at the site had further confirmed these facts (*ASCMem. op. cit.* p. 2; *EZ, op. cit*, p. 137; *Ency. Bsm.* Vol. III, p. 7).

Mahapāḷi Hall was originally founded by king Devānampiyatissa (250-210 B. C.), who also provided for its maintenance (*Mhv.* xx: 23, 24; *Dhv* 2, p. 105). Khujjanāga (186-87 A. C), despite a severe famine (*ekanāḷika*)[2] that was revaging the country at the time, had continued at the refectory alms-giving for 500 monks (*Mhv.* XXXVI; 20). Upatissa I (365-400 A. C.) had the habbit of distributing there food prepared for him in the royal palace, and he himself partook of whatever food that was left after discribution (*ibid.* XXXVII, 182, 203-04; W. Rahula, *op. cit*, p. 261). Mahānāma (406-28 A. C) had enlarged the Mahāpāḷi (*Mhv.* XXXVII; 211). Dhātusena (455-73 A. C) was yet another monarch who had continued the practice of alms-giving at this refectory (*ibid.* XXXVIII: 41). Silākāla (518-31 A. C) too distributed there the delicious meats prepared in the same manner as for himself (*ibid*, XLI : 28). Aggabodhi I (571-604 A. C) constructed for it a canoe of bronze (*ibid*, XLII : 33), which was subsequently enlarged by Aggabodhi II (604-14 A. C). He also set up a stone canoe for cooked rice (*Bhattanāvā*: *ibid*, XLII : 67). When food was scarce in the royal palace owing to a civil strife Saṅghatissa II (circa 614 A. C) was fed from the Mahāpāḷi Hall (*ibid*, XLIV : 12). Silāmeghavaṇṇa (619-28 A. C) enlarged it (ibid, XLIV : 65). Dāṭhopatissa I (639-50 A. C), however, gave the canoe in the Mahāpāḷi to his Tamil soldiers (*ibid*, XLIV : 134). His successor, Kassapa II (650-59 A. C) held a special alms-giving at the refectory to celebrate the victory he had achieved by vanquishing the enemies (*ibid*, XLV : 1). Dāṭhopatissa II (659-67 A. C.) distributed there clothing, rice, sour-milk and milk rice on *uposatha* days (*ibid*, XLV : 25). Mahinda I (730-33 A. C) offered to it ten cart-loads of rice (ibid, XLVIII : 34). Aggabodhi IX (831-33 A. C) enlarged it and distributed there daily an amount of rice equal in weight to his own body (*ibid*, XLIX : 78). Udaya II (887-98 A. C) also enlarged the refectory (*ibid*, LI : 132). The last reference to it is in the time of king Mahinda IV (956-72 A. C), who restored it after it had been burnt down by the Cholas (*ibid*, LIV: 45; *ASCMem*. Vol. I, p. 50; *EZ*. Vol. I, p. 219).

The remains of the Mahāpāḷi alms-hall have "been used as a quarry for building material after it had been fallen into decay" (*ASCMem*. Vol. III, p. 26). The site was excavated in 1933 by the Department of Archaeology and several important discoveries were made there.

At the excavation, only the foundations of walls on the south and west were discovered, the foundations of the other two sides being dislodged. The lower portions of the walls were constructed of stone to an average height of about 2 1/2 ft, and the rest of brickwork. All the brickwork of walls, save a few sporadic traces, have disappeared. A comparison with similar ruins found at Anuradhapura would disclose that "the methods of construction employed here are rather crude and purely utilitarian, very little or no attempt having been made to impart any artistic beauty to the structure" (*op. cit*). Since no foundation wall is completely preserved, it is impossible to give the exact dimentions of the building. Paranavitana, however, conjectures that it would have measured 128 feet north to south and 120 feet east to west (op. cit). Similarly, no idea could be formed as to the exact number of stone pillars and how they were arranged. Since there were no traces of walls dividing the interior space, it is presumed that, like in other ruined refectories at the ancient capital, the ground floor of the Mahāpāḷi was an open hall. As regards the date of the remains, Paranavitana believes that it is contemporaneous with the stone trough found at the site, which dates from the 10th century A. C.[3] The style of the edifice according to him, further corroborates his views (Cf. *ibid*, p. 27).

Of the objects discovered at the site of the Mahāpāḷi Hall, the above-mentioned stone trough seems to be the most conspicious. On it are found three short inscriptions dating from the 10th century A. C (*EZ*. vol. III, pp. 132-34; *ASCMem*. Vol. III, p. 2). Several specimens of those boats, which are popularly known as *kāñda-oru* (gruel boats) or simply *nāvāyo* (boats), may be found at Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. This particular boat is measuring more than 27 feet in length and 6 feet in breadth. An inscription on the trough itself refers to it as *gal-nāva* (stone boat: *ibid*, p. 25; *Ency. Bam. loc. cit*). This canoe, which was gifted by a *Sala vaḍuna* (the custodian of the relics; W. Rahula, op. cit, p. 132; *JCBRAS*, *NS*, *op. cit*, p. 1400) seems to have been used as a repository "for boiled rice intended for feeding the monks" (*ASCMem*, Vol. III, p. 25). The size of the boat is an index to the vast multitue of monks daily fed from the refectory.

1. Geiger too had identified the unexcavated site (cf. trsl, *Cūlavaṃsa*, I, p. 17, n[5]).
2. It may be noted that Geiger, in his translation of the *Cūlavaṃsa* (p. 257, n[3]) interprets *mahāpeḷam* as a great almsgiving (or great basket) in contrast to *ekanāḷika*.
3. What Paranavitana meant here may be the latest possible date of the findings at the site.

Another significant adjunct that belonged to the refectory was the well, located outside its north-west corner. It had a depth of 26 feet 7 inches and was of unique design (*ibid*, p. 28:). A weathered inscription of about the 6th century found at the site reveals that the date of its original construction was synchronous with it (*ibid*; p. 30).

There seems to have been another adjunct called the *Salākagga* connected to the main refectory. It was there that "tickets, probably tokens made of wood, were issued to the monks before they proceeded to the refectory for receiving their ration of food" (W. Rahula, *op. cit*, p. 132; also see, W. Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa* trsl, published by the Ceylon Govt, Information Dept. 1950, p. 112, n[6]; *Mhv*. XV: 205, XXXVI:). This particular appartment, however, was not traceable among the ruins.

Among other less significant antiquities discovered at the site was a small flat piece of crystal depicting a female figurine in a very graceful *tribhaṅga* pose carved in integlio. It is also plausible that this crystal was a seal set in a signet ring (*ASCMem*. Vol. III, p. 30). There were also copper coins (H. W. Cordrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Memoirs of the Colombo Museum Series A, No. 3, 1924, p. 20), beads, specimens of pottery, terra-cotta and miscellanious metal objects (*ibid*. pp. 31-36).

Apart from the chronicles, useful accounts on the Mahāpāḷi alms-hall are available also from epigraphical remains and certain travel records. According to a 10th century inscription inscribed on the stone canoe found at the site (cf. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 132 f), the monks, who were recipients of alms given at the royal refectory, were at one time in the habbit of donating their share of rice for the repairs carried out at the Jetavana monastery (W. Rahula, *op. cit*, pp. 185 f; H. Ellawala, *Social History of Early Ceylon*, published by the Dept. of Cultural Affairs, Ceylon, 1969, p. 118). Another inscription states that each sack of paddy brought into the city of Anuradhapura was taxed at the rate of one *pata* (Skt. *prastha*) and it was given to the Mahāpāḷi refectory (*EZ*, *loc. cit*; W. Rahula, *op. cit*, pp. 72, 150). When paddy was brought to the royal alms hall, "the expenses connected with bringing them were to be borne by the person who was bound to give it as a due: (*EZ*. *op. cit*, p. 136).

Travel records of the two famous Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Hsuan-tsang throw more light on the history of the Mahāpāḷi. According to Fa-hien, who visited Sri Lanka in the 5th century A. C., five to six thousand monks were regularly fed at the refectory (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, London, pp. lxxiv f). Hsuan-tsang, from information gathered in India from Sri Lankan monks, estimates the number as eight thousand (S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, *loc. cit*.). Although the *Rasavāhinī* (ed. Kiriälle Nanavimala, Colombo, 1961, p. 155) does not quote any specific number, it reveals that the recipient monks amounted to several hundreds. It, moreover, discloses that not only the monks, but nuns, too, gathered there for alms.[4] It is possible that the number of recipient monks at the Mahāpāḷi varied from time to time depending on their number that resided in the metropolitan monasteries during each specific period.

Notwithstanding the fact that this refectory was attached to the Mahāvihāra, it extended its liberality to the monks and nuns from five great monasteries (*pañcamahāvāsa*), irrespective of their sectarian differences (*Rasavāhinī*, *loc. cit*). The monks waited in the long queue for their turn and collected their ration of rice with their alms-bowls (*patta*). Having partaken it at the refectory itself, they finally returned to their respective monasteries (S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, p. 445). According to it a fairly long time had been spent by them at the Mahāpāḷi Hall.[5]

Besides the kings, whose duty it was to perpetuate the practice of alms-giving at the royal refectory, there were also donors from the nobility as well as the common people who occassionally held alms-givings there. It is also interesting to hote that not only victuals, but also other requisites of the clergy such as robes, etc. were sometimes given as alms at the Mahāpāḷi Hall (*Mhv*. XLV : 25; *Rasavāhinī*, *loc. cit*).

Another refectory by the same name Mahāpāḷi existed at Mahāgama in the kingdom of Rohaṇa in South Sri Lanka. It was set up by king Aggabodhi, an independent ruler of the territory in the 7th century A. C. (*Mhv*. XLV: 42; W. Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 56; *DPPN*. II, p. 532). One may

4. Most probably there might have been two sections of the same refectory, where alms were served for monks and nuns separately (cf. *EZ*. vol. I, p. 219).

5. Also there were some monks at Anuradhapura, who did not visit the royal refectory; instead they went round from house to house on *piṇḍapāta* (alms round W. Rahula, op. cit, p. 176).

find the remnants of the aforesaid refectory which is said to have been built after its sister institution at Anuradhapura (W. Geiger, among ruins found in the vicinity of the Mānik vehera and the Yaṭāla vehera (cf. P.A.T.Gunasinghe, *Purātana Rohaṇa Rājyaya*, Nugegoda, 1968, p. 158). It is, however, not certain whether the southern institution had enjoyed similar royal patronage as the one at Anuradhapura. Due to insufficient ephigraphical and other evidence and the so-far unexcavated state of the site, it could be presumed that, many valuable facts about this refectory at Rōhaṇa are still shrouded in obscurity.

C. S. Ranasinghe

MAHĀPARINIBBĀNA SUTTA (1). The *Mahaparinibbāna Sutta* belonging to the *Mahavagga* of the *Dīghanikāya* of the pali canon is the longest *sutta* to be found in any of the Pali canonical works. The *sutta* begins a few days before the rains retreat when *Vassakāra*, the Magadhan minister visited the Buddha in Rajagaha on the initiative of king *Ajātasattu* and continues the narrative beyond the three months of the rains retreat and records the passing Away of the Buddha, Cremation and the Division of relics and winds up with the erection of eight *cetiyas* or monuments enshrining the relics of the Buddha.

Although the theme of the discourse should be the Great Decease as suggested by the title there are numerous details relating to the doctrine and discipline which could be categorised under different heads. It is neither a pure dialogue nor a pure narrative.

There are of course numerous recensions of the *MPS*. Among them the Pali Version is the oldest in respect of language and contents. It runs into ninety-six pages in the Pali Text Sceiety edition of the text. The *MPS* is of utmost historical and cultural value and therefore it has become a source book for the students of Buddhism, Buddha biography and history of Buddhist thought and literature.

Winternitz referring to the nature and character of the discourse says; "It is neither a dialogue nor a speech on one or more chief points of the doctrine but a continuous record of the latter part of the Buddha's life, his last speeches and sayings and his death". And further, assessing the historicity of the *Sutta* he rightly remarks that the oldest parts of this extensive record surely, belongs to the oldest parts of the *Tipiṭaka* and to the earliest beginnings of a poetic treatment of the life of Buddha. But referring to the diversity of subject matter he says," It is composed of parts which belong to different ages".[1]

When compared with the extant Buddhist Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions of the text, the fact that the Pali version is comparatively earlier in language and contents is categorically beyond contention. Hence, while pointing out the importance of the *sutta* he asserts that "the memory of the Master has been preserved and handed down with fidelity and devotion".[2]

All the scholars who dealt with the Pali version of the *Sutta* are emphatic of its improtance. According to B.C. Law " the *MPS* is one of the most important *suttas* as it furnishes us with a highly interesting narrative of the peregrination of the Buddha during the last year of his mortal existance"[3] Geiger is more precise when he refers to the sutta as a 'running description of the events of the last weeks of the life of the Buddha".[4] Venerable A.P. Buddhadatta while asserting the significance of the *Sutta* for the study of the last days of the Buddha, observed the biographical and doctrinal data embedded in the sutta and said that "it is not a single *sutta* but is a unified compendium of life and teachings of the Buddha".[5]

Rhys Davids, however, points out that only one third of the *sutta* is original to it while the rest of the passages are found in identical or almost identical words elsewhere in the canon. The gradual growth of the living traditions is anticipated; "It is well known that all the ancient sacred literatures of the world have grown up gradually and are mosaics of earlier and later material. The Buddhist *piṭaka* forms no exception.[6]

The Tibetan translations of the text are later than the 7th century, because Buddhism was introduced to Tibet in that century. There are three Tibetan translations of the text, namely, *Dulva* xif 535b-625b, Mdo

1. Winternitz M. *History of Indian Literature* Vol. ii,p.38
2. *op.cit.*,p.39
3. Law B.C. *History of Pali Literature,p.99*
4. Geiger W. *Pali Literature and Language*,p. 17
5. Buddhadatta, Ven. A.P. *Pali Sāhityaya* (Sinhala),p.35
6. Rhys Davids *SBB, Vol.iii, Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part ii, pp.71-77

viii, fl-231, and Do f 231-234. W.W. Rockhill used the first of these texts and the other Tibetan texts in narrating the life of the Buddha as recorded in the Pali version. He has noted the differences at the relevant places.[7]

A.K. Warder has made reference to three Chinese versions and named *T1*, *T2*, and *T5*, as they are popularly numbered. Referring to these versions Warder says; "The huge unwieldly text which resulted might be compared in size and its rambling organisation with the longest *Mahāyāna Sūtras* or on the other hand with contemporary *Harivansa* (a long supplement to *Mahābhārata* narrating the life of Krishna or a *Purāna* except that Brahamanical texts are mostly in verse".[8]

Besides, there are several other translations in Chinese. They are of different length. *Pachow* points out that their sizes vary to such an extent that some of them consist of thirty to forty fasciculi while others two or three fasciculi only. They are called *Chuan* in Chinese. At a rapid glance indeed we find that their differences are very great.[9]

He has selected four versions of the *MPS* found in *Nanjio* which have many facts in common and bear similarity to the Pali text for comparison with the latter.

Buddhaparinirvāna Sutra: *Nanjio* No. 552 translated by Po-Fa-Tsu, A.C. 290-306, Tsin dynasty A.C. 265-316, 2 fasciculi

Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra of the *Dīrghagāma Sūtra Nanjio No. 545 (2)* translated by Buddhayasas together with Chu Fonien A.C. 412-413 of the latter Tsin dynasty A.C. 384-417, 3 fasciculi *Parinirvāna Sūtra* or *Vaipulya Nirvāna Sūtra Nanjio* No. 119, translated under the eastern Tsin dynasty A.C. 317-420 The name of the translator is not known, 2 fasciculi

Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra : Nanjio No. 118, Translated by *Fa-hien* of the Eastern *Tsin* dynasty A.C. 317-420. 3 fasciculi Besides these texts the numbers 113,114,115,116,117,120,121,122,123,124,125,542 and 1121 mentioned in *Nanjio's* catalogue may be used for further references.

The Sarvāstivāda version of the text has been edited by waldschmidt *(Abhandlunen Deutche Akademi der wissenschaften* zu Berlin *1957, 1962)* and also by N. Dutt in *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. iii, p. 415. An earlier attempt in comparing the different versions of the text is found in *Journal Asiatique* 1918-1920 under the title "comparative Study of the Different *Parainirvāna* Texts" by Przyluski.

Pategama Gnanarama

MAHĀPARINIBBĀNA SUTTA (2): The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, the Discourse on the Great Passing away of the Buddha, is contained in the *Digha Nikaya* (D. II. pp. 72-168). The Sutta belongs to a later stratum of the canon and has been described as a mosaic of earlier and later material.[1] It is distinguished from other suttas in the *Sutta Piṭaka* by its extraordinary length and uniqe literary character, organized round the theme of the Buddha's last missionary journey. Though it begins with the familar words with which Ven. Ananda prefaced his rehearsal of *suttas* at the First Council, nemely, "Thus have I heard", it differs from other *suttas* in that it pre-supposes not only Ven. Ananda hearing the Teachings presented but also witnessing and participating in the incidents related. It is, therefore, meant to be a first hand account of the Buddha's last days of ceaseless missionary activity as he walked from Rajagaha to his final halting place, Kusinārā, where at the Upavattana sāla grove of the Mallas, he laid himself down on a prepared couch and attained Parinibbāna.

The journey would have been a tiring one for anyone to undertake on foot at the age of eighty, especially after sustaining a severe illness on the way, crossing rivers and following in part, the road that ran along the Himalayan foothills to Kusinārā. The duration of the journey would have stretched over several months fot it is recorded that the Buddha spent vassa at Beluvagāma. a village near Vesali. Judging by the North Westerly direction of the route taken from Rajagaha to Vesali and from there again North Westwards to Kusinara, it is possible that Kapilavatthu, Lumbini and Sāvatti were envisaged in the itinerary as possible destinations.

However, due to ill health, the Buddha was able to reach only Kusinārā in the Region of the Northern Mallas, a republican city state situtated in the foothills of the Himalayas.

7. Rockhill, W.W. *The Life of Buddha*, p.1
8. Warder A.K. *Indian Buddhism* p.415
9. *Sino-Indian Studies* Vol. i, Part 4, July *1945*

According to the detailed, almost step by step, account in the *MPS*, the Buddha set out from Gijjhakūta Pabbata (Vultures' Peak) at Rajagaha with a large retinue of monks and halted at Ambalaṭṭhika, then on to Nalanda, 1 Yojana (7 miles) from Rajagaha, then to Pāvārika mango grove and from there to Pataligama, still in Magadha territory. At Pataligama the Buddha crossed the Ganges and went into the country of the Vajjians, to Kāṭigāma, Nadika, Ambapāli grove at Vesali and Beluvagama, a village at Vesali, where he took up residence for *Vassa*. It was here that a severe illness overcame him but suppressing it with determination he went on. His next halting place was at the Kuṭagāra sālā in the Mahāvana, a natural forest outside the town of Vesāli. Having returned to Vesāli for alms and after having had the meal, the Buddha left Vesāli and went on to Bandagāma where he resided for some time. Thereafter, he went on to Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Jambugāma and Bhoganagara where he resided at Ananda Cetiya. All these places were in the country of the Vajjis. From Bhoganagara he went on to Pāvā in the country of the Mallas where he rested at the mango grove of Cunda, the metal worker. It was there that he was subjected to another bout of the earlier dire illness, *lohitapakkhandika* (diarrhooea) which took a fatal turn. He succumbed to this illness after accepting a *dāna* offered by Chunda which contained a preparataion of *sūkaramaddava*, thought to be pork or a kind of truffle. From Pāvā, the Buddha walked to the bank of the pleasant Kakuṭṭha river and being exceedingly tired, bathed in it and drank of its pure clean water. Then, coming out of the water he proceeded to a mango grove where he requested Ven. Chundaka to fold his upper robe in four and lay on the ground so that he could lie down and rest a while. Having rested sufficiently, he moved on to the Upavattana wood of Sala Tree (shorea robusta) on the further bank of the Hiraññavati, which is identified with the Little Gandak, near Kusinārā and there, beneath two *sala* trees, he passed into Parinibbāna.

The Special Character of the MPS: The characterization of the Buddha (the focal point in the narrative), dramatic elements, events of a miraculous nature, dialogue, lofty edifying stanzas and descriptions of great emotive power are some of the literary aspects of the *MPS*. which sets it apart from other *suttas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. The teachings he delivered to the bhikkhus and the laity in places where he halted or resided are interwoven into the narrative. What is noteworthy is the way all the different elements are organised round the theme of the Last Journey and developed to its final conclusion in the manner of a composite piece of literature which attains, in its closing scene, a classic height.

Characterization of the Buddha: The *sutta* allows an intimate glimpse of the Buddha's humanness. It focuses on the acute suffering he endured at Beluvagāma where he fell ill which is expressed in his cryptic words to Ven. Ananda, that he is frail and much advanced in years and that his body is like an old cart kept going with supports. Again, on the road to Kusinārā, he becomes exhausted and needing to rest, requests Ven. Ananda to fold his upper robe into four and lay it on the ground so that he could sit down and rest. Soon after, he makes another request of Ven. Ananda. He says "I am thirsty Ananda, I should like to drink". The humanness comes through in spite of the few embellishments of a miraculous nature which stud the text. Even the utterance, put into the mouth of the Buddha, that he could, if he so wished, live on for a *Kappa* (aeon) does not diminish his humanness, which is consistantly underscored. At one point in the narrative, the sorrowing Ananda is told by the Buddha that his body has the same nature of dissolutions as all else that are born, brought into being and put together.

The quality of humanity is another aspect of the Buddha's personality which shines through the *MPS*. Knowing that Cunda's grief would be extreme when he discovers that it was his *dāna* offered to the Buddha that resulted in his fatal illness, he instructs, Ven. Ananda, with keen psychological insight as to what exactly he should tell Cunda to allay his feelings of deep regret and self blame. On a previous occasion when the Licchavi princes request that the Buddha accept *dāna* from them the following day, the Buddha declines as he had already agreed to accept *dāna* on the following day from Ambapali, the courtesan. The Buddha's humanity and egalitarian attitude is very clear, in spite of the fact that the Licchavi princes were the most powerful in the Vajji confederation and in his own words to Ven., Ananda, resembled in appearance the gods of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. It is recorded that the Licchavi princes snapped their fingers with irritation because they had "beaten" by the "mango girl". In another anecdote, the Buddha, while lying ailing and very near to breathing his last, grants Subaddha's request to answer questions and clear his doubts. To

1. T. W. Rhys David's introduction to the *MPS*, *SBB* Vol. iii, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part II, PP. 71-77.

the very last, the Buddha is seen to be the very epitome of a spiritual teacher, "putting forth energy" (a quality which he constantly urged his disciples to cultivate) to expound the doctrine and exhort his disciples for the benefit and welfare of the many.

Dramatic Episodes: The *Sutta* begins dramatically with king Ajatasattu of Magadha sending his chief minister to the Buddha to inform him of his intention to attack and completely destroy the Vajjis. The purpose is to observe the Buddha's reaction so that they may glean whether such a campaign would be successful or not. The visit of the chief minister with the message entrusted to him, presents an opportunity for the Buddha to deliver a lecture on the 7 conditions that conduce to prospserity, *Satta Aparihaniya Dhamma*, preached on an earlier occasion to the Vajjians. Later, these same seven conditions and additional ones were expounded to the *bhikkhus* for their progress.

There are many more such dramatic episodes in the narrative, Mara's visit to the Buddha and his dialogue that ensues, being one.

The most dramatic scene in the *Sutta* is of course the *Parinibbāna*, to which the entire narrative builds up with appropriate foreshadowing. The Buddha's illness, the earthquake immediately after he makes known his decision to attain *Parinibbāna* in three month's time, and other such portents direct the narrative to its final conclusion. The drama of the closing scene is heightened by descriptions of the anguish expressed by certain of the *devas*, *bhikkhus* and laity who had not yet attained to mind compousure and self possession.

Miraculous Events: The injection of miraculous events into the text should not cause surprise as such embellishments are invariably found in ancient literatures. An example is how the Buddha and his entire retinue crossed the Ganges at Pataligama, disappearing and re-appearing on the opposite bank "as a strong man stretching out his bended arm or bending his outstretched arm". The stanza at that point of the narrative invests the crossing over to the opposite bank with a metaphoric meaning which gives the text an enhanced value.

There are several such embellishments. For instance, Ven. Ananda going to fetch water for the Buddha to drink from a nearby stream, muddied by five hundred carts going through it, finds the water miraculously clear and pure.

The scene of *Parinibbāna* is presented with the kind of embellishment one might expect, with the *sāla* trees bursting into flower out of season and showering the Buddha's body with blossoms and the *devas* scattering celestial Mandāra flowers and sprinkling sandalwood powder over him, while divine music and singing wafts through the air. Even here, the opportunity is not lost for an appropriate homily which is intervowen into the text's rich tapestry., for the Buddha remarks that the correct way to honour him is by following the *dhamma (yo dhammaṃ passati-so maṃ passati)*. After the cremation it is said torrents of water fell form the sky. All the embroidery point to the fact that the *MPS Mahaparinibbāna* Sutta had already acquired legendary elements when it crystalized into its present form in the canon.

Other Literary Aspects: There is never a dull moment in the narrative for it flows on with a momentum of its own. It does not even pause long at the scene of the *Parinibbāna* but makes known other activities and arrangements going on a-pace in the background, like a new minor theme being introduced into a musical composition or a detail being worked into a tapestry's main design. These activities relate to the Mallas being informed of the impending *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha so that they may pay their last respects to him before the actual event takes place. It is on account of Ven. Ānanda's organisational skill that all the Mallas were presented to the Buddha in groups of family members so that the whole business was brought to a finish by the end of the night's first watch itself.

The lofty edifying stanzas interspersing the text at this juncture elevate the mood of the narrative to a pitch of sublime grandeur and pathos from the human predicament of mortality to a cosmic dimension. The Buddha's last words of admonition are:

> "*Vayadhamma Saṅkhārā appamādena sampādetha*"
> "All component things are subject to decay.
> Exert yourself with diligence."
> The stanza attributed to God Sakka is the following
> "*Anicca vata saṅkhārā uppādavaya dhammino Uppajjitvā nirujjhanti tesaṃ vūpasamo sukhoti*".
> All component things are impermanent. It is the nature of things that what is born should die.... their cessation is happiness.

Ven. Ananda's utterance on experiencing the mighty earthquake that takes place immdiately after the *Parinibbāna* is the following.

> "*Tadāsi bhiṃsanakhaṃ tadāsi lomahansanam*
> *Sabbākāravarupete sambuddhe parinibbute'ti*"
> "As the Sambuddha, posessed of all virtuous qualities passed into *parinibbāna*, immediately there occured a mighty earthquake making the hair stand on end."

The description of the Buddha's actual passing away is contained in a passage of extraordinary power and which can be described only in terms of a grand musical score. It states the Buddha's ascent from one *jhāna* to another, step by step, to the very peaceful pinnacle of *Nirodha Samāpatti* and then rising from that state entering in descending order to the fourth, third, second and first *jhānas* and then again rising from the first *jhāna* and ascending step by step to the fourth and immediately afterwards passing into *Parinibbāna*. It is not a wonder that this event has inspired many works of art and sculpture throughout the Buddhist world.

After the *Parinibbāna* the momentum of the narrative is sustained in a subdued key. The body of the Buddha is taken charge of by the Mallas for the purpose of according the Buddha a state funeral and while arrangements are being made for the cremation, the body is made to lie in state in thier Assembley Hall. According to custom, they put up a canopy and decorated the hall with lengths and lengths of cloth and festoons of flower garlands. For a whole week through they honour, revere venerate and esteem the body of the Buddha with music, songs and dance. Finally after the elaborate cremation, the narrative relates how the bodily relics were distributed among the Khattiyas of various clans and two brahmanas. They were, the Magadhan king, Ajatasattu of Videha, the Licchavis of the Vajji republic, Sakhyans of Kapilavatthu Bulis of Allakappa, Koliyas of Ramagāma, Mallas of Pāvā, brahmana of Vethadipa and brahmana Drona. The Moriyas of Pippalivana laid claim to a portion of the relics too late and were given embers from the funeral pyre instead.

The whole structure of the narrative in the *MPS* moves up to its climax skilfully and can be compared to an ornate tapestry woven with thread of varying texuture and hue or a classic musical composition with a few recurring themes sounded from time to time such as the *anicca* of the body and exhortation to the *bhikkhus* themselves according to *sīla, samādhi* and *paññā*. The powerful emotive effect of the *MPS*'s literary form, akin at times to a musical score, may be best appreciated by its auditary impact as an oral compostion which it was originally, meant for the preservation of historic and doctrinal material through recitation.

Other Aspects of Interest: Apart from the interest the *MPS* evokes with regard to the main theme, it yields information about various aspects of Indian life, social and religious. For instance, it is learnt that there were rest houses in towns, cities and villages where visitors could stay. The villagers of Patalilgama decked their village rest house, arranged seats, placed a pot of water and provided an oil lamp for the Buddha and his retinue of bhikkhus. The Buddha mentions several *cetiyas* or silvan shrines which he appears to have delighted in visiting. By the number of *cetiyas* mentioned it would seem they were pre-Buddhist shrines at which the people were accustomed to worship. The seven conditions for prosperity which the Buddha advised the Vajjians to follow mentioned the maintaining of shrines worshipped by the people and the continuance of customary offerings made at those shrines. The funeral rites of the Mallas have already been mentioned and the Buddha himself describes to Ven. Ananda the elaborate way a Buddha or a Cakkavatti king should be cremated. It is interesting to note how the Mallas worshipped the relics of the Buddha in their Assembley Hall within a lattice work structure of spears surrounded by a rampart of bows.

The *sutta* also yields information of a historical and geographical nature. The narrative describes how Pataligāma was being fortified against the Vajjian attack, and the Buddha prophesying that it would develop into a prosperous city. This remark anticipates what the city became in the future and could be something that has been thrown back to the Buddha's lifetime in the form of a prophesy. Kusinārā, though a humble wattle and daub town is said to have been a thriving city in the past called Kusāvatī. Geographical details presented include names of villages, towns, cities, rivers, mountains, regions and clans whose names were sometimes synonymous with the regions they occupied.

The Teaching: Apart from the seven conditions which conduce to progress of a state (*satta aparihaniyā dhamma*) which the Buddha had earlier expounded to the Vajjians and which were related to Vassakāra and later related to the Bhikkhus with 5 additional sets of seven conditions and another set of 6 conditions for their progress, the Teachings in the *MPS* are mainly

summaries of important doctrines found elsewhere in the Canon. They comprise the Four Noble Truths referred to the *bhikkhus* the Noble Eight Fold Path which at Koṭigama, as explained to Subaddha at the scene of the *Parinibbāna* is what distinguishes the Buddha's doctrine from the teachings of other *samaṅs*. Satipaṭṭhāna (the Four foundations of Mindfulness) explained to Ven. Ananda at Beluvagāma, so he may live being as a lamp and a refuge unto himself; then at the Capala Cetiya at Vesali the Buddha explained to the Ven. Ananda the *Abhibhayātanas*, "the 8 stages of Mastery' which are powers obtained by means of *kasina* meditation exercises. They are meant by which the sensuous sphere can be transcended He also explained to Ven. Ananda the eight *Vimokkhā* (liberations) which describe meditational absorptions including the *jhanic* states of *akāsānancāyatana, viññānaincāyatana, akiñcaincāyatana, nevasañña nā sañña-yatana* and *nirodhasamapatti*.

While staying at the Kuṭagāra Sālā at Mahavana, the Buddha requested Ven. Ananda to assemble the bhikkhus at Upavatthana Sālā where he summarized the following doctrines. The *Four Satipaṭṭana* (Foundations of Mindfulness) 4 *Sammappadhana* (4 Right Exertions) 4 *Iddhipadas* (4 bases of power) *Pañcindriyāni* (5 faculties) *Pañca-balāni* (5 powers) *Satta Bojjanga* (7 factors of enlightenment) and the *Ariya Aṭṭhaṅgika Magga* (the Noble Eight Fold Path).

The ethical aspect of the Teaching is constantly emphasised throughout the text like a recurring refrain. At Bhandagāma the Buddha emphasizes to the bhikkhus the importance of understanding the meaning of *sīla, samādhi, paññā* and *vimutti*. It is a frequent piece of advice given to the *bhikkhus* at Ambatthika, Kotigama, Vesali, Bhandagama and again at Bhoganagara that they must practise *sīla, samādhi* and *paññā* for the elimination of the *āsavas*.

At Pataligama, the Buddha expounds the 5 consequences of following unrighteous conduct and 5 consequences of following righteous conduct. Significantly, the psychological effect on an individual following these two categories of conduct had been included.

When divine Mandāra flowers and sandalwood powder were sprinkled on his body by devas at the scene of the *parinibbāna* and heavenly music and singing wafted about in honour of the Buddha, the opportunity is made use of to tell Ven. Ananda that it is not by such means that the Buddha is rightly honoured, revered, venerated and esteemed but by living according to the dhamma.

A theme repeated several times is the concern expressed by the Buddha to establish on a firm footing the fourfold assembley of bhikkhus, bhikkhunis, laymen and laywomen. The importance of establishing such an assembly for the progress of the *sāsana* (dispensation) was expressed by the Buddha to Māra and later to Ven. Ananda when recounting his dialogue with Māra, both the Enlightenment and at the Cāpala Cetiya.

A significant utterance attributed to the Buddha at the *parinibbāna* is his granting of permission to abolish the minor and lesser rules, (*kuddhanukhuddani sikkhapadani* if so desired. This remark, especially coming from the mouth of the Buddha himself, strikes a discordant note in the Theriya tradition. It has been pointed out[2] that there was a move among a certain section of the Sangha to do away with the minor and lesser rules of conduct. There is indication of this when Ven. Mahā Kassapa on his way from Pāvā to Kusinara heard of the Buddha's *parinibbāna'* from an Ajivaka Paribbājaka, one of the monks in Ven. Mahakassapa's retinue Subaddha expressed joy, that members of the *sangha* would be free of the restraint of following disciplinary *vinaya* rules. A historical consideration of this movement which grew into a formidable proportion after the *parinibbāna* and a comparative study of the Buddha's remark as recorded in recensions other than the Pali, begs the question why it finds mention in the recensions of all the Buddhist schools with significant variations between the texts of the Sthaviravāda and those of the Mahāsaṅghika sects. A conclusion that may be reached from the data is that when the *MPS* crystalized into its present form in the Pali (Theriya) recension, with its earlier and later historical layers, divergent attitudes were co-existing in one and the same Saṅgha community before their division into schools and sects.

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Suvimalee Karunaratne

MAHĀPURISA. The Pali term *Mahāpurisa* literally means Great Man. In the Buddhist literature the term is used to refer to a person who is destined to become either a Universal Ruler (*Cakkavatti*) or a Buddha. Thus the term presents a concept of both secular and spiritual importance.

The origin of the concept of *Mahāpurisa* is not quite clear. All available evidence shows that it is a concept going back to great antiquity, and certainly to pre-Buddhistic times. The concept as well as the essence of its theory was adopted by the Buddhists from pre-Buddhistic traditions. This view is supported by the *Suttas* which attribute the knowledge of the theory of *Mahāpurisa* to sages of yore. Thus it is said that "Seers not of our communion, are acquainted with marks (of a *Mahāpurisa*):but they do not know as a consequence of what deeds done these marks (*D*. III, p. 145) are (*D*. III. p. 145).

This reference is important, for it suggests that the Buddhists not only adopted this concept from pre-Budhistic sources, but also enlarged its scope by adding certain innovations, specially on the moral side. It is also seen from *Sutta* references that the science of prognostications, particularly foretelling of the future of a person by interpreting specific marks on his body, was one of the branches of the traditional system of education (*D*. I, pp 28, 114; *M*. I., pp 135; *Sn. vv.* 101 etc.). There is reference to this in the *Vedic* texts, too. (*Atharva Veda*, VIII, 115. 1). The Jainas too seem to have practised prognostication (*Sthānaṅga Sūtra* III, 6, 78, *Uttaradhñana Sūtra* VIII, 13), Basham says that there is evidence to show that even the Ājivakas practised some kind of prognosticatory science. All this shows that the belief in the *Mahāpurisa* was part of traditional lore of the time, and Buddhism, being a junior contemporary of the religious systems, adopted it and gave it more importance while widening its scope.

The earliest reference to the concept of *Mahāpurisa* is perhaps in the *Pārāyanavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*, which contains *Suttas* belonging to the earliest strata of the Pali canon. In the *Sutta* called *Tissametteyyamānarākapuccha* the brahmin, Tissametteyya asks the Buddha as to whom he calls a *Mahāpurisa*. This question is immediately followed by another question "Who has here gone beyond desire?" The whole tone of the *Sutta* is rather ethical, and hence, both the question and the answer are ethically biased.

However, there is something specially noteworthy in the Buddha's explanation as to who a *Mahāpurisa* is. In defining *Mahāpurisa* there is no mention of any distinguishing bodily marks. Perhaps, it may be that the Buddha, when adopting the pre-Buddhistic concept, originally did not pay any heed to such marks, but was concerned about the virtues embodied in such a Great Being. And, hence, in answering the question the Buddha says: "the man who abstains from sensual pleasures, who is free from desire, always mindful, happy by reflection, without turmoil, often knowing both ends, does not stick in the middle as far as his understanding is concerned, him, I call a Great Man (*Mahāpurisa*). He has overcome craving in the world". It is true that this answer was made to fit into the question. Yet, it shows that at first the *Mahāpurisa* concept was used to focus attention on moral perfection. In this explanation there is no identification of a Great Man with any particular individual like the Buddha, an Arahant or even a Bodhisattva. Hence, it is seen that in the earliest stages of its use in Buddhism the term *Mahāpurisa* generally denoted none other than a being who had destroyed his defilements, i. e. an Arahant.

The *Saṃyutta* (V. P. 158) records an incident where the Buddha tells Sariputta that according to him a Great Man is called so because his mind is emancipated. Here the Buddha explains emancipation of the mind through the Four Foundations of Mindfulness. The *Dhammapada* also records a similar account of the concept of *Mahāpurisa*. It says: "He who has overcome craving, devoid of grasping, who is skilled in etymology, who knows the grouping of letters and their sequence he, who bears the final body and is of profound wisdom is a Great Man.

In this, though the ethical aspect is quite prominent, one can notice an expansion of the concept to include certain secular areas of proficiency. This widening of the scope of this concept is evident from numerous other *Suttas* as well. The *Aṅguttaranikāya* (II, pp. 25-37) contains an account of the meeting between the Buddha and the Brahmin Vassakāra where the

latter expresses his views about the *Mahāpurisa*. Here he lists four qualities, namely much learning (*bahussuta*), ability of comprehension (*bhasitassa attham jānāti*) possession of a good memory power (*satimā kho pana hoti cirakatampi cirabhāsitampi*), skill and diligence in a layman's duties (*gahaṭṭhakaraṇiyeasu dakkho hoti analaso*). Herein, Vassakāra, who was the chief minister of King Ajātasattu, seems to have conceived the *Mahāpurisa* concept from a broad social perspective. This shows that the pre-Buddhistic concept of *Mahāpurisa* was freely used by religious men and lay people alike to interpret their own ideas of who a Great Man is.

The social aspect of the *Mahāpurisa* concept finds development in the *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* of the *Dighanikaya*. This *sutta* is important for another reason, namely, for presenting the popular conception of the *Mahapurisa* concept based on physical characteristics. This conception of the *Mahāpurisa* seems to be related to the science of prognostication which, as pointed out before, was mentioned in both pre-Buddhist as well as Buddhist literature. Though this kind of science was looked down upon by Buddhism as a low science (*tiracchanavijjā*), this condemnatory attitude does not appear to have affected the Buddhist *Mahapurisa* concept and its close relation to the Buddha and Cakkavatti concepts. Though this relation between the Mahapurisa concept and the Buddha and Cakkavatti concepts is mentioned in the Canon itself, it could be that this belongs to the later stratum of the Canon wherein one finds evidence of development of the Buddha concept. The development of the Buddha concept seems to have necessitated the adoption of the pre-Buddhistic *Mahāpurisa* concept.

The belief that a person with specific bodily signs of a Great Man has only two destinies came to be a part of the Buddhist tradition at a fairly early date. The *Suttas* record that if such a person leads the life of a householder he will cetainly become the Universal Monarch (Cakkavatti, S. V.) or if he leaves household life and enters recluseship he will become a Buddha (*M*. II. p. 133; *S*. I p. 89, 114, 120 etc.). This seems to be a Buddhist innovation introduced to the pre-Buddhist concept of *Mahapurusa*. In the *Majjhima* commentary (*MA*. II, p. 76) the commentator says that when the time comes for the birth of a Buddha, the Suddhavāsa Brahmas visit the earth in the guise of Brāhmaṇas and teach men about the bodily signs of such a great man as part of the Vedic teaching, so that wise men may recognise the future Buddha. The *Mahāpadana Sutta* of the *Dighanikāya* which presents the biographies of six previous Buddhas says that soothsayers were summoned to prognosticate on the bodily signs of Prince Vipassi, who later attained Buddhahood under the same name. The *Jātakanidāna* describes a similar event connected with Prince Siddhartha (*J*. I., p. 55f). In the case of Prince Siddhartha one young soothsayer was supposed to have confidently declared that there is only one destiny for Prince Siddhartha and that is the attainment of Buddhahood.

These signs of a *Mahāpurisa* are said to be thrity-two in number though it is not quite certain how, why and when this number got fixed. Whether all these thirty-two signs are seen in the body of the *Mahāpurisa* at the time of his birth is not quite clear; however, it is assumed that they could be identified in the body of the child and through them one can predict his destiny.

After the enlightenment, too, there were several occasions when the thirty-two marks of *Mahāpurisa* on the Buddha's body came up for investigation. These incidents describe how by examining these marks on Gothama's body some Brāhmans wanted to make sure whether he surely had attained Buddhahood. The *Majjhimanikāya* (*M*. II, p. 146) and the *Suttanipāta* (104f) record such an investigation made by a Brahmin called Sela. The *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* of the *Dighanikaya* is of special importance in this regard, as it presents the *Mahāpurisa* concept based on the bodily marks. Although the Buddha did not specifically define a *Mahāpurisa* by virtue of his physical excellence, the texts maintain that these marks are an absolute requirement for a person who becomes a Buddha. The Buddha's disapproval of this belief is seen in his rather condemnatory attitude to prognostication which he labelled as a lowly science.

The *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* introduces the theory of the physical characteristics of *Mahāpurisa* without specifically saying whether the Buddha himself possessed them. It refers to the Tathāgatas as being endowed with them. However, the incident connected with the Brāhmin called Sela makes it clear that the Buddha himself was endowed with them. It is said that when Brāhmin Sela, Brahmāyu and pupils of Bāvari were not quite sure whether the Buddha was endowed with two particular marks, the Buddha contrived by *iddhi* power to make those branmins see them. This suggests that the Buddha, according to the accepted tradition, was endowed with these thirty-two marks.

Although the Buddha did not define *Mahapurisa* by virtue of his physical excellence, it can be seen that he did not reject the theory of the *Mahāpurisa* advocated by the Brahmins. However, he gave it a different interpretation by adding a moral dimension to it. Thus in the *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* the Buddha while attributing the knowledge of the theory of *Mahapurisa* to certain sages of the past says that these sages did not know the cause and reason in consequence of which an individual could obtain the signs of a Great Being (*D*. III, p. 145). In Buddhism one finds this *Mahāpurisa* concept being combined with the doctrines of *Kamma* and rebirth. It is seen that although the *Sutta* introduces the past good actions with reference to the Tathagata only, physical signs and their present effects have been referred to of both the Buddha and the Cakkavatti, the secular counterpart of the signs reveals two different efforts relating to the Buddha and the Cakkavatti respectively.

In Budhist texts the Mahapurisa as Cakkavatti is represented with miraculous power and external possessions such as seven treasures (*satta ratana*) supremacy over the quarters, etc. On the other hand, the Mahāpurisa as the Buddha is represented with greater emphasis on internal spiritual attainments such as the seven factors of Enlightement (*satta bojjhaṅga*). In spite of this fundamental difference the marks are similar.

A number of Pali *Suttas* e.g. *Mahāpadāna* (*D*. III, p. 17 f). *Lakkhaṇa* (*D*. III, p. 143 f) and *Brahmāyu* (*M*. II, 134) give the physical signs of the *Mahāpurisa* which are enumerated as thrity two. Besides the Pali *Suttas*, the Mahāvastu (*Mhvu*. 2.52) makes a brief reference to them. The *Lalitavistara* deals with them fully (*Lal*. p. 105). The *Madyamāgama* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka also enumerates these marks and this is good evidence for the antiquity of the belief.

Max Muller who had made a critical study of these marks has collected a list of thirty-seven from different sources. Research done by Burnouf and Franklin Edgerton, too, are quite noteworthy. The thirty two characteristics of a Great Being (*dvattiṃsa-Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇa*) are as follows:

1. *Suppatiṭṭhitapāda* (feet with level tread)
2. *Heṭṭhāpadatalesu cakkāni* (soles are marked with wheel signs complete with spokes, rim, hub etc.)
3. *Āyatapaṇhi* (projecting heels)
4. *Dīghaṅguli* (long fingers)
5. *Mudutaḷunahatthapāda* (soft and tender hands and feet)
6. *Jālahatthapāda* (evenly spaced fingers and toes)
7. *Ussaṅkapada* (ankles are over the exact middle of the tread)
8. *Eṇijaṅgha* (legs are shaped like those of antelopes)
9. *Thitakova anonamanto ubhohi hattehi jannukāni parimasati* (can touch and rub knees without bending)
10. *Kosohitavatthaguyha* (privities are within a sheath)
11. *Suvaṇṇavaṇṇa* (golden complexion)
12. *Sukumachavi* (soft texture of skin)
13. *Ekekaloma* (hair grows singly, one in each pore)
14. *Uddhaggaloma* (straight hair, blue-black, curling to the right at the tip)
15. *Brahmujjugatta* (erect body frame)
16. *Sattussada* (body having seven convex surfaces)
17. *Sihapubbaddhakāya* (upper part of the body well built like that of a lion)
18. *Citantaramasa* (having no hollow between shoulders.
19. *Nigrodhaparimaṇḍala* (symmetrical proportion like a banyan tree)
20. *Samavattakkhandha* (symmetrical shoulder curves)
21. *Rasagghasaggi* (an equisite, acutely sensitive sense of taste)
22. *Sihahanu* (jaws like those of a lion)
23. *Cattālisadanta* (forty teeth)
24. *Samadanta* (even teeth)
25. *Avivaradanta* (having no interstices between teeth)
26. *Susukkadanta* (sparkling white teeth)
27. *Pahūta-jivha* (long flexible tongue)
28. *Brahmasvara* (voice is like that of Brahma and is mellifluous like the *kuravik* birds)
29. *Abhinīlanetto* (dark blue eyes)
30. *Gopakhuma* (long eye-lashes like those of a cow)
31. *Uṇṇa* (soft white hair between eye-brows)
32. *Unhisasīsa* (head shaped like a royal turban

It is seen that some of these marks are quite obvious in their meaning, some are obscure and difficult to account for as physical attributes.

It could be surmised that most of these marks are meant to emphasise their symbolic nature in relation to the Buddha's character than their physical importance. This is shown by the *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* (Q. V) where it is said that the fortunes in respect of the *Lakkhaṇas* are different in relation to the Buddha and the Cakkavatti king. Hence most of these *Mahāpurisa lakkhaṇas* attributed to the Buddha can be seen not only as physical marks, but also as sings that portray outwardly the inner spiritual qualities of the Buddha.

The development of docetic theories concerning the Buddha appeared to have greatly contributed to the further elaboration and even increase in the number of special bodily marks. One of the major developments of the *Mahāpurisa* concept at this stage is the enumeration of eighty secondary marks (*asīti-anuvyañjana*) subsidiary to the thirty two major marks (*Lal.* p. 142). By this time the Buddha was considered to be a transcendental being and thirty two marks were felt to be insufficient for his glorification, and hence eighty minor marks were evolved as an attempt to provide a detailed description of each major mark. This transcendental conception of the Buddha as possessing three bodies (*tri-kāya*) which developed in the Mahāyāna had an influence on the concept of the *Mahāpurisa* as well. At this stage the thrity two marks which were considered signs possessed by the *Nirmāṇa-kāya*, the form in which the Buddha appeared on earth, were also attributed to *Sambhogakāya* the Glorified Body or the Body of Bliss in which the Buddha manifests himself in the midst of the Bodhisattvas.

Still later when the Bodhisattva concept developed as an ideal to be pursued, these marks were attributed to the Bodhisattavas who are in heavenly worlds.

The concept of *Mahāpurisa* also played an important role in Buddhist iconography. Although thirty-two marks are enumerated only some of them are depicted in iconographic representation of the Buddha, and this is purely due to certain technical difficulties in representating some of them. Thus the most frequently represented are such marks as the level tread of feet, soles of feet marked with wheel signs, long fingers, soft and tender limbs, evenly placed fingers and toes, legs like those of antelopes, colour and texture of skin, the erect frame, the torso like that of a lion, absence of a hollow between shoulders, symmetrical bodily proportion comparable to a banyan tree, symmetrical curves of shoulders, *urṇa* and *uṣṇīsa*. It is seen that these *Mahāpurisa Lakkaṇas* have greatly facilitated the task of the artists to transfer the inner abstract qualities of the Buddhahood into visual artistic representation.

Bellanwila Wimalaratana

MAHĀSAMMATA, a king who lived in the beginning of the present *kalpa*. The Pali chronicles mention him as the original ancestor of the Sakyan family to which the Buddha belonged, and gives a list of dynasties from his day to the time of the Buddha, to prove that the line was unbroken (*Mhv.* ii, *vv.* 1 ff.; *Dpv.* iii, *vv* 1 ff., *MhvA.* p. 122ff. See also *J.* II, p. 311, III, p. 454. *Mhvu.* I, p. 348; II, p. 146). Mahāsammata belonged to the solar race and is identified with the bodhisatta, who was born among men after sojourn in the Brahma-world (*MhvA.* p. 121 ff). He was called Mahāsammata, because, on the arising of wickedness in the world he was chosen by the people (*sannipatitā sammaggajātehi mahājanehi sammannitvā kato Mahāsammato*) to show indignation against and disapproval of those worthy of blame (*D.* III, p. 92 f. *Mhvu.* I, p. 384; *MhvA.* p. 122; *DhsA.* pp. 390, 392). In return for his service he was given a portion of their harvest. It is said that in the dynasty of Mahāsammata the idea of meting out punishment, such as torture, fining, expulsion, was unknown. These were invented later with the advance of civilization! (*J.* IV, p. 192).

His life span was incalculable (*J.* III, p. 454). The Pali texts say that he had a son named Roja (*J.* II, p. 311; III, p. 454). But the *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* I, p. 348) record the son's name as Kalyāna.

The *Vimānavatthu* commentary explain that Mahāsammata is the name given in the sacred books (*sāsana*) for Manu (*MhvuA.* p. 19). Some, at least, of the Sinhala kings traced their descent from Mahāsammata (*Mhv* XLII, *v.* 2). Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives this also as a name of a Buddhist Turkish chieftain.

Sanath Nanayakkara

MAHĀSAṄGHIKA: The origin of the Mahāsaṅghikas goes back to the Second Buddhist Council which was held about a century after the Buddha's *parinibbāna*. They were the first sect to secede from the main fra-

ternity of the *bhikkhusangha*, who up to the time of this secession continued to maintain their identity as members of the *samaṇāsakyaputtiya*[1] (the *sakyaputtiya samaṇas*). As it was from this point onwards that the single tradition of the Buddha's dispensation became divided into two, each tradition claiming authenticity only for their own interpretations of the teaching as well as of the rules of discipline, the history of Buddhism has inherited two distinct traditions even on the causes which led to the summoning of the Second Buddhist Council.

The *Cullavagga, Mahāvaṃsa, Dīpavaṃsa, Samantapāsādikā, Mahābodhivaṃsa, Sāsanavaṃsa* and the Sinhala *Nikāyasangrahaya* are the texts which record the southern traditions of the Council. The northern traditions are found in the Tibetan and the Chinese translations from texts which originally belonged to various sects which came to be included under the umbrella designation "Mahāyāna" which appellation is historically posterior to the period of existence of some of those sects.

The Tibetan traditions of the Council are recorded in (i) the *Dul-va*; (ii) *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, translated by W. W. Rockhill; (iii) Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism* translated by E. Obermiller; and (iv) Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism* translated into German by A. Schiefner. The Chinese traditions are recorded in, (i) *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya* found at Pāṭaliputra by Fa-hien and translated into Chinese by Buddhadatta and Fa-hien in 416 A. D.; (ii) *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*Kṣudrakavastu*) translated by I-tsing in 710 A. D.; (iii) *Recitation in four parts: School of the Dharmaguptakas*, translated into Chinese by Buddhayasas and Tchou-fu-nien in the 5th century A. D.; (iv) *Recitation of the Mahiśāsaka Vinaya* translated by Buddhajīva, a Kashmirian monk, in 424, A. D. Fa-hien came across a copy of the original *Vinaya* in Sanskrit in Sri Lanka. It is thought to have been in Pali as it closely followed the chapter XII of the *Cullavagga*; (v) *Recitation of Che-song-liu* (Vinaya in ten sections, Daśādhyāya) of the Sarvāstivāda school, translated by Puṇyatrāta, Kumārajīva and Vimalākṣa; (vi) The account of the Vinaya-mātṛkā-sūtra;[2] (vii) Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva, translated by J. Masuda in Asia Major, vol. II. Vasumitra's treatise has one Tibetan and three Chinese translations of Kumārajīva (402-412), Paramārtha (557-569) and Hiuen Tsang (662). Koue-ki, a disciple of Hiuen Tsang wrote a commentary on Paramārtha's treatise.[3]

The main tradition of the Council of the Southern tradition is the one recorded in the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* which runs as follows; "Some of the Vajjian monks of Vaisāli allowed as lawful certain rules, which were not in conformity with the rules of the *Pātimokkha-sutta*. Yasa of Kosambi, while at Vaisāli, happened to notice the deviations and strongly protested against them. At this attitude of Yasa, the Vajian monks excluded him from the Saṅgha by *ukkhepanīya-kamma* (act of excommunication). Yasa then made an appeal to the laity, but it was of no avail and he had to flee from the country to his native place. From there he attempted to form a group of monks, who supported his views. He sent messengers to the monks of Patheyya and Avanti, and he himself went to Ahogaṅga, the residence of Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī. There he was joined by sixty theras of Pāṭheyya and eighty theras of Avanti, and gradually by several others. They all decided to meet Sthavira Revata of Soreyya, who was then the chief of the *Saṅgha*. Before they could reach Soreyya, Revata became aware of Yasa's mission and started for Vaisāli and the meeting of Revata with other monks took place at Sahajāti. The Vaisālian monks, in order to forestall Yasa's plans, approached Revata at Sahajāti with robes and other gifts but failed to win him over to their side. Sāḷha of Sahajāti was at first wavering between the two parties, but ultimately he sided with Yasa. The Vajjian monks, being unsuccessful in this attempt of theirs, approached king Kālāsoka at Pupphapura, and persuaded him to believe that the monks of the western contries were making a sinister move to get possession of the Teacher's Gandhakuṭi in the Mahāvanavihāra at Vaisāli. The king at first took up their cause but later on changed his mind, it is said, at the intervention of his sister who was a *bhikkhuṇī*. The session of the Council was held at Vaisāli with 700 members, but as there was great uproar during the deliberations it was decided to refer

1. S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, 1960, 63-64.
2. This work appertains to the Haimavata sect and is preseved only in Chiness translation of about the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century A. D. N. Dutt, Buddhist sects in India, 1998, 12.
3. "Paramārtha was the most learned Indian missionary who went to China to propagate the religion. He was as intelligent as Kumārajīca. Ki-tsang, a monk of Parthian origin, being the son of a Parthian merchant settled in China, and the Chinese mother of Nan-kin's. He traced the origin of sects from the beginning to the end. He wrote a comentary on Paramārtha's treatise on Vasumitra". N. Dutt, Ibid.

the matter to a body of referees consisting of eight members, four from the western and four from the eastern countries. This was done by *ubbāhikā* (voting) as described in the *Pātimokkha*. The findings of the referees, which were all against the Vaisālian monks, were placed before the larger body constituting the Council and were confirmed.

The Ceylonese chronicles continue the story and write that the findings were not accepted by all the Vaisālian monks, some of whom held another Council and included in it all monks, arhats and non-arhats, and decided matters according to their own light. This assembly was called Mahāsaṅgha or Mahasaṅgīti."[4]

The account of the Second Council as recorded in the *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya*, translated by M. Hofinger from Chinese into French runs as follows: "The *Piṭakas* of Buddha's teachings were rehearsed by 700 monks, at Vāluka Saṅghārāma in Vaiśāli. The monks of Vaiśāli used to address the donors (*dānapati*) in these words: "Respected brothers, at the time when Bhagavān Buddha was living, we received two meals in a day, robes, service and adoration. After his *parinirvāṇa*, who will take care of us, we have become orphans, and so we request you to give silver to the Saṅgha. As we are Buddhist friars, you should give to the Saṅgha one, two, up to ten *Kārṣāpanas*.

On the day of Uposatha, donors put large sums into the basin placed at the crossing of roads. The monks collected the contents, and after dividing them according to the number of *bhikṣus*, distributed the same among the monks present. In this way came the turn of Vinayadhara Yaśa, and he was offered his share. Yaśa enquired, 'Wherefrom was this money coming?' They replied, 'We received money as well as medicines'. Yaśa retorted that it was wrong; it was not permissible. They replied 'You are slandering the *Saṅgha* by these words. You should therefore be excommunicated by *utkṣepaṇīya karman* (act of excommunication)'.

After this was done, Yaśa went to Venerable Daśabala, who was then residing in Mathura and told him that he had been excommunicated by *utkṣepaṇīya-karman*. Daśabala said, 'why did you submit to it? There was no reason for your submission'. Yaśa said, 'The *Vinaya Piṭaka* must be rehearsed. Buddha's law must not be allowed to be destroyed'. To the question where the Council should be held, Yaśa replied that it should be held at the place where the deviations had occured.

Then the Saṅgha of 700 monks assembled from the regions of Mathura, Sāmkāśya, Kānyakubja, Śrāvasti, Śāketa and other places of Madhyadeśa. The Saṅgha was composed of those who received directly from the mouth of the Teacher one or two sections of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* as also those who heard it from the mouth of his direct disciples, the Śrāvakas. There were also common men (*pṛthagjanas*), *śaikṣas, aśaikṣas, trividyas* and *ṣaḍbhajñas balaprāptas* and *vaśibhūtas* - in all 700 members. They assembled at Vāluka Sanghārāma in Vaiśāli. At this time Mahākāśyapa, Upāli, Ānanda, etc. were *parinirvṛta*, and so Yaśa became the president of the Council. First, he put the question to the Assembly that who would rehearse the *Vinaya Piṭaka*? The bhikṣus replied that Venerable Daśabala should rehearse it. ..... All was then settled and approved"[5].

Thus, according to the southern Buddhist traditions as recorded in the Pāli and the Sinhala texts and the northern Buddhist traditions recovered from the Tibetan and Chinese translations from texts which were in the custody of various sects, the main business of the Council was to examine the validity of the ten un-Vinayic practices by a section of the Vaisālian monks, although there exists a wide divergence of opinion on their interpretation.

The different versions of the ten practices which have been elicited are as follows: (i) The account of the *dasa-vatthūni* in the Pāli texts; (ii) Bu-ston's account based on the traditions preserved in the *Mūlasarvāstivada Vinaya* which has already been translated by Prof. L. de la Vallée Poussion from the Tibetan *Dul-va*; and (iii) Obermiller's translation which is also from the Tibetan sources. While there is agreement among the explanations of the ten points in the Pāli texts, such agreement is not seen in the explanations given by the presenters of the northern traditions even when they are based on the same source for their explanations.

4. N. Dutt. *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1998, 13f; also, P. V. Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 1956, 99.
5. N. Dutt. *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1998, 20f.

It is clear that all the earlier sources agree, that the main business of the Council was to examine the validity of the ten un-Vinayic practices by a section of the Vaisālian monks although there exists a wide divergence of opinion in their interpretations.[6]

"Vasumitra, followed by Bhavya and Vinītadeva, writes that on account of the five propositions propounded by Mahādeva, the Saṅgha became divided into two schools, *Mahāsṅghika* and *Sthaviravāda*. The five propositions are:

The Arhats

1. are subject to temptation (cf. *Kvu.* II. I; *Atthi arahato rāgo ti?*)
2. may have residue of ignorance (cf. *Kvu.* II. 2. *Atthi arahato aññaṇan ti?*)
3. may have doubts regarding certain matters (cf. *Kvu.* II, 3: *Atthi arahato kaṅkhā ti?*)
4. gain knowledge through other's help (cf. *Kvu.* II. 4: *Atthi arahato paravitāraṇā ti?*)
5. The Path is attained by an exclamation (as "*aho*" cf. *Kvu.* II. 3 & 4 & XI. 4)".[7]

According to an account of the Second Council given by Paramārtha (which has been translated by Paul Demiéville- *Mélanges chinios* et *bouddhiques*, I), "The Second Council was held at Pāṭaliputra, 116 years after *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, during the reign of Aśoka (perhaps Kālāsoka). The members were all *bhikṣus* (i. e. not necessarily *arhats*). The president of the Council was Bāṣpa (lit. tears). In the Council the controversy provoked by Mahādeva led to the division of the Saṅgha into two schools, Sthavira and Mahāsaṅghika. Mahādeva's heresy was twofold. On the one hand, he wanted to incorporate all the Mahāyāna *sūtras* into the *Tripiṭaka*, and on the other he attributed to the Arhats diverse imperfections, such as doubt, certain measure of ignorance, etc. Paramārtha did not condemn the latter entirely, as he recognized the imperfections of Arhats as partially true and partially false. He was inspired by the Mahāyānic moral teachings, which contained in essence more particularly the Vijñānavāda views. He was a fervent supporter of Vijñānavāda .....".[8]

There are a number of important points emerging from the discussions in the preceding pages which are important for our theme under discussion. All ancient sources agree that there was a Council about a hundred years after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. There is also agreement that the main business of the Council was the resolution of the problem caused by the ten un-Vinayic practices of a section of the Vaisālian monks. There is also agreement that the *ubbāhikā* which was appointed to report on the conformity of the ten practices with the rules of the Vinaya pronounced that they were inconsistent therewith.

It was after this that the senior *theras* decided to rehearse the entire *dhamma* and *Vinaya* in congregation so that the correct *dhamma* and *Vinaya* be held by the *bhikkhussaṅgha*, as these were held in oral traditions and transferred from teacher to pupil as was in the Vedic traditions. It is also said that the dissidents who did not accept the verdict of the *ubbāhikā* moved out to a distant town and held a Council of their own. While the Council of the *theras* who rejected the ten practices of the Vaisālian *bhikkhus* had seven hundred participants who were all *arahats*, the Council of the dissidents had ten thousand participants and hence it was called the *Mahāsaṅgīti*. Those who held this rival council and followed the decisions of this Council came to be known as the Mahasaṅghikas.

While there is agreement that the frontal cause of the second Buddhist council was the situation created by the un-Vinayic practices by a section of the Vaisālian *bhikkhūs*, a study of the new interpretations heralded by the secessionists seems to point to the possibility of differences on more important non-Vinayic matters having fuelled the breakaway. Nalinaksha Dutt explains, "The question that should be discussed next is whether the schism was due to the divergences in *Vinaya* rules only or to the five dogmas of Mahadeva or to both. It seems that both the causes were responsible for the schism, because both of them indicate the advent of the broad division of Buddhism into Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, the latter favouring the Bodhisattva practices even at the sacrifice of *Vinaya* rules, e. g. fulfilling the wishes of an individual even by sacrificing the *Vinaya* prohibitions. The Mahāsaṅghikas were the forerunners of the advent of

6. *Ibid.* 15.
7. N. Dutt, *Ibid.* 22; also, P. V. Bapat, *2500, Years of Buddhism*, 1956, 99
8. N. Dutt, *Ibid.* 23.

Mahayānism. The *Mahāvastu*, the first book of the *Vinaya* of the Lokottaravādins, a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas, contains many Mahayānic traces".[9]

Nalinaksha Dutt argues that, "The division of monks began with the differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of the ten *Vinaya* rules during the reign of Kālāsoka, i. e. some time before the appearance of Mahādeva (or Nāga), i. e. it was about half a century later, Mahādeva or Nāga, propounded the five dogmas during the reign of King Nanda. His disciple Sthiramati propagated it further. As regards the fact that the tradition of the breach of ten rules appears in the *Vinaya* texts and the Ceylonese chronicles the tradition about Mahādeva's five dogmas appears in the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the treatises of Vasumitra, Paramārtha and other writers on the doctrines of sects. It may therefore be stated that the Vinaya texts, being concerned only with the disciplinary aspect of the religion, passed over the doctrinal differences, while Vasumitra and other writers, being more concerned with doctrinal differences than with disciplinary rules, considered it unnecessary to repeat the ten un-Vinayic acts of the Vaisalian monks. The sources of information for the Ceylonese chronicles, being the Vinaya texts, passed over the doctrinal differences. Yuan Chwang, being an annalist, was interested in both doctrines and disciplinary rules, and so he recorded the divergences in regard to both. It is quite probable that the schism began with disciplinary rules and, in course of time, incorporated matters of doctrines".[10]

Although the historical time of the Second Council is not important for our discussion here, it nevertheless seems to have taken place during the reign of king Kālāsoka as given in the Sri Lankan traditions. Kālāsoka succeeded Śiśunāga and is identified with Kākavarnin of the Purāṇas. "In view of the fact that Śiśunāga transferred his capital to Vaisāli it is not unlikely that his son should continue to make Vaisāli his royal seat and take interest in the affairs of the Saṅgha existing in his capital. If Kālāsoka be accepted as the royal patron of the synod, the date of the session should be put about a century after the Buddha's demise".[11]

"In the *Dipavaṃsa* it is said that the Mahāsaṅghikas not only introduced the ten new Vinaya rules but also propounded new doctrines contrary to the established ones. At the Mahāsaṅgiti held by them at Pāṭaliputra they made alterations in the *Sūtra* and *Vinaya Piṭakas*, as also in their arrangement and interpretation".[12]. The Mahāsaṅghikas had a complete canon of their own in its three divisions. While in one of the two pillar inscriptions in Amarāvatī certain nuns are referred to as *Vinayadharā* in the other the monks of Mahāvanaseliya are referred to as *Mahāvinayadharā*. An inscription on one of the stone slabs found near the central stūpa of Amarāvatī refers to a monk of Mahāvanasālā as *Saṃyukta bhāṇaka*. In the Nāgarjunikoṇḍa inscriptions the following references, *Dīgha-Majjhima-paṃcamātuka-osaka-vācakānam*, *Dīgha-Majjhima-nikāya-dharena*, *Dīgha-Majjhima-paṃḍa-mātuka-desakavācakānam* and *Dīgha-Manigaya-dharena*, seem to point to evidence of a *Sutta-Piṭaka* in at least three Nikāyas: *Dīgha*, *Majjhima* and *Saṃyutta*.[13]

The expression *Pañca-mātuka*, an irregular form of *Pañca-mātrikā* (Pali *mātika* denotes the detailed contents of an *Abhidhamma* text) seems to point to the existence of an *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of five (not seven) texts.[14]

"Bu-ston tells us that the Mahāsaṅghikas claimed Mahākassapa as their founder, and that the language of their *Piṭaka* was Prākrit. The language of the *Mahāvastu*, especially of its poetry portion, is mixed Sanskrit and which may well be called Prākrit or quasi-Sanskrit and pure-Sanskrit, and the Sūtra-piṭaka was divided into Āgamas instead of Nikāyas. The southern group preferred to divide the Sūtra-piṭaka into Nikayas and adopted the Prākrit language instead of Pāli".[15]

From the accounts given by the Chinese travellers and from inscriptional evidence, it is clear that the Mahāsaṅghikas "were sacttered probably in small groups in a few localities of North-western and Eastern India and had their main centre at Pāṭaliputra or Kusumapura.

9. N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1998, 30.
10. N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1998, 31.
11. *Ibid*. 33.
12. *Ibid*. 58.
13. *Ibid*. 59; also, P. V. Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 1956, 110.
14. *Ibid*. 59f.
15. Ibid. 61: Also, P. V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddhism*, 1956, III.

"Just as Bodh-Gaya grew up on the bank of the Nerañjarā as an early centre of Theravāda and a place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists, so also did Amarāvatī (extending to Jaggayapeṭa) and Nāgarjunikoṇḍa on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā (including its tributary Paler) become a flourishing centre of the off-shoots of the Mahāsaṅghikas in the first century B. C. or A. D. and turned into a place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists of later days".[16]

"The Mahāsṅghikas migrated from Magadha in two streams, one towards the north and the other towards the south. The northern, rather, the north-western section later became divided into five, viz., Ekavyavahārikas, Kaukulikas or Kaurukullukas, Bahuśrutiyas, Prajñaptivādins and Lokottaravādins, on account of minor doctrinal differences among them. Their offshoot, the Lokottaravādins, developed leanings towards Mahāyānism, and in fact prepared the ground for the advent of the Mahāyāna school. Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, distinguised Mahāsaṅghikas by the words, '*ekacce Mahāsaṅghika*' implying thereby that all Mahāsaṅghikas did not subscribe to the same doctrines or it might be that he referred by '*ekacce*' either to the north-western or to the southern branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. In the *Kathāvatthu*, the views discussed are mostly of the Mahāsaṅghika, who migrated to the south, settled down in the Andhra Pradesh around Amarāvatī and Dhānyakaṭaka. Their sub-branches concentrated at Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, dwelling on the mountains around. These were the Pubbaseliyas or Uttaraseliyas, Aparaseliyas, Siddhatthikas, Rājagirikas, and Caityakas, collectively designated as the Andhakas by Buddhaghoṣa in the introduction to his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*. Of the northern Mahāsan'ghikas he mentioned the names of Ekabbohārikas, Gokulikas, Paññattivādins and Bahussutika, but in the *Kathāvatthu* their views have not been referred to specifically, perphaps they originated after the composition of the *Kathāvatthu*".[17]

"The southern group of the Mahāsaṅghikas migrated from Pāṭaliputra to the Andhra country through Kalin'ga, where Hiuen Tsang saw the monasteries of the Mahāyānist Sthaviras. Perhaps he refers by this nomenclature to a sect adhering to the disciplinary rules of the Sthaviras but having Mahāyānic leanings ... a characteristic which may be attributed to the Śaila schools. Unlike the northern group of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the southern group was concentrated in the Guntur district around Amarāvatī, Jaggayapeṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The inscriptions (3rd or 4th century A. D.) at Amarāvatī and Nāgarjunikoṇḍa furnish us with the names of the following sects: (i) Hamghi (Burgess, 105), Ayira-haghāna (*EI.*, XX, 17, 20); (ii) Caityika (Burgess, 100, 102); (iii) Aparamahāvanaseliya (*EI.* XX. 41), Mahāvanaseliya (Burgess, 105); (iv) Puvasele (EI. XX. 22); (v) Rājagiri-nivāsika (Burgess, 53), Rājaśaila (*Ibid.* 104); (vi) Siddhathikā (*ibid.* 110); (vii) Bahusutiya (*EI.*, XX, 24); (viii) Mahīśāsaka (*Ibid*). Except the last two, the rest are all sub-branches of the Mahāsaṅghika school.

All these evidences are obvious pointers to the cleavage between the two groups of the Mahāsaṅghikas, i. e. (i) the Mahāsaṅghikas of the north being the earlier ones with liberal disciplinary views and Mahāyānic leanings and (ii) the Mahāsaṅghikas of the south, i. e. of Andhra, claiming their origin from the Sthaviras and Vātsīputrīyas. Lin Li Kouang is also of this view though Dr. Bareau does not fully approve of the same".[18]

Vasumitra has put together all the common views of the Mahāsan'ghikas, Lokottaravādins and Kaukkuṭikas in his *Samayabhedoparacana-cakra* which has been translated by Paramārtha (557-569 A. D.). According to Bhavya, Vinītadeva and Vasumitra, Ekavyavahārika was another name for the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Kaurukullikas held almost the same views as the Vātsīputrīyas. The special views held by the three sub-sects of the Mahāsaṅghikas are as follows:

"The Ekavyavahārikas held that all composites were unreal and ficticius while the absolute was contingent (i. e., dependent on something else. The Lokottaravādins held that while all mundane *dharmas* were unreal, the supramundane *dharmas* were real. This point was not in the ambit of Mahāyāna. Paramārtha explains it as the view that stands between *Śūnyatā* (the transcendental reality), *Tathatā* (thatness) and *Amala-vijñāna* (pure knowledge). Prof. Demiéville thinks that neither the text of Kitsang no that of Paramārtha is quite clear on this point.

16. *Ibid.* 63.
17. N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1998. 64f.; Also, P. V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddhism*, 1956, 112.
18. N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1998, 67f.

The Kaurukullikas held the view that of the Tripiṭaka the Abhidharma alone contained the real teaching of the Buddha; the other two *piṭakas* dealt only with monastic rules. This school did not consider that the attainment of the *summum bonum* along with freedom from all disciplinary obligations was the sole object of a Buddhist monk. This was in conformity with the practices of a Bodhiasattva. This school denied the importance of study and preaching as well as the practice of meditation.

The Bahuśrutīya school preferred a syncretism of Hinayāna and Mahayāna. They affiliated themselves to the Satyasiddhi school of Harivarman. One branch of this school established distinction between real and unreal, absolute and conventional, *paramārtha* and *saṃvṛti*. It recognized Kātyāyanīputra of the Sarvāstivāda school as its patron."[19]

The Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots held that the (i) Buddha's body is entirely supra-mundane (*lokottara*). The eighteen *dhatus* are bereft of impure *dharmas*. The physical, vocal and mental actions of the Buddha are free from impurities (*asrava-vinirmukta*). The body has nothing worldly; it is purity only (*anāsrava-mātra*) and indestructible. (ii) His material body (*rūpakāya* or *nirmāṇakaya*) is unlimited as a result of his unlimited past merits. In his created body (*nirmaṇakāya*) he can appear anywhere in the Universe. (iii) Buddha's length of life is unlimited on account of his past accumulated merits. He lives as long as the sentient beings live. (iv) Buddha's divine power (*tejas, prabhāva*) is unlimited. He can appear in one moment in all the worlds of the universe. (v) Buddha is never tired of enlightening sentient beings and awakening pure faith (*viśuddha-śraddhā*) in them. (vi) As his mind is always in meditation, Buddha neither sleeps nor dreams. (vii) Buddha can comprehend everything in one moment (*ekakṣanikacitta*). His mind is like a mirror. He can answer any question simultaneously without reflection. (viii) Buddha is always aware that he has no impurities (*kṣyajñāṇa*) and that he cannot be reborn (*anutpādajñāṇa*).

The Buddha follows the ways of the world just as much as he follows the transcendental ways. The Mahāsaṅghikas also contend that the super-divine Buddha did not deliver any discourses to his disciples. Though the Buddha is in *samādhi*, sentient beings think that they have heard discourses from him in well constructed sentences. They also contend that whatever Ānanda heard was from the *nirmāṇakaya* or *rūpakāya* of the Buddha. The Buddha can expound all doctrines by one utterance. All Buddha's preachings deal only with *Dharmacakra*, his first discourse was delivered at Sārnath. All *sūtras* delivered by the Buddha have *nītartha* (definite or direct meaning) as opposed to *neyārtha* (indirect or implied meaning. According to the *Upāyakaus'alyaparivarta* of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* the Buddha, in order to train deluded beings, did take recourse to various expedients. It was through these that he led them to the truth (*paramārtha*). Therefore, it follows that his teachings collected in the *Piṭakas* are merely *saṃvṛti* or *sammuti* and are as such not his real teachings.[20]

Not only the Buddha, but according to the Mahāsaṅghikas the Bodhisatta too was supra-mundane. The *Mahāvastu* giving expression to this states: "The Bodhisattva in his last existence as Siddhārtha Gautama is self-born (*upapāduka*) and is not born of parents; he sits cross-legged in the womb and preaches therefrom to the gods, who act as his protectors; while in the womb he remains untouched by phlegm and such other matters of the womb, and he issues out of the womb by the right side without piercing it. He has no lust (*kāma*) and so Rahula was also self-born".[21]

The Mahāsaṅghikas according to the works of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva conceived that, (i) the Bodhisatta takes any form of lower existence (*durgati*) for enlightening beings of the world; (ii) He enters his mother's womb as a white elephant symbolical of his great physical strength combined with softness and (iii) The Bodhisattva has in his mind no trace of desire, hatred and malice (*kāma, vyāpāda* and *vihiṃsā saṃjñā*).

The Mahāsaṅghikas and some sects of the orthodox group, like the Sarvāstivādins and Sammitiyas held that *Arahats* are subject to retrogression. The other section of the Mahāsaṅghikas who oppose this view held that the *arahats* have no chance of retrogression and further assert that he has done all that has to be done (*kṛta-kṛtya, kṛta-karaṇīya*). An arahat or *aśaikṣa*

19. N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 198. 69f.
20. *Ibid.* 72f.
21. *Ibid.* 74; Also, P. V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddhism*, 1956, 114.

who has passed through all the stages of spiritual progree cannot have any attachment for an object or a person.[22]

The Mahāsaṅghikas also held that a stream-winner (*Srota-āpannaka*) has no retrogression as he gets rid of the ten fetters. The preparatory stage of the srotāpannaka is called the *Aṭṭhamaka*. It is also called the *Gotrabhūmi*. The Mahāyānists use the term *Gotrabhūmiraṣṭamaka*. As this preparatory stage leads to the comprehension of the four truths, it is also designated as *Samyaktva-niyāma*. The stage of the *srotāpannaka* marks the crossing of the state of a common man (*pṛthagjana*). A stream-winner cannot commit any of the five *ānantarya* sins. "The Mahāsaṅghikas accept that a *srota-āpanna* is *niyato-sambodhiparāyano* and hence, is not subject to retrogression, but a *sakadāgāmi* or *anāgāmi* may retrogress, but not further than the *sotāpanna* stage, for some of the adepts in the two stages may have dormant passion (*anusaya*), which may develop into actual (*pariyuṭṭhāna*) passion and thus bring about the fall".[23]

Like the Theravādins, the Mahāsaṅghikas hold that the realization of the four truths (*ariyasacca*) takes place simultaneously in a moment (*ekakṣanika*) and not gradually as held by the Sarvāstivādins. They argue that the moment one realizes the nature of suffering (*dukkha*), one also comprehends its origin and decay (*samudaya, nirodha*) as also the path leading to the eradication of suffering (*nirodha*). The Mahāsṅghikas also contend that a spiritually advanced adept attaining the power of controlling thoughts (*balapatto, vasībhūto*) can also control the thoughts of others.

While there is agreement in the *Kathāvatthu* and the northern sources that the above doctrines are those of the Mahāsaṅghikas, there are other doctrines which only the *Kathāvatthu* attributes to them. These are: (i) Restraint (*saṃvara*) or unrestraint (*asaṃvara*) of the sense organs should be treated as action (*kamma*); (ii) All actions are accompanied by results (*vipāka*); (iii) Sound and other *āyatanas* (spheres of the organs of sense) are also results of actions (*kammassa katattā uppannaṃ*). All non-materials (*arūpadhamma*) are products of actions (*kamma samuṭṭhānā*); (iv) Acquisition of moral purity is not mental (*sīlaṃ acetasikaṃ ti; silaṃ na cittānuparivattī ti*); (v) The collection of *sīlas* (moral observances) is not associated with mind (*cittavippayuttaṃ sīlopacayaṃ*); (vi) *Maggasamaṅgissa rūpaṃ maggo ti* (In the person practising the eightfold path, the body is included); (vii) A person practising the eightfold path is endowed with double morality; i.e. worldly and unwordly (*Maggasamaṅgi dvīhi sīlehi samannagato ti*); (viii) Acts of intimation are virtues (*viññatti sīlan ti*); (ix) Acts of non-intimation of a moral purpose are immoral (*aviññatti dussīlan ti*); (x) Insight is dissociated from mind (*Ñāṇaṃ cittavippayuttaṃ*); (xi) One should not be called '*ñāṇi*' (possessed of insight) though his *aññāṇa* (spiritual ignorance) is gone but his thoughts are not conjoined with insight (*aññāṇe vigate ñaṇavippayutte citte vattabbamāne na vattabbiṃ 'ñāṇi ti*); (xii) A basis of impure thoughts is consecutive to a basis of good thought and conversely (*Akusalamūlaṃ paṭisandahati kusalamūlanti*); (xiii) One phenomenon can be related to another in one way only (*Paccayatā vasatthitā ti*); (xiv) It should not be said that *saṃkhāra* issues out of *avijjā* but that *avijjā* issues out of *saṃkhāra* (*Avijjāpaccayā pi saṃkhārā, na vattabbaṃ, 'saṃkhārā paccayā pi avijjā ti'*); (xv) Decay and death of supramundane beings or objects are also supramundane (*Lokuttarānaṃ dhammānaṃ jarāmaranaṃ lokuttaraṃ*); (xvi) The spiritually advanced develop the power of controlling other's thoughts (*Paro parassa cittaṃ niggaṇhāti*); and (xviii) one who has mastered the *iddhis* may live for an aeon (*Iddhibalena samannāgato kappaṃ tiṭṭheyya*).[24]

Although the Mahāsaṅghikas agreed with the Theravādins that the *srotāpanna* did not fall from his state of attainment, they were the first to propound that the *arahats* are subject to temptation, that they may have residue ignorance, may have doubts regarding certain matters and also that they attain knowledge through others held as we saw earlier. These views did mean that they were the first to revolt against the supremacy of the *arahats* in the Buddhist fraternity.

The discussions so far show that the areas where the Mahasaṅghikas differed from the Theravādins were those concerning the conception of the Buddha, Bodhisattva and the *arahats*. Not only did they consider the Buddha as supra-mundane, but they attributed all perfections to the *Bodhisattva* from the time

22. N. Dutt, 76f.
23. *Ibid*. 84f.
24. N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1998, 94f.

of his conception in the womb of queen Mahāmāyā. It is important to note here that the Mahāsaṅghikas knew only of one *Bodhisattva*, from the time of his conception in the womb of queen Mahāmāyā. It is important to note here that the Mahāsaṅghikas knew only of one *Bodhisattva*, the previous existence of Bodhisattva Gautama. It was the Mahāsaṅghika conceptions of the Buddha and the *Bodhisattva* which paved the way for the Mahāyāna conceptions of the innumerable Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* of the innumerable world systems.

The other area in which the Mahāsaṅghikas differed from the Theravādins was, as we have already stated above, in their conception of the *arahat*. They did not accept that the *arahat* was fully emancipated as they held that he still had doubt, residue ignorance, etc., as opposed to the Theravādins who held that he was fully emancipated. But it is important to note here that the Mahāsaṅghikas were not aware of the concepts of *Kleśāvaraṇa-vimukti* and *jñeyāvaraṇa-vimukti* of the Mahāyāna which therefore must be considered posterior to the time of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

It was thus the doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas which paved the way for the full blossoming into the Mahāyāna doctrines during the later centuries. While the laxity which they introduced into the interpretation of the rules of discipline changed the original expectations of the *bhikkhu* life, the new interpretations which they introduced into the original teachings of the Pāli texts saw their growth into the Mahayana teachings. In the words of Edward Conze the Mahāsaṅghikas initiated the process" centuries before the rise of the Mahāyāna, by which the historical Buddha becomes less and less important. They regarded everything personal, earthly, temporal and historical as outside the real Buddha, who himself was transcendental, altogether supramundane, had no imperfections or impurities whatsoever, was omniscient, all-powerful, infinite and eternal, for ever withdrawn into trance, never distracted or asleep. In this way the Buddha became an ideal object of religious faith. As for the historical Buddha, who walked the earth about 500 B. C., he was a magical creation of the transcendental Buddha, a fictitious creature sent by him to appear in the world and to teach its inhabitants. While on the one side intent on glorifying the otherworldliness of the Buddha, the Mahāsaṅghikas at the same time tried to increase the range of his usefulness to ordinary people. The Buddha has not disappeared into *Nirvāṇa*, but with a compassion as unlimited as his length of life, he will until the end of time conjure up all kinds of forms which will help all kinds of beings in diverse ways. His influence is not confined to those few who can understand his abstruse doctrines, but as a Bodhisattva he is ever re-born in 'states of woe', becomes of his free will an animal, or a ghost, or a dweller in hell, and works the weal of beings who have the misfortune to live in places where wisdom teaching must fall on deaf ears. Nor are the Buddhas found on this earth alone. They fill the entire universe, and are to be met everywhere, in all the world systems.

The Mahāyāna took over this Buddhology in its entirety. The historical Buddha faded away, leaving the Buddha as the embodiment of *Dharma* as the only reality. In the Diamond Sūtra occur the famous verses:

Those who by my form did see me,
And those who followed me by voice,
Wrong the efforts they engaged in,
Me those people will not see.
From the *Dharma* should one see the Buddhas,
For the Dharma-bodies are the guides,
Yet Dharma's true nature should not be discerned,
Nor can it, either be discerned'
(*Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, ch. 26)".[25]

M. M. J. Marasinghe

MAHĀSĀVAKĀ, "Great" or "Foremost" disciples of the Buddha. The *Theragāthā* commentary (*ThagA*. Vol. III, p. 206) enumerates the names of eighty such disciples of the Buddha. They are: Aññākondañña, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma, Assaji, Nālaka, Yasa, Vimala, Subāhu, Puṇṇaji, Gavampati, Uruvelakassapa, Nadīkassapa, Gayākassapa, Sāriputta, Mahāmoggallāna, Mahākassapa, Mahākaccāyana, Mahākoṭṭhita, Mahākappina, Mahācunda, Anuruddha, Kaṅkhārevata, Ananda, Nandaka, Bhagu, Nanda, Kimbila, Bhaddiya, Rāhula, Sīvali, Upāli, Dabba, Upasena, Khadiravaniyarevata, Punnamantāniputta, Punna Sunāparantapa, Sona Kuṭikaṇṇa, Sona Kolivisa, Rādha, Subhūti, Aṅgulimāla, Vakkalī, Kāludāyi, Mahāudāyi, Pilindavaccа, Sobhita, Kumārakassapa, Raṭṭhapāla, Vangīsā, Sabhiya, Sela, Upavāna, Meghiya, Sāgata, Nagita, Lakuṇṭakabhaddiya, Piṇḍolabhāradvāja,

25. Edward Conze in, *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*, 1964. 305.

Mahapanthaka, Cūlapanthaka, Bakkula, Kondadhāna, Dāruciriya, Yasoja, Ajita, Tissametteyya, Puṇṇaka, Mettagu, Photaka, Upasiva, Nanda, Hemaka, Todeyya, Kappa, Catukaṇṇī, Bhadrāvudha, Udaya, Posala, Mogharājā and Pingiya.

The above named disciples of the Buddha had won the distinction of "Great Disciples" because they had won emancipation through faith (*saddhā*) and wisdom (*paññā*), and had developed extraordinary mental qualities above the ordinary disciples.

D. Saddhasena

MAHĀSENA (1) See MAHĀVAMSA

MAHĀSENA (2), younger son of King Goṭābhaya and father of Sirimeghavaṇṇa. He became king of Sri Lanka (274-301 A. C.) and under the advice of his teacher Saṅghamittā and his minister Sona he despoiled Mahāvihāra and enriched Abhayagiri. He issued a decree that no one should give alms to monks of the Mahāvihāra. But, later, his friend and minister, Meghavaṇṇabhaya, convinced him of his error, and he became a supporter of the Mahavihāra. Soon after, however, he fell under the influence of a monk, named Tissa, and built the Jetavana vihāra in the precincts of the Mahāvihara, despite the protests of the monks. Tissa was later expelled from the order. The king built the Manihāra, Gokaṇṇa, Erakavilla, Kalandagāma, Migagāma, Gangasenakapabbata, Dhatusenapabbata, Kokavata, Rūpārāma and Hulapiṭṭhi-vihāra, and two nunneries Uttarā and Abhayā. He also built sixteen tanks and a great canal called Pabbatanta (Dpv. xxii, 66-76; *Mhv*. xxxvii, 1ff; 53; *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, Ed. D. P. R. Samaranayaka, p. 76ff.).

A few inscriptions contain reference to king Mahāsena and thus confirm some of the facts mentioned about him in the literary sources. An inscription at Tonigala in the north of the island mentions *Sarimekavana Aba* sa son of Mahāsena. This inscription, dated in the third year of Sirimeghavanna, records that a certain minister deposited some quantities of grain and beans with a guild in the northern quarter of the city with the stipulation that the capital should remain unspent and the interest should be utilized for providing meals to the monks of the Yahisapavata monastery during the *vassa* season of every year. The inscription really belongs to the reign of Mahāsena's son Sirimeghavanna but this record is considered to afford some information about the economic conditions in Sri Lanka during that time. Another fragmentary inscription from the same site also states that Sirimeghavanna was Mahasena's son (*EZ*. III, 172 ff).

Another fragmentary inscription from the Jetavanārāma, now in the Colombo Museum (*EZ*. IV, 273, ff.), in the form of a decree issued in the first year of the reign of a king, refers to some Five Great Residences and to *Vayatudala* and mentions that certain monks were unsettled.

Vayatudala was presumambly some doctrine written on books and the preserved portions of the document contain an injunction to study these books with faith and to keep the books so written in the Five Great Residences. There is also a reference to persons of unruly conduct.

It is obvious that the object of the edict was to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of the ancient Buddhist Order of monks in Sri Lanka. Though the preserved fragments of the edict do not contain the name of the king who issued this edict, it has been presumed, almost with certainty, that he was none other than king Mahāsena who, under the influence of the South Indian monk Saṅghamitta ordered the Mahāvihāra monks to accept the *Vetulya* doctrines, referred to in the edict as *Vayatudala* (s. v. *EZ*. 277 f.).

H. R. Perera

MAHĀSTHĀMA (Mahāsthāmaprāpta) a bodhisattva who, along with Avalokiteśvara, is regarded as the chief attendant of Amitābha (Q. v.). Though he is referred to in many Mahāyāna texts there is not much detail about his personality. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (xix) refers to him but does not mention anything about his appearance or status. The *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*, too, mentions him but gives no details (*SBE* XLIX, p. 52). However, a brief account is found in the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* wherein he is compared to Avalokiteśvara himself. Therein it is said that his bodily signs, height and size are equal to those of Avalokiteśvara. The circumference of his halo is said to be one hundred and twenty-five *yojanas* and it shines as far as two hundred and fifty *yojanas*. The rays of his body which are purple-gold in colour can be seen by all beings in favourable circumstances. It is also said that one who sees a single ray issuing forth from the body of this bodhisattva will at the same time see the pure and excellent rays of the bodhisattavas in the ten quarters. For this reason he is called 'Unlimited

Light'. It is with this light of wisdom that he shines over all beings and causes them to be removed from the paths of lower existence and obtain highest power and hence he is called Mahāsthāma.

His heavenly crown has five hundred jewel-flowers and each flower has five hundred jewel-towers. In each tower are seen manifested all the features of Buddha-fields in the ten quarters. His turban is like a lotus flower and on its top is a jewel-pitcher filled with rays, when he walks all the regions tremble and quake. This happens even when he sits. The *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* further instructs the readers to meditate upon this bodhisattva (*SBE*. XLIX, p. 184 f.).

The *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, too, refers to this *bodhisattva*. In the *Mañjuvajramaṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvali* he is said to have a white complexion. He carries a bunch of six full-blown lotuses in his left hand and displays the wish-granting gesture (*varada-mudrā*) with his right. In the *Dharmadhātuvāgiśvaramaṇḍala* of the same text his complexion is given as yellow. According to this description he carries a sword in his right hand and a lotus in his left. In this form he is probably related to Mahāsthāma-Lokeśvara and Padmapāni-Lokeśvara, both representing two forms of Avalokiteśvara (B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 1958, Calcutta, p. 89).

There is also a belief that Mahāsthamaprāpta is a deification of Mahāmaudgalyāyana, one of the two chief disciples of Śākyamuni (A. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art*, London, 1901, p. 205). Sometimes he is regarded as a *Dhyānī-bodhisattva* but does not belong to the accepted group of five or eight *Dhyānī-bodhisattvas*. His close association with Avalokiteśvara seems to have influenced his personality very much and this association also has overshadowed his popularity.

Though known in Nepal and Tibet, he is not popular in those countries. In China one finds him mentioned in the triad, Mahāsthama, Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara.

He is more popular in Japan. In Japan he is known as Seishi or Dai-seishi, and is represented in the same triad. He is said to visit the death beds of the faithful and welcome the dying to Sukhāvati. The great temple of Zenkoji and Nagano is dedicated to this triad. In this temple there is a statue of Mahāsthāma said to have been made by Śakyamuni from gold found at the foot of a Beiruri-tree on the south side of Mount Meru (Satow). There is also a belief in Japan that he is an incarnation of Honer (C. Eliot, *Japanaese Buddhism*, London, 1935, pp. 118, 122, 128: Alice Getty, *Gods of Nothern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914, p. 100).

S. K. Nanayakkara

MAHĀSUKHA, meaning 'Great Bliss' is the absolute, the ultimate reality that absorbs within it both existence and extinction. The Vajrayānists put forward this concept as the final goal. It is quite well known that the Theravāda Buddhist scriptures describe Nibbāna as a state of intense bliss (refer *PED*. s. v. *Nibbāna*). Probably the Vajrayānists and to a larger extent the Mahāyānists adopted this description and regarded *Mahāsukha* as a particular state and went to the extent of identifying *Nirvāna* with *Mahāsukha*. However, Tantric teachers such as Nagarjunapāda objected to this identification on the ground that this state of *Mahāsukha* is a mere thought construction (*vikalpa*). In a commentary written to a *Doha of Sarahapada* (quoted by S. B. Das Gupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*; Calcutta, 1958, p. 136) it is said that the identification of *sukha* and the final state as one is a mere confusion of the state of things. But on the contrary those who upheld the identification of *Mahāsukha* with Nirvāna argued that as *Mahāsukha* transcends all thought constructions it could be identified with Nirvāna for it is an absolutely pure emotion of bliss when all mentations are destroyed.

The concept of *Mahāsukha* developed on the metaphysical side and it came to be described as being devoid of a beginning, middle or an end; it is neither existence nor extinction; it is neither self nor not self and so forth. It came to be considered as the source of everything and as such everything was said to be of the nature of *Mahāsukha*.

This concept developed along pantheistic lines too. In Vajrayāna the ultimate reality is identified with the Supreme Lord who is generally designated as Vajradhara or Vajrasattva. This identification led to the equation of Mahāsukha with the Supreme Lord who in this instance was designated as Sri-Mahāsukha. With this development it was held that it is Sri-Mahāsukha who created this world from his non-dual nature and that it is he himself who taught all the esoteric teachings.

A further development of this concept on the metaphysical side is seen in its equation with *bodhicitta* (q.v). According to early Tantric philosophy it is held that *bodhicitta* as a state of great bliss is attained through the purification of *upāya* and *prajñā*. But later with the gradual development of sexo-yogic practices the mode of attaining Mahāsukha, too changed accordingly. According to sexo-yogic teachings of Tantrism, *Mahāsukha* is to be attained by checking the downward flow of the *bodhicitta* represented by the male's sperm. After checking it either by *ṡadaṅgayoga* practices or else by *haṭa-yoga* practices it should be made to move upwards till it finally reaches the lotus at the summit of the *uṣṇiśa-kamala* on *mahāsukha-cakra* (*q.v.*) where it melts and flows through the whole body bringing about the state of great bliss (*Mahasukha*). See also BODHICITTA.

S. K. Nanayakkara

MAHĀTHŪPA (1) The term Mahāthūpa (meaning Great Thūpa), as found in the Mahāvaṁsa, the ancient chronicle of Sri Lanka, has been used with reference to the monument built by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (161-137 B. C.). Although the same term has been used with reference to the *stūpas* at Mihintale and Polonnaruwa (i. e. the one on the summit of the hill at Mihintale and the Damiḷa Thūpa at Polonnaruwa), in this article the reference is to the architectural monument built by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (which is also generally referred to as Ruvanvälisāya, Ratnamālī-cetiya, or Hemamālika-cetiya). The Mahāvaṁsa devotes four chapters (i. e. 28 to 31) for activities in connection with this *stūpa*. It says that a prophesy had been made by Mahinda Thera (the first Buddhist missionary to this island) to King Devānampiyatissa (307-267 B. C.) that a *stūpa* named Hemamāli would be built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya in the future. King Devānampiyatissa thereupon set up a pillar of stone, inscribing on it the prophesy of Mahinda Thero.

The Mahāthūpa contains the relics which were originally deposited in Rāmagāma of the Koliyas (a tribe related to the Sākyas) and legends connected with it are given in the Sinhala chronicle *Thūpavaṁsa*. The original height of the Mahāthūpa was 120 cubits (300 ft). Diameter at the base was 298 ft. Archaeological evidence proves that these proportions have not changed with the passage of time. The Mahāthūpa was so called because at the time it was constructed, it happened to be the tallest and biggest *stūpa* anywhere in the Buddhist world. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya started the work of this *stūpa* on a very ambitious scale but before he could complete it, he was overtaken by a mortal disease and passed away. Completion of the work was done by his brother King Saddhātissa (137-119 B. C.) who succeeded him. A son of this king named Lañjatissa (119-109 B.C.) has been credited with some important architectural embellishments to this *stūpa*.

Almost contemporary with the Mahāthūpa and the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya at Mihintale are the Indian counterparts at Sanchi and Bharhut. The stūpa (No. 1) at Sanchi has an almost hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*) truncated near the top. It was surrounded at its base by a lofty terrace (*medhi*) which served in ancient days as a processional path (*pradakṣhiṇā-patha*), access to which was by a double flight of steps (*sopāna*). Encircling the *stūpa* is a second processional path, enclosed by a massive balustrade (*vedikā*). The summit of the dome is surmounted by a pedestal (*harmikā*), surrounded by a stone railing. From the latter rose a stone shaft, supporting a stone umbrella (*chattra*), or a series of umbrellas (*chattrāvali*). The outer balustrade of stone had 4 entrances at which were ornamental gateways (*toraṇas*), which were subsequently added. When the architectural features of ancient *stūpas* as given in the *Mahāvamsa* are scrutinised, it becomes clear that the *stūpas* of Sri Lanka in the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries had much in common with their Indian prototypes.

The *Mahāvamsa* gives a long account of the building of the Mahāthūpa. But there are many legendary details connected with it which have to be regarded with caution. Great care seems to have been taken in laying the foundations of the *stūpa* securely so as to prevent the huge mass of brick from subsiding by its own weight. The words of the chronicler describing the process may be quoted: "The Lord of the land had the place for the *stūpa* dug out to a depth of seven cubits to make it firm in every way. Round stones that he commanded his soldiers to bring hither did he cause to be broken with hammers, and then did he, having knowledge of the right and wrong ways, commended that the crushed stone, to make the ground firmer, be stamped down by huge elephants whose feet were bound with leather. The fine clay that is to be found on the spot ever moist, where the heavenly Gaṅgā falls down (upon the earth on a space) thirty *yojanas* around, is called, because of its fineness, butter clay. *Sāmaṇeras* who had overcome the *āsavas* brought the clay hither from that place. The king commanded the

clay to be spread over the layer of stones and that bricks then be laid over the clay, over these a rough cement and over this cinnabar and over this a network of iron, and over this sweet scented *marumba* that was brought by the *sāmaṇeras* from the Himalayas. Over this did the Lord of the land command them to lay mountain crystal. Over the layer of mountain crystal he had stones spread; everywhere throughout the work did the clay called butter clay serve (as cement). With resin of the *kapittha* tree, dissolved in sweetened water, the lord of chariots laid over the stones a sheet of copper eight inches thick, and over this with arsenic dissolved in sesamum oil, (he laid) a sheet of silver seven inches thick". Leaving aside the details which appear as improbable, it is clear that the foundation was laid very securely. It is on record that the Abhayagiri-stūpa has a foundation going down to 26 ft., from the level of the pavement. As regards the shape of the Mahāthūpa, it is *bubbulākāra* (i. e. bubble shaped). The *Mahāvaṁsa* relates how the architect showed the bubble shaped character to the king. From this it becomes clear that the Mahāthūpa had a semi-circular dome. As at Sanchi and most stūpas in Sri Lanka, it is the bubble shape that was resorted to. It is symbolic of the unreal nature of the world.

The dome of the Mahāthūpa rises from the topmost of three circular terraces built one over the other, the upper being of smaller diameter than the one below it. Sanchi-stupas show only one terrace (*medhi*). But the *Divyāvadāna* says that there were stūpas which had three terraces. In the great stupa at Sanchi, the terrace was built as an addition to the dome. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the terraces of the Mahāthūpa were first built as a plinth to the dome. According to literary works of Sri Lanka these were called *pupphādhāna* (place for depositing flowers). In most stūpas in Sri Lanka there is a platform or ledge running round the base which is used as an altar for depositing flowers, incense or lamps. It may be that in the early days before stūpas assumed colossal shapes, these terraces were used for placing floral offerings. It is also possible that at one time these terraces were also used as processional paths.

In Sinhala literature and in common parlance these terraces bear the appellation *tun-mahal (mal)-pesāva* or *pesā-vaḷalu*. A slightly different form is *tun-mal-piyavasāva, Tri-māla, mal-piyavasāva* are also similar terms. From these we note that originally they were meant as altars for flower offerings. The terraces of most of the ancient stūpas are built of brick. Originally those of the Mahāthūpa were also of brick construction. In the reign of Lañjatissa (119-109 B. C.) they were faced with blocks of limestone. King Mahānāga (561-564 A. D.) caused to be made the *hatthi-vedi* (heads of elephants projecting from the face of the wall). *Vedi* means railing and the *Mahāthūpa* had three railings in the same manner as the great stūpa at Sanchi. There is also evidence to show that there was a railing on the top of the uppermost terrace of the Mahāthūpa. *Mahāvaṁsa* says that King Bhātika Abhaya (20 B. C. - 9 A. D.) constructed two railings (*vedika*) for this stūpa (*muddha-vedikā* and *kucchi-vedika*). One was at the summit of the stūpa and the other on the topmost terrace. There were flights of steps (of bricks and of stone) for purposes of ascent to the terraces. According to evidence available, they appear to have been constructed much later.

When the three terraces of the Mahāthūpa were completed and before starting work on the dome itself, the relic chamber was constructed at the centre of the uppermost terrace. The *Mahāvaṁsa* gives a detailed description of the chamber and the manner in which it was made. Six immense slabs of stone of a particular variety, eighty cubits in length and breadth and eight cubits in thickness were brought for the purpose. Says the *Mahāvaṃsa* "When they had laid one on the flower terrace in the middle and had disposed four others on the four sides, in the fashion of a chest, (the *theras*) of wondrous might placed the sixth, to serve afterwards as a lid, upon the east side". These statements show the position and the method of construction of the relic chamber. It is apparent that the relic chamber was at the base of the dome on a level with the surface of the uppermost terrace and that it was constructed of 6 large monolithic slabs. The relic chamber of Stūpa No. 3 at Sanchi, which contained the relics of Sariputta, was also on a level with the terrace. The *harmikā* on the top of the great stūpa at Sanchi (which is believed to have contained relics) was constructed like a stone box, precisely as the relic chamber of the *Mahāthūpa*. Some stūpas which have been excavated (in Sri Lanka) throw light as to the composition of the relic chamber. A stūpa excavated at Sigiriya had three chambers, one above the other. Of these, the topmost, inside the dome of the relic mound, had been thoroughly rifled by treasure seekers. The second chamber, lower down, was 7 ft. square, 5ft. 8 ins. deep, and had its walls lined with rough stones and plastered in lime mortar. The floor was paved with bricks and on it was a receptacle, referred to as a *yantragala*, having 25 square compartments,

each 10 ins. by 10 ins. and made up of stones, 5 ins. broad, laid crossways. There were two niches in each wall. Four stone pillars at the corners supported the roughly hewn stone slabs which roofed the chamber. The lowermost chamber was a hollow brick-lined cube of 1 ft. 3 ins. in dimensions. On each wall was a niche, containing sculptured slabs. In the midst of the chamber was a short obelisk (tapering stone shaft) of Amarāvatī marble which has been considered to be a conventional representation of Mahāmeru.

The best preserved of the stūpas was the one at Topāväva, Polonnaruva. There were six cellas, the largest of which was the topmost. The second chamber was a hollow cube below which was a brick built receptacle with 25 partitions. The floor of the third cella was at ground level. Standing in the middle of it was the Mahāmeru. On top of it was a reliquary of gold, in the shape of a miniature stūpa. Below this chamber were three other dimunitive cellas, one below the other, all of which were below ground level. All the stūpas seem to have had, the principal cella on a level with the uppermost terrace just as the Mahāthūpa is reported to have had. Dimunitive cellas and partitioned receptacles below ground level should not be regarded relic chambers. They were meant for deposit of auspicious symbols. The *Mahāvaṁsa* gives a detailed account of objects which were deposited but these lists have to be examined with caution.

The dome of a stūpa is named as *udara* in *Thūpavaṁsa*. It is generally assumed that the *udara* is filled up with bricks but when examining the debris of some stupas which have collapsed they were found to be mostly earth and very few bricks. A good deal of earth could have been due to decaying of bricks as some Indian examples have shown. The domes as well as the terraces and the superstructures of the stūpas of ancient Sri Lanka were given a coating of lime plaster (*sudhā*) and were also whitewashed. King Bhātikābhaya (20 B. C. - 9 A. D.), in a frenzy of piety is said to have coated the immense mass of the Mahāthūpa with a layer of scented paste and stuck flowers thereon, so that the stūpa appeared like a mountain of flowers.

The decorations in stucco and paint on the domes of ancient stūpas of Sri Lanka are not to be seen at the present day but from a passage in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, we learn of two of the motifs employed. The chronicle states that King Saddhātissa (137-119 B. C.), in order to show to his dying brother, what the completed Mahāthūpa would look like, caused the dome of that monument to be covered with white cloth, on which were painted rows of filled vases (*pūrṇṇa-ghaṭa*) and five finger ornaments (*pañcāṅgulika*) in addition to other devices simulating architectural features which had yet to be supplied. The five finger ornament is the sign of the spread hand (which also occurs on a decorative motif in the early Buddhist art of India). Sculptures from Bhārhut show this feature at the base. It appears to be a magical sign meant to ward off evil influences.

The terraces and the dome remained without change for nearly a millennium and a half but the superstructure of a stūpa was subject to changes. There is evidence in the chronicles to show that the earliest stūpas of Sri Lanka resembled those of Sanchi. The superstructure is called 'tee' (a Burmese term). The name *harmikā* (small pavilion) is the term given in Indian writings. It is not known to writers of Sinhala literary works. The *Mahāvaṁsa* calls it *caturassa-caya* (four cornered pile), (Mod. Sinh. *satarās-koṭuva*-four cornered enclousure). In *śilpaśāstra* works, the tee and cylindrical portion above it (*devatā-koṭuva*) - (enclosure of the gods) are together called *'catus-sura-koṣṭha'*.

In the *Mahāvaṁsa* the term *muddha-vedi* occurs. It means 'top railing' - the railing on the dome of the stūpa. At the great stūpa of Sanchi, there was a railing on the top enclosing the *harmikā* which was in the form of a heavy stone box. It had a lid measuring 5 ft. 7 ins. in diameter and 1 ft. 8 ins. high, in which the relics were once preserved. This railing must have been of wood-for no traces of it have been found in Sri Lanka. However the *Mahāvaṁsa* says that the railing in question enclosed a cubical structure of solid brickwork and not a stone box as at Sanchi.

The account given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* of the completion of the *Mahathūpa* helps us to reconstruct the superstructure of the earliest stūpas of Sri Lanka. At the death-bed of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, the work on the stūpa had progressed up to the tee. Saddhātissa's work was to show the dying monarch the completed stūpa. The relevant pasage may be quoted in full.

> "He had a covering made of white cloths by seamsters and therewith was the *cetiya* covered, and thereon did he command painters to make on it a *vedikā* duly and rows of filled vases likewise and the row with the five finger

ornament. And he had a *chatta* made of bamboo reeds by plaiters of reeds and on the upper *vedikā*, a sun and moon of *kharapatta*. And when he had had this (*thūpa*) painted cunningly with lacquer and *kaṇḍuṭṭhaka* he declared to the king- 'That which was yet to do the *thūpa*, is completed'. Lying on a palanquin, the king went thither ..... beheld the splendid Great Thūpa ......"

From this account it becomes clear that stūpas of Sri Lanka did not have the spire above the tee as in later times. After the completion of the tee what Saddhātissa had to do to finish the work of the stūpa was in connection with the *chattra* and plastering and decorating it. It also shows that there were two railings-one on top and another at the base of the terrace. The *Mahāvaṁsa* gives later references to the top railing of the Mahāthūpa. The commentary to the *Mahāvaṁsa* designates the two railings constructed at the behest of Bhātika Abhaya as *kucchi-vedikā* and *muddha-vedikā* (top railing). Āmanda Gāmaṇi (21-30 A. C.) had two railings constructed at the same shrine and one of these is called *muddha-vedi* (as earlier ones must have got decayed).

Lalāṭadhātuvaṁsa calls the *hatarās-koṭuva* as *biso-koṭuva*. Saddhātissa had figures of sun and moon made on the upper railing. Saṁghatissa (248-252 A. D.) is said to have set a precious stone of great value in the centre of each of the four suns which were represented on the faces of the tee of the same stūpa. There is no evidence to show at what time the wooden top railing ceased to exist. The presumption is that during 4th to 8th centuries A. C., this change took place. Saddhātissa's attempt to show the Mahāthūpa in completed form clearly proves that this stūpa was crowned with an umbrella (*chattra*). Stone umbrellas have been found in ancient places. The shaft has been called *yaṣṭi*. According to *Divyāvadāna*, a stone pillar called *yūpa* was built into the dome and it is possible that it was not altogether buried in the brickwork.

In addition to the *chattra* which had originally been provided to the Mahāthūpa, Āmanda Gāmaṇi is said to have caused a second umbrella for this stūpa to be placed above the one which already existed in his time, (*chattātichatta*). Sirināga I (196-215 A. C.) placed a *chattra* on the Mahāthūpa and had it gilded in an admirable fashion. It is not stated whether it replaced those which already existed or was placed above them. Saṅgha Tissa (248-252 A. C.), too, set up an umbrella over the Mahāthūpa in the same manner as Sirināga I. The *Dīpavaṃsa* says that the *chattra* gifted by this monarch was of gold. Dhātusena (463-479 A. C.) also provided an umbrella of gold. It is not possible to find references to *chattras* after the 7th century A. C. While the series of umbrellas is called *chattātichatta*, the topmost one is called *dhuracchatta*.

Another interesting feature of a stūpa was a ring of crystal (*vajra-cumbaṭa*) on the top. Saṅgha Tissa is said to have provided one of these to the Mahāthūpa. The purpose was to avert danger from lightening. Dhātusena is also said to have placed such a ring on the Mahāthūpa. So also did Mahānāga (561-564). *Dīpavaṁsa* says that Saṅgha Tissa made a *sikhā-thūpa* of precious stone for the Mahāthūpa. Perhaps this is the same as the jewel referred to in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. *Sikhāthūpa* means a "a stūpa on a crest". This is probably a large gem carved into a stupa, placed on a series of *chattras*.

The *Mahāvaṁsa*, in its account makes no mention of any architectural member as *vāhalkaḍa*. But there is evidence to show that there were *vāhalkaḍas* at the *Mahāthūpa* of a later date. It seems likely that these structures were added after the enlargerment of the stūpa in the reign of Gajabāhu I (113-135 A. C.). In the *Mahāvaṁsa* it is said that this king constructed four *ādimukhas* at the gates of Abhayagiri-stūpa. This may refer to *vāhalkaḍas*. Kaniṭṭha Tissa (165-193 A. C.) too is said to have constructed four *āyakas* at the same stūpa (according to inscriptions at the site). It is very likely that *āyakas* refer to *vāhalkaḍas*. Inscriptions from Amarāvati refer to such architectural members as *āyaka-khambhas*.

To a stūpa, various accessory features were considered necessary or appropriate to enhance its sacred character. These were not the work of original founders but were added in course of time. Round the bases of stūpas at Anurādhapura, there is a circular area paved with stone and bordered with a moulded kerb. At the Mahāthūpa, this kerb which is of limestone, is at a distance of 25 ft. from the base of the lowest terrace. The pavement of this circular path consists of large slabs of gneiss, the joints of which radiate from the centre of the stūpa. This rest of the platform on which the stupa stands. A similar circular pavement can be seen at Mirisaväti-stūpa as well as the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya. It is possible that the circular pavement of the Mahāthūpa dates from the reign of Mahādāṭhika Mahā Nāga (9-21 A. C.). The *Mahāvaṁsa* says that this king

laid *kiñcikkha* stones at the Mahāthūpa. The commentary says, "Below the stone terrace for the flower offerings and next to the *Kiñcikkha* brick, he laid *kiñcikkha* stones expanding like a lotus". From these we can infer that the stones were caused to be round the lowest terrace. The phrase 'expanding like a lotus flower' probably refers to the radiating arrangement of the stone-slabs of this pavement. Till about the 8th or 9th century, the stone paving round the stūpas of Sri Lanka, seems to have consisted of this circular path only. King Khallātanāga (109-104 B. C.) is said to have constructed such a kerb at the Mahāthūpa and King Mahādāṭhika Mahā Nāga, who had the path round the stūpa paved, is said to have re-laid this kerb so as to increase the extent of the sand courtyard (*vālikāṅgana*). It therefore seems likely that before the path round the stupa was paved, it was strewn with sand.

Two railings (one at the base and another at the summit) of the dome were built at the Mahāthūpa. This stūpa seems to have had a ground railing also encompassing it. The *Mahāvaṁsa* mentions that in the reigns of Bhātikābhaya and Āmanda Gāmaṇi, a railing called *pādavedikā* of the Mahāthūpa (railing at the foot) were caused to be made. This reference is to the outer railing of the Mahāthūpa and corresponding to the ground railing of the monument at Sanchi. It may be conjectured that this was just outside the paved processional path (noted above) which ran round the stūpa. No remains of this have been found. They were probably of wood. There is no reference to any *pādavedikā* after the reign of Āmanda Gāmaṇi. It is therefore possible that these went out of vogue at a very early date. The railings at Sanchi were pierced at the 4 cardinal points by decorated gateways called *toraṇas*. Stūpas at Anurādhapura also had such gateways - for it is said that Mittasena (435-436 A. C.) constructed *toraṇas* at the three great stūpas in the city. Nothing has remained out of these structures. It may have had some likeness to the *toraṇa* carved in low relief as the background of the colossal seated Buddha figure at the Gal-vihāra in Polonnaruwa (12th cent A. C.).

The great stūpas of Anurādhapura as they stand now, are on extensive rectangular platforms paved with stone and supported by retaining walls of brick. On these paved platforms are found various objects, altars, shrines, statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. At the Mahāthūpa there is a flower altar resting upon a bold moulded base. A miniature votive stupa of stone is found on the platform of stone of the Mahāthūpa. It may belong to the late Anurādhapura period. The statues referred to were originally in shrines built on the pavement. Four images of the Buddha are found in a shrine on the platform of the Mahāthūpa. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy has assigned these to the 2nd Century A. C. The retaining wall of platform of the Mahathupa has on its face, foreparts of elephants in relief. The votive stupa has also a platform supported by elephants.

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the works carried out by Saddhātissa in completing the Mahāthūpa included an elephant wall (*hatthi-pākāra*). But what is now to be seen may be of a much later date. There are no Indian examples of this nature. Therefore it may be regarded as a feature peculiar to Sri Lanka. The platforms were ascended by broad flights of steps of stone at the four cardinal points containing wingstones, *nāga* guardstones, moonstones and *pūrṇṇa-ghaṭas*.

The paved platforms of the stūpa were surrounded by broad processional paths on all the four sides. This is now known as *välimaluva* (sand terrace). These were bordered by walls (*prākāras*), which formed the boundaries of the precincts of the stūpa. The lower portions were contructed of stone, while the upper portions were of brick. Only the stone built portions have been preserved. At the centre of each wall was a gate-house (*dvara-koṭṭhaka*). Of these only the basements and the pillars are now preserved. The remains of the gate-house on the northern side of the Mahāthūpa were excavated in 1935. They consisted of a moulded stone faced platform, stone pillars, brick walls, flights of stone steps, guardstones and *pūrṇa-ghaṭas*. By the side of the gateways are generally found monolithic stone basins for holding water, for the use of pilgrims. In inscriptions these are called *pā-deṇi* (Pali. *pāda-doṇi*) meaning 'foot trough'.

Outside the *prakāra* near the north gate of the Mahāthūpa stands a huge monolithic pillar, the upper portion of which is missing. It is octagonal in shape, 5 ft. 6 ins. in diameter and its present height is 20 ft. 4 ins., above original floor level. At the base of the pillar is a mass of coursed stone work. Similar stone pillars bearing religious symbols were also set up near the stūpas of India, such as Sanchi. This is the only example of its kind known in Sri Lanka. When it was entire, it seems to have equalled the pillars of Asoka in height. Regarding this monolithic pillar, J. G. Smither says "The priests said that this is the identical pillar which was planted by King Devānampiyatissa

on the intended site of Ruvanväli-dāgäba, which was removed by King Dutugämunu, before he commenced the erection of the buildings. (It is reported to have contained an inscription embodying the prophesy of Mahinda Thero). Upon no part of it under notice can this propresy" be seen".

It is clear that the layout of the precincts of great stūpas as they are today, is in the form given (in the *śilpaśātra* works) many centuries subsequent to the original foundation of these shrines. The ground plan of the Mahāthūpa as given by J. G. Smither furnishes a general idea of the layout of the precincts of ancient stupas at Anuradhapura.

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6. The prophesy of Mahinda Thero is given in Ch. XV v. 168-173
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Nandasena Mudiyanse

MAHĀTHŪPA (2), popularly known as Ruwan Wäli Maha Säya, is the most prominent *cetiya* in Sri Lanka. One "*Doṇa*"[1] of the Buddha's bodily relics are said to be enshrined in it. This is the largest quantity of the Buddha's bodily relics found in one place, and it is said to be one eighth of the Buddha's bodily remains after the cremation.[2] The *thūpa* was constructed by King Duṭṭhagāmini (161-137 B. C.). The *thūpa* is also known as the Mahā Cetiya (*Mhv.* Ch. xx *v* 19), the Hemamali Cetiya, the Hemamālika Cetiya (*Mhv.* Ch. xv. 167, xvii *v*. 51) and the Soṇṇamāli Cetiya (*Mhv.* ch. xvii v. 3). It was the biggest *thūpa* in the island at the time of its construction. Though *cetiyas* such as the Abhayagiri Thūpa and the Jetavana Thūpa that exceed Ruwanwäli Mahā Säya in height were subsequently constructed, it still enjoys the position of the "greatest or the most important *thūpa* "in the country"[3].

Several sources are available for the study of the Maha Thūpa and its history, such as the *Mahavamsa*, the Pali *Thūpavaṃsa*, Sinhala *Thūpavamsa*, *Vamsatthappakāsini*, the *Tīkā* on the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the Pali commentaries of Buddhaghosa. In addition to the above literary sources inscriptions provide valuable information on the Mahāthūpa. Moreover Sinhala literary works such as the *Pūjāvaliya*, the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* also contain valuable data on the subject. Among the sources mentioned above the *Mahāvaṃsa* is the most prominent. The *Mahāvaṃsa* has devoted five chapters (ch. xxviii to xxxii) to relate the story of the Mahāthūpa. It is also observed that the main theme of the Pali *Thūpavaṃsa* as well as the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* is the description of the Mahāthūpa. Conspicuously the *Dīpavamsa* has allocated only ten verses of ch. xix to describe what the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* described with 422 verses.

Though the Mahāthūpa was put up in the 2nd century B. C. according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, its history commenced in the 3rd century B. C. in the reign of King Devānampiyatissa (250-210 B. C.), with the introduction of Buddhism to the island by Mahinda Thera. As recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. xv verse 45 ff) Mahinda Thera while going about in the city with King Devānampiyatissa showing to him the sites on which important Buddhist edifices would come up in the future, stopped at a spot at the upper end of the small tank called Kakudha vāpi and honoured that spot by sprinkling "Campaka" flowers. When the king became anxious to know the importance of the spot, Mahinda Thera said thus:

1. Ancient unit of measuring grains
2. i.e. after the cremation of the Buddha's body, relics were divided equally among eight parties (*D.* II. 146-47).
3. It is said that 'Ruwanvälisäya' is the most venerated and the tallest of the 'Dāgābas'. It is bigger than the third Pyramid in Egypt both in contents and height (Weerasuriya, H. E., *Historical Guide to Anuradhapura Ruins, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi 1985, p. 18)*

Evam ṭhānam idaṃ rāja catubuddhanisevitaṃ
Tasmiṃ ṭhāne mahārāja thūpo hessati' nāgate

Buddhasarīradhātūnaṃ doṇadhātunidhānavā
Vīsaratanasatucco Hemamāli ti vissuto[4]

"Oh! King this spot is sanctified by four fomer Buddhas. A *Thupa* 120 cubits high named Hemamāli, wherein a *dona*, of bodily relics of the Buddha would be enshrined, will come up there".

King Devanampiyatissa was over enthusiastic and said I myself will put up the *thūpas*[5]. But Mahinda thera discouraged the king saying, "You have many other things to do. Do them oh! King. Your Grandson will put up the *thūpa*.

Idhamaññāni kiccāni bahūnti tava bhūmipa
tāni kārehi nattā te kāressati imaṃ pana (op.cit.)

Further according to the *Mahāvamsa* record, the *thera* identified the grandson as Duṭṭhagāmini, the son of Kākavaṇṇatissa. King Devānampiyatissa is said to have erected a stone pillar[6] inscribing the prediction (*ussāpesi silāthambaṃ taṃ pavattiṃ likhā piya (op.cit.)*.

The actual construction of the *thūpa*, took place, in the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmini, nearly 130 years later. The king is said to have seen the stone pillar where the prophesy of Mahinda Thera was inscribed, and also he found and read the gold plate inscribing the same (*sovaṇṇapaṭṭaṃ laddhāna lekhaṃ tattha avācayi (Mhv.* Ch. xxvii Verse 6). King Duṭṭhagāmini concentrated on the construction of the Mahāthūpa after he completed the Maricavaṭṭi Cetiya and the Lohapāsāda. The *Mahavamsa* relates the "Mahāthūpa Ballad" from chapter. xxvii onwards.

An examination of the lengthy *Mahāvamsa* account of the Mahāthūpa, will reveal that it is overdressed with miraculous incidents by the *Mahāvamsa* author in keeping with his objective "to enhance the serene joy of the pious". The historicity of this unique construction has been over-shadowed by the over enthusiastic author by unnecessarily crowding the description with miracles, thereby unwittingly diluting the fame of the courageous king Duṭṭhagāmini who commenced and almost completed this great construction, perhaps the greatest brick construction the world has not seen before. However, historical facts pertaining to the Mahāthūpa are visible underneath the piles of miracles invented by the author of the *Mahāvamsa*.

According to the *Mahāvamsa* (ch. xxviii verse 3 ff) the king was in a dilemma regarding how to raise the materials (funds) for the construction of the Thūpa. He thought that he had already harassed the people enough in his campaign to defeat the tamils (*damile maddamānena loko'yam pīlito mayā. op. cit.*) Therefore it is not possible to extract any more taxes from the people (*na sakkā baliṃ uddhari'tuṃ, tam vijjiya baliṃ ahaṃ -op.cit.*). It is clear from the statement that the country was passing through a very difficult period. It was after 50 years of foreign rule under Elāra (145-101 B. C.) and a war campaign that lasted several years. The rulers as well as the people had no time to spare for repairing of tanks and the development of agriculture. To make the situation worse Duṭṭhagāmini got himself involved in two massive constructions namely the Marīcavaṭṭi Cetiya and the Lohapāsāda immediately after his victory. Also we hear of a famine (*Mhv.* Ch. xxxii 29-30) by name 'Akkhakhāyika' where the people had to eat even the nuts of *'akkha'* (*Ternninalia Bellerica*), which was on other times used as dice only, towards the latter part of Duṭṭhagāmini's episode. The famine is said to have occurred in the mountain region and the king is said to have sold his valuable earrings to feed five arahants, possibly before his instalment as the king. The famine "*Baminiṭiyā Sāya*" occurred in the reign of king Valagambā not long after his death. All these factors lead to the conclusion that the period Duṭṭhagāmini commenced the work on the Mahāthūpa was an economically weak era.

However, as the *Mahavamsa* author[7] says Sakka the Lord of the *Devas* having heard that king Duṭṭhagāmani was faced with the problem of supply-

4. *Mhv.* ch. xv. vv. 166-7.
5. *ahameva kārāpessāmi op. cit. v.* 168.
6. A monolith found today near the northern gate outside the elephant wall, measuring 22ft. in height and 12 ft. in girth is believed to be the said pillar, removed from its original site to make way for the *thūpa* installed in its present place. But no inscription is found there, possibly worn out as a result of weathering.
7. *Mhv.* xxiii, vv. - 6-8.

ing bricks for the Mahāthupa, ordered Vissakamma, the celestial artisen to create and supply the entire quantity of bricks needed for the purpose, which Vissakamma carried out immediately. The same day he found gold, copper, gems, silver, pearls[8] and also four gems in size like to a small millstone (*nisadapotappamāṇā*), outomatically in different parts of the country. The king had only to collect and transport them to the Royal Treasury. What could be gleaned from this is that king Duṭṭhagāmini exploited the mineral resources of the country, not tapped commercially so far, to raise funds for the Mahāthupa.

According to popular tradition prevalent up to date that there was a "Golden Telambu" tree haunted by a deity named "Soṇṇamāli" on the exact spot where the *thūpa* was to be erected and which had to be removed. But the deity was reluctant to move out, to facilitate the cutting down the tree. But then the king promised to name the *thūpa* after her as Soṇṇamāli Cetiya, the deity agreed to move out, and the tree was removed. This story is not found in any of the literary sources. However the name Soṇṇamāli or Hemamāli is as old as the *Thūpa* itself. The Sinhala literary soụrces such as the *Pūjāvaliya*,[9] and *Saddharmālankāraya*[10] call it "Ruwan Wäli Maha Säya which mean "Golden Sand Cetiya." The *Mahāvaṃsa* ch. xxix, v 1-12 describes in detail the laying of the foundation for the *thūpa* which vouch for the existence of a scientific and advanced building engineering skill possessed by the people at the time. Wilhelm Geiger renders the building process described in the *Mahāvamsa* to English as follows:

"The lord of the land had the place for the thūpa dug out a depth of seven cubits to make it firm in every way. Round stones that he commanded his soldiers to bring hither, did he cause to be broken with hammers, and then did he, having knowledge of the right and the wrong ways, command that the crushed stone, to make the ground firmer, be stamped down by great elephants whose feet were bound with leather.

The fine clay that was found on the spot, for ever moist, where the heavenly Gaṅgā falls down (upon the earth) (on a space) thirty *yojanas* around, is called because of its fineness, 'butter-clay'. *Sāmaṇeras* who had overcome the *āsavas*, brought the clay hither from that place. The king commanded that the clay be spread over the layer of stones and that bricks then be laid over the clay, over these a rough cement, and over this cinnabar, and over this a network of iron; and over this sweet-scented *marumba* that was brought by the *sāmaṇeras* from the Himalaya. Over this did the lord of the land command them to lay mountain-crystal? Over the layer of mountain-crystal he had stones spread; everywhere throughout the work did the clay called 'butter-clay' serve (as cement). With resin of the "*kapittha*" tree dissolved in sweetened water, the load of chariots laid over the stones a sheet of copper eight inches thick, and over this, with arsenic dissolved in sesamum-oil, (he laid) a sheet of silver seven inches thick."[11]

Arrangements were made to lay the foundation on the Full Moon Day of the month "*Āsāḷha*" amids a great and colourful festival. The king invited the whole brotherhood (*sabbo saṅgho*) and also the general public, the townfolk as well as the country people for, the occasion. The whole city and the roads leading to the *Thūpa* site were decorated and adorned in a many fold way. At the four gates of the city many barbers, and servants for the bath, and for cutting the hair, were stationed. Clothes and fragrant flowers and sweetmeats for the use of those who attended the festival were set up. It is reported that the Buddhist countries in the region as well as some of the countries in the Middle East were represented by delegates headed by prominent monks. The *Mahāvamsa* (*Mhv.* Ch. xxix, vv. 30-43) provides the names of the heads of the delegations etc. thus:

"With eighty thousand *bhikkhūs* from the region of Rajagaha came the *Thera* Indagutta, the head of a great school. From Isipatana came the great *thera* Dhammasena with twelve thousand *bhikkhūs* to the place of the cetiya.

8. *Mhv.* ch. xxviii, *vv.* 13-42.
9. National Library Services Edition, Colombo, 1998, p. 498.
10. ed. M. Piyaratana, Col. 1971, p. 551.
11. Geiger, Wilhelm-The *Mahavamsa - Great Chronicle of Ceylon*-Dept. of information, Colombo 1950, p. 191-192. As regards the formation work Smither states: "allowance must be made for the oriental exaggeration, but there can be little doubt that the above particulars are for most part true, as a mass of solid brick work, rising to the enormous height of 270 ft. above the ground would necessarily require foundations of an exceptionally substantial character (Smither James G., *Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura*, London, 1894, p. 23).

"With sixty thousand *bhikkhūs* came hither the great *Thera* Piyadassi from the Jetārāma-vihāra. From the Mahāvana (monastery) in Vesāli came the *thera* Ūrubuddharakkhita with eighteen thousand *bhikkhus*.

"From the Ghositārama in Kosambi came the *Thera* Ūrudhammarakkhita with thirty thousand *bhikkhus*. From the Dakkhiṇagiri in Ujjeni came the thera Ūrusaṅgharakkhita with forty thousand ascetics.

"With a hundred and sixty thousand *bhikkhus* came the *Thera* named Mittinna from the Asokārāma in Pupphapura. From the Kasmīra country came the *Thera* Uttinna bringing with him two hundred and eighty thousand *bhikkhus*. The wise Mahādeva came from Pallavabhigga with four hundred and sixty thousand *bhikkhūs*, and from Alasanda, the city of the *yonas* came the Thera Yonamahādhammarakkhita with thirty thousand *bhikkhūs*. From his dwelling by the road through the Viñjha Forest Mountains, came the Thera Uttara with sixty thousand *bhikkhūs*.

"The great *thera* Cittagutta came hither from the Bodhimaṇḍa-vihāra with thirty thousand *bhikkhus*. The great *Thera* Candagutta came hither from the Vanavāsa country with eigthy thousand ascetics. The great *Thera* Suriyagutta came from the great Kelāsa-vihāra with ninety six thousand *bhikkhus." (Ibid. p. 193-194)*

This may be considered as the largest international assembly on record to have been held in the island in the past. Though the numbers of bhikkhus included in the delegations appear as exaggerated, it is clear that the country has had religious and cultural connections with countries mentioned in the report.

When the king was about to mark the circumference for a very large *Thūpa*, it is said that, a far seeing *Mahā Thera* by name Siddhatta, prevented the king from taking the circle for a very large *thūpa* for practical reasons.

Siddhattho nāma nāmena mahāthero mahiddhiko
Tathā karontaṃ rājānaṃ dīgha dassī nivārayī
Evaṃ mahantaṃ thūpaṃ ce ayaṃ rājārabhissati
Thūpe aniṭṭhite yeva maraṇaṃ assa hessati,
Bhavissati mahanto ca thūpo duppaṭisaṃkharo
(*Mhv.* xxix vv. 52-54)

"if this king shall begin to build so great a *thūpa*, death will come upon him before the *thūpa* is finished. Moreover, so great a *thūpa* will be hard to maintain."

The king heeding to the advice of the *Thera* and the Sangha took the circle for a medium size *Thūpa*. (It will be seen later that even the medium size *Thūpa* the king planned could not be completed before his death). It should be clear that the foundation was prepared for a *thupa* much bigger in size. Smither infers that the portion of the foundation left out while making the *Thūpa* smaller, should be laying at some depth beyond the limits of the present *Thūpa*.[12] Then the king laid the first brick (*Maṅgalaiṭṭhakaṃ*) on the eastern side on the perfumed mortar (*gandhakaddama*). Thus the foundation for the Mahāthūpa was formally laid on the Full Moon day of the month of *Āsalha*[13]. It is said there occurred an earth tremor (*paṭhavī kampā*) at the moment.

Apparently there has been no such grand festival in the island before. The *Mahāvamsa* says that ninety six crores of *arahants* alone attended the ceremony. The *Mahāvamsa* further adds that the ancient records do not provide the numbers of the local monks who were present (*Mhv.* Ch. xxix v. 44). The *Pujāvaliya*[14] a Sinhala treatise of the 12th century A. C. provides interesting information not found elsewhere, namely in the bottom of the Abhaya tank in which the bowls of *Arahants*, who attended the ceremony were washed, there formed a layer of sediment of ghee, four inches thick. It is an indication of the large number of *Arahants* who are reported to have attended the ceremony. It is further said that the effect of ghee was still felt (at the time of writing the book) on the water of the Abhaya tank.

It is said that the king summoned the master builders of the country to entrust the work and interviewed them. He rejected those who proposed quick work and selected the one named Siriwaddhana who proposed slow and quality work (*Mhv.* Ch. xxx, vv 5-10). When the builder was inquired as to the shape of the *Thūpa* he proposed to build, he took a bowl of water and taking a little water in his hands, let if fall on the surface of the water in the bowl. A great bubble like a crystal globe rose on the water. He said I will put up a Thupa similar to this and the king was pleased. (*Mhv.* ch. xxx, v. 12). According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, god

12. Smither James G., *ibid*, p. 24.
13. *Āsāḷhamāsassa sukkha pakkhamhi sammate, uposate paṇṇarase patiṭṭhāpesi iṭṭhakā-Mhv.* xxix, v. 63.
14. National Library Services Board ed. p. 498.

Vissakamma entered the body of the builder and got [illegible] so. It is clear that out of five types of *Thūpas* [illegible] *āmalakākāra* (Emblic myrobalan) *bubbulākāra* [illegible] shape) *Ghaṭākāra* (potshape) *Ghaṇṭākāra* (bell [illegible]) and *Dhāññākāra* (a heap of grain shape). The Mahāthupa was built in the shape of a bubble of water.

The King appointed the *Thera* Indagutta, an 'arahant' with great psychic powers as the superintendent of work (*kammādhiṭṭāyaka*) from the commencement of the *thūpa* and consulted him regarding all details of the work (*Mhv.* ch. xxx, v. 98). The king had a problem of transporting an enormous quantity of bricks to the site daily. But as per the *Mahāvaṃsa* author (*Mhv.* ch. xxx, *v.* 15) the gods came to his rescue and got the quantity of bricks needed for the following day transported to the site on the previous night.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* chapter xxx, *vv.* 51 and 52 are of special significance to students, according to which, when the *thupa* was built up to the third terrace, it sank to the level of the surface of the earth nine times.

Pupphādhānattayaṃthūpe iṭṭhakāhi citaṃ citaṃ
samaṃ pathaviyā katvā iddhimanto'vasādayuṃ
nava vāre citaṃ evaṃ osadāyiṃsu te

"The elders having miraculous powers caused to sink the bricks laid up to three flower offering terraces, to the level of the ground. They caused to sink bricks so laid nine times." (*Mhv.* Ch. xxx, *vv.* 51-52).

The excited king summoned the monks and inquired as to the cause of the sinking. The monks pacified the king and said that the elders did it so that the *thūpa* may not sink of itself (*nosidanatthaṃ*) and that they would not do it again. Whatever may be the poetic way, the *Mahāvaṃsa* author presents this to the pious readers, there is reasonable ground to suspect that the construction sank repeatedly due to constrictional faults. It is possible that the constructors had no previous experience of a similar colossal construction. According to available information there was no similar construction work even in India at the time. In spite of the *Mahāvamsa* author's fabulous account, it may be conjectured that there was a serious unforeseen technical lapse that led to the sinking of the *Thūpa* several times. In the field of construction, the foundation of a building is so designed that it could stand the weight of the proposed super structure. In the case of the Mahāthūpa the foundation was laid even before designing the *thūpa* and identifying the builder. It was after completing the foundation, that the king summoned builders to select suitable builders to entrust the building of the*Thūpa*. It may be conjectured that the selected master builder Siriwaddhana has had no hand in the laying of the foundation. It is not impossible that the *thūpa* sank as a result of lack of communication between those who laid the foundation and the builder selected subsequently. But Smither (*loc. cit.* p. 24) thinks that the sinking was due to the hasty work of proceeding with the building before the massive sub structure had consolidated itself. It is said that ten crores of bricks were used up to the level of three terraces. The king is supposed to have made an order that no work shall be done without remuneration[15]. The king appears rather self-centred at this instance. Smither (*loc. cit.*) is of the view that the king did not wish to oppress the people who have already suffered from internal warfare. But evidence from the *Mahāvamsa* itself goes against Smither's explanation. The *Mahāvamsa* records of two *bhikkhus* who were very eager to contribute something for the construction of the *thūpa* with the connivance of the builders. They were successful in contributing, one with a lump of clay and the other with a brick, in secret. But when the king learnt it he provided certain gifts to both bhikkhus through a man, without divulging the reason, as compensation for their contributions. When the two monks learnt that their contributions were made null and void by the king, they were thoroughly unhappy and were furious. The author of the *Mahavamsa* in his keenness to give Duṭṭhagāmini additional credit has unwittingly painted a picture of a selfish king.

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* author, working even for wages in the construction of the Mahāthūpa is sufficient to be born in the Tāvatimsa heaven. He cites the example of two women who worked for wages in the construction, who were born in the Tāvatimsa heaven as a result[16]. The author further adds that they were seen by Ven. Mahāsiva, resident at Bhātivaṅka, when they came to worship the Mahāthūpa late in the night. This is possibly to defend the apparent selfish attitude of the king who prevented any one working free. The irony of it is that though he did not accept

15. *amūlaṃ ettha kammaṃ ca na kātabbaṃ ti ñāpayi*
16. *Mhv.* ch. xxx, *v.* 42f

any contribution from human beings, he has accommodated substantial assistance from the gods for the construction of the Mahāthūpa.

To make the relic chamber six fat coloured stone slabs (*pāsāṇe medavaṇṇake*) each eighty cubits in length and breadth and eight inches thick are said to have been brought from Uttarakuru by two novives, Uttara and Sumana. Smither (*loc. lt.*) thinks that Uttarakuru is part of India and the said stone slabs must have been brought from there. But the length and breadth of a slab 80 cubits is equalent to 120 ft and thickness 8 inches, makes it highly unrealistic unless they have been brought in pieces and assembled here.

The most important part of the Ruwanwälisäya is said to be its magnificent relic chamber, and its beauty is repeatedly described in several places. No other relic chamber in any of the *thūpas* is described in such detail in the chronicles as that of the Mahāthūpa. The *Mahāvaṃsa* author has devoted 35 verses of chapter xxx to describe the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa. Apparently it is a unique relic chamber in the history of *thūpas* in Sri Lanka.

Wilhelm Geiger in his *Mahavaṃsa* translation[17] has rendered the description of the Relic Chamber of the Mahathūpa into English as follows:

"In the midst of the relic chamber the king placed a *bodhi* tree made of jewels, splendid in every way. It had a stem eighteen cubits high and five branches; the root, made of coral, rested on sapphire. The stem made of perfectly pure silver was adorned with leaves made of gems, had withered leaves and fruits of gold and young shoots made of coral. The eight auspicious figures were on the stem and festoons of flowers and beautiful rows of four-footed beasts and rows of geese. Over it, on the border of a beautiful canopy, was a network of pearl bells and chains of little golden bells and bands here and there. From the four corners of the canopy hung bundles of pearl strings each worth nine hundred thousand (pieces of money). The figures of sun, moon and stars and different lotus-flowers, made of jewels, were fastened to the canopy. A thousand and eight pieces of divers stuffs, precious and of varied colours were hung to the canopy. Around the *bodhi* tree ran a *vedikā* made of all manner of jewels; the pavement within was made of great myrobalan pearls.

"Rows of vases (some) empty and (some) filled with flowers made of all kinds of jewels and filled with four kinds of fragrant water were placed at the foot of the bodhi tree. On a throne, the cost whereof was one *koṭi*; erected to the east of the *bodhi* tree, he placed a shining golden Buddha image seated. The body and members of this image were duly made of jewels of different colours, beautifully shining. Mahā Brahmā stood there holding a silver parasol and Sakka carrying out the consecration with the *Vijayuttara* shell, Pañcasikha with his lute in his hand, and Kālanāga with the dancing girls, and the thousand handed Māra with his elephants and the train of followers. Even like the throne to the east (other) thrones were erected, the cost of each being a *koṭi*, facing the other seven regions of the heavens. And even thus, so that the bodhi tree was at the head, a couch was placed, also worth one *koṭi* adorned with jewels of every kind.

"The events during the seven weeks he commanded them to depict duly here and there in the relic chamber, and also the prayer of Brahmā, the setting in motion the wheel of the doctrine, the admission of Yasa into the order, the *pabbajjā* of the Bhaddavaggiyas and the subduing of the Jaṭilas; the visit of Bimbisāra and the entry into Rājagaha, the accepting of the Veḷuvana, the eighty disciples, the journey to Kapilavatthu and the (miracle of the) jewelled path in that place, the *pabbajjā* of Rāhula and Nanda, the accepting of the Jetavana, the miracle at the foot of the mango tree, the preaching in the heaven of the gods, the miracle of the descent of the gods, and the assembly with the questioning of the *thera* the Mahāsamayasutta and the exhortaion to Rāhula, the Mahāmaṅgalasutta, and the encounter with (the elephant) Dhanapala; the subduing of the (*yakkha*) Ālavaka, of the (robber) Aṅgulimāla and the (Naga king) Apalāla, the meeting with the Pārayanakas, the giving up of life, the accepting of the dish of pork, and of the two gold coloured garments, the drinking of the pure water, and the *Parinibbāna* itself; the lamentation of gods and men, the revering of the feet by the *thera*, the burning (of the body), the quenching of the fire, the funeral rites in that very place and the distributing of the relics by Doṇa. *Jātakas* also which are fitted to awaken faith did the noble (king) place here in abundance. The *Vessantarajātaka* he commended them to depict fully, and in like manner (that which befell beginning at the descent) from the Tusita heaven even to the *Bodhi* throne.

17. *Mahavaṃsa* - The Great Chronicle of Ceylon published by the Dept. of information, Colombo 1950, pp. 203-207.

"At the four quarters of the heaven stood the (figures of) the four Great kings, and the thirty three gods and the thirty two (celestial) maidens and the twenty-eight chiefs of the yakkhas; but above these devas raising their folded hands, vases filled with flowers likewise, dancing *devatas* and *devatas* playing instruments of music, *devas* with mirrors in their hands, *devas* also bearing flowers and branches, *devas* with lotus-blossoms and so forth in their hands and other *devas* of many kinds, rows of arches made of gems and (rows) of *dhammacakkas*; rows of sword bearing *devas* and also *devas* bearing pitchers. Above their heads were pitchers five cubits high, filled with fragrant oil, with wicks made of *dukula* fibres continually alight. In an arch of crystal there was in each of the four corners a great gem and (moreover) in the four corners four glimmering heaps of gold, precious stones sparkling zig zag lines were traced, serving as adornment for the relic chamber. The king commanded them to make all the figures here in the enchanting relic-chamber of massive wrought gold."

Though the *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the inner walls of the Relic chamber of Thūpas were painted with the important events in the life of the Buddha, *Jātaka* Tales etc. no specimen was discovered till the excavation of the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa in 1951. In the process of excavating the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa for restoration, a relic Chamber with painted inner walls was discovered and it proved the truth of the above *Mahavamsa* record regarding the inner walls of Relic Chambers of *Thūpas*.

After the completion of the Relic Chamber the next important task was the enshrinement of Relics in the *Thūpa*. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* a *Doṇa* of Buddha's bodily relics given to the Koliyas of Rāmagāma was destined subsequently to be enshrined in the Mahāthūpa. When the *thūpa* erected by Koliyas at Rāmagāma on a riverbank was washed away by the waters of the river and the relic casket was carried into the sea and was floating in the sea, Nagas found it and took it to Mañjerikā Nāga bhavana of the Nāga king Kāla. The *Mahāvamsa* (*Mhv.* ch. xxxi verse 17-19) further says, the Buddha himself at his death bed (*Pariṇibbāna Mañca*) had proclaimed to Sakka, the lord of *devas*, that out of eight *doṇas* of his bodily relics, one *doṇa* given to Koliyas of Rāmagāma would be taken to the Nāgaloka by Nāgas, and that (*doṇa* of Relics) would be enshrined in future in the Mahāthupa, in the Island of Sri Lanka.

But there is diversity in the *Mahāvaṃsa* account. The king having completed the work on the Relic Chamber summons the *Mahāsaṅgha* and informs them: "I have finished the work on the Relic chamber and the relic enshrinement would take place tomorrow. So please provide the relics".

Dhātugabbhamhi kammāni mayā niṭṭhāpitāni hi
Suve dhatum nidhessāmi bhante jānātu dhātuyo
(*Mhv.* ch. xxxi vv. 1-2)

As expressed in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, so far no one was concerned about the relics, a very important aspect of a *thūpa*. It appears unusual when the king suddenly tells the *saṅgha* that he has completed the Relic chamber and that the relic enshrinement would be on the next day, and his request to the *Saṅgha* to provide relics.

However, as the *Mahāvamsa* author narrates, the *Mahasaṅgha* accepted the request and selected the novice Sonuttara, who was only sixteen years of age, for the purpose. The *Mahasaṅgha* briefed him about the background of the relics under reference and detailed him regarding the mission of bringing relics from the Nāga realm. The king sets out in a great procession accompanied by the army, dancers, drummers etc. to the Mahameghavana to receive the relics. The novice Sonuttara leaves to bring the relics on hearing the noise of the king's procession proceeding to receive relics. He immediately dives into the earth and appears before the Nāga king. The Nāga king hesitates to part with the relics and gets his nephew to swallow the relic casket. But the novice endowed with great psychic powers was able to get it from his belly and immediately appear back at his *pirivena*.

As described by the *Mahāvamsa* author the procurement of the relics had apparently taken only a few minutes. Possibly a historic event has been submerged in a sea of miracles by the over enthusiastic author, whose main concern was to arouse serene joy of the pious. According to the *Mahaparinibbāna Sutta* (*D.* II, p. 167) the Koliyas of Rāmagāma received a portion of the bodily relics of the Buddha, which they honoured by enshrining them in a *thūpa*. The relics concerned subsequently might have fallen into the hands of a Nāga tribe, a powerful contemporary tribe in India. Nāgas appear to have been a powerful section of people in Sri Lanka, too, and king Duṭṭhagāmini had many dealings with them, as found in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Possibly king Duṭṭhagāmini was suc-

cessful in obtaining the relics for the Mahāthūpa with the assistance of the local Nāga people who might have had connections with their Indian counterparts. The Novice Sonuttara must have been a member of the Nāga community who was selected to execute the transaction on behalf of King Duṭṭhagamini.

It is said that there was great rejoicement at the time Sonuttara arrived with the relics. It is said (*Mhv.* ch. xxxi v. 78 ff) that Mahābrahmā, Sakka, the Four Guardian Kings; Vissakamma the heavenly master builder etc. were present at the moment. The enshrinement of relics was done amids a great festival where ninety-six crores of *arahants* were present. The king keeping the relic casket on his head circumambulated the *thūpa* and descended to the relic chamber and was about to deposit the casket on the magnificent couch, when the relic casket together with the relics rose up from his head, and floating at a height of seven *tālas* in the air, the casket forthwith opened by itself, and the relics rose up out of it, taking the form of the Buddha, and performed the twin miracles *Yamaka pāṭihāriya* as performed by the Buddha under the mango tree *gandamba*. This miracle is said to be a determination of will of the Buddha made at the moment of the *Parinibbāna* as given in the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA.* I, 92-93). Afterwards, quitting the form of the Buddha those (relics) returned to their place in the casket and the casket sank down again and rested on the head of the king. Passing round the relic chamber in procession with the *Thera* Indagutta the king laid the casket on the jewelled throne. The relics were enshrined on the fifteenth *uposatha* day in the bright half of the month Āsaḷha under the constellation *uttrasāḷha*. It is also said that at the enshrining of the relics there occurred an earthquake. It is said that the king spent 120 crores (of gold coins) for the *thupa* (*Mhv.* xxxii 27-28). Unfortunately king Duṭṭhagāmini could not see the end of his lifelong objective, the completion of the Mahāthupa. When the plastering and the *'chatta'* (parasol) of the *cetiya* was yet to be done the king became afflicted with an incurable disease.

Aniṭṭhite chattakamme sudhākamme ca cetiye
Māraṇantika rogena Rājā āsi gilānako
(*Mhv.* ch, xxxvi v. 1)

Neither the Mahavamsa nor its commentary *Vamsatthappakāsini* give the nature of the disease. However, 98% of the work of the Mahāthūpa was complete at the time of his death. The king's brother Saddhatissa was summoned from Dīghavāpi and the king requested him to complete what was yet to be done. Saddhatissa realizing the condition of his brother, got the *cetiya* covered with white cloth (to show that it was plastered) and got the *'chatta'* (canopy) made of bamboo reeds. With the help of painters he gave the *cetiya* a finished look and informed the (dying) king that what was (left out) to be done was finished (*thūpe kattabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ-ibid*). The king lying on a palanquin circumambulated the *cetiya* and worshipped the *cetiya* seeing the *cetiya* lying on his right side and seeing the Lohapāsāda lying on his left side and was very happy. He breathed his last looking at the Mahāthūpa (*Olokento mahā thupaṃ nipannova nimilayi*[18] (*Mhv.* xxxii verse 74).

It was Saddhatissa (77-59 B. C.), Duṭṭhagāmini's brother who completed the remaining work on the Mahāthūpa.

Chattakammaṃ sudhākammaṃ hatthipākāra meva ca
Mahathūpassa kāresi saddhākatanāmako

"King Saddhatissa got the canopy (*chatta kamma*) made and effected the plaster of the Mahāthupa. He also provided an elephant wall. (*Mhv.* ch, xxxiii v. 5).

Not only king Duṭṭhagāmini and king Saddhatissa held the Mahāthupa in high esteem. In the course of history, we see many kings paying equal respect to it. Successive kings repaired the Mahāthūpa whenever the necessity arose and adorned and embellished it providing it with additional items.

King Lañjatissa (59-50 B. C.) levelled the ground between the Mahāthupa and the Thupārāma and built three stone terraces at a cost of three hundred thousand (gold coins).[19] King Khallāṭanāga (50-43 B. C.) made the courtyard of sand surrounded by a wall.[20]

King Bhātikabhaya (38-66 A. C.) is said to have had a special love for the Mahathūpa. He constructed two *vedikas* for the Mahāthūpa.[21] The *Mahavamsa*

18. *Mhv.* ch. xxxii, *v.* 74.
19. *Mhv.* ch. xxxiii, *vv.* 21-23.
20. *Mhv.* ch. xxxiii, *v.* 31.
21. *Mhv.* ch. xxxiv, *v.* 39.

(*loc. cit.* vv. 40-45) records a unique *pūjā* the king Bhātikābhaya performed in honour of the Mahāthūpa. He planted jasmine plants (*sumana*) in an area one-*yojana* in width around the city for the purpose of reaping flowers for his intended *pūjā*. The Mahathūpa was applied from the base up to the canopy with a perfumed paste four inches thick and fixing *sumana* flowers in the paste with the stems, the king made the *thūpa* look like a mountain of flowers (*mālagulopamaṃ*). Again the king got the *thūpa* applied with a paste of red arsenic, eight inches thick the same way and covered the Mahāthūpa with flowers. Once more he covered the *thūpa* with flowers from the steps to the canopy.

Uṭṭhāpetvāna yantehi jalaṃ abhaya vāpito
Jalehi thūpam siñcanto jalapūjaṃ akārayi

The king also performed the offering of water (*jalapūjaṃ*) for the *thūpa*, sprinkling it with water from the Abhaya tank taken up with the help of a machine.

Mixing powder obtained from crushing sixty cartloads of pearls with oil, the king got the *thūpa* white washed. He performed another magnificent offering covering the *thūpa* with a net of pearls up to the ground which was adorned with golden lotuses as big as wheels, fixed at the joints. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* (*MhvA*. p. 630) provides us with valuable information, namely the pearls for the net were imported from Rome.

Once the king heard, as per the *Mahavaṃsa*[22] the *arahants*' collective recital of scriptures *Gaṇasajjhāyana saddaṃ*) inside the *thūpa*. Unable to see who recited, the king layed at the eastern *vāhalkaḍa* determined, not to rise up until he saw (the recitors). When he was lying thus without taking in any food Sakkha came and spoke to the *theras* who were reciting "This king has great faith in the Buddhasasana and he will not go back without seeing the Relic chamber and the recitors and will die here". (*Thūpavaṃsa*). Saying this Sakka requested the *theras* to show the Relic chamber to the king. The *theras* entrusted the matter to one of them who took the king by his hand and took him to the interior of the relic chamber. The king walked around the relic chamber observing its grandeur to his heart's content. But the *Mahāvamsa* and its commentary do not record of the Sakka's intervention in the incident. *Theras* of their own accommodated the king's request.

Smither in this connection says: "an enormous stone slab 12 1/2 ft. in length and 9 1/2 ft. in breadth, lying flat on the ground at a distance of about 325 yards south west of the centre of the *thūpa* is said to cover the entrance to the mysterious subterranean passage, which is believed by the priests to be still in existence" (Smither p. 26 foot note). Under the circumstances, it is conjectured that there was a secret passage for *theras* to enter the Relic chamber in the early days.

The king having seen all the adornments in the relic chamber came out and made offerings of figures modelled in clay similar to those (within). The king kept those models in a pavilion in the Royal courtyard covered with golden cloth and assembled the citizens by beat of drum and proclaimed "The golden figures inside the relic chamber are similar to these." The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* provides vital information at this instance. It says "since those figures were made similar to those inside, the drawing of them in books commenced thence onward (*Tam rūpasadisaṃ rupaṃ katattā tasmiṇ kāle potthake rūpāni ahesūm* (*MhvA*.ii p. 554). Apparently there has been a tradition of drawing in books (possibly ola leaf books) to give illustrations. The king is said to have exhibited these replicas annually.

Further the king thought: "The monks who knew the splendour of the relic chamber are rare and therefore I should describe it to them". He summoned the monks to the ground floor of the Lohapāsāda and started to describe the splendour of the Relic chamber. Though he preached during all the three watches of the night, he could finish only one tenth of its splendour. (*loc. cit.*). The *Mahāvamsa* describes another ritual Bhātikābhaya performed in honour of the *Thūpa*. With honeycombs, with perfumes, with vases (filled with flowers, and with essences, with auri-pigment (prepared) as unguent. With lotus flowers arrayed in minimum that lay ankle-deep in the courtyard of the *cetiya* where they had poured it molten; with lotus flowers that were fastened in the holes of mattings spread on fragrant earth, wherewith the whole courtyard of the *cetiya* was filled, with many lighted lamps, prepared with wicks made of strips of stuff in clarified butter, which had likewise been poured (into the court yard), when the ways for the outflow had been closed up; and in like manner with many lamps with stuff wicks in *madhuka* oil and sesamum oil besides; with

22. *Mhv*. ch. xxxiv, *vv*. 49-51 and *Vaṃsatthappakasinī MhvA*. ii, pp. 630-31.

these things, as they were named the prince commanded severally with each seven times offerings for the Great *Thupa*".[23]

Mahadhātika Mahānāga (67-79 A. C)[24] had *kiñcikkha* stones laid as plaster on (the square of) the Mahathūpa and he turned the sand path way round (the *thūpa*) into a wide court. Amandagāmini (79-89 A. C). erected a canopy over the *thūpa*.[25]

King Ilanāga (93-103 A. C.)[26] deployed many Lambakaṇṇas to construct a road to the Mahāthūpa. King Sirināga (249-268 A. C.)[27] had the whole *thūpa* gilded and crowned with a parasol.

Mahāthūpa vare chaṭṭaṃ kārapettvāna bhūpati
Manoramaṃ Suvaṇṇakammaṃ kāresi dassaneyyaṃ

King Saṅghatissa (303-307 A. C.)[28] is reported to have effected substantial improvements and additions. It is observed that this king undertook again the same work done by Sirinaga. Further King Sanghatissa got four great gems, each with a hundred thousand (pieces of money) and fitted them in the middle of the four suns (on the four sides of the tee). It is significant that the king is said to have put on top of the spire of the *thūpa* a precious ring of crystal (*thūpassa muddhani tathā anagghaṃ vajracumbaṭaṃ - loc. Cit.* verse 66). According to the *Vamsatthappakāsini* (p. 666) it was intended to avert lightening (*asani upaddavaviddhaṃsanattaṃ*) and it shows the scientific advancement of the people at the time. The king is also said to have provided 40,000 robes to the monks at the festival of consecration of the parasols.

King Sanghabodhi's name (307-309 A. C.) is also connected to the Mahāthūpa. As reported in the *Mahavamsa*[29] the country was afflicted with a severe drought during the reign of the king. The king, in order to produce rain, prostrated himself in the compound of the Mahathūpa determined not to rise up till he was moved by rainwater. As the king was lying, rains fell wetting the whole island of Lanka. But the king refused to rise up, as he was not floating in the water. The ministers closed the rainwater outlets of the *Thūpa* compound and made the king to float.

King Jeṭṭhatissa (*circa* latter part of the 4th century A. C.) provided the *Mahathūpa* with two precious gems[30]. Aggabodhi I (575-608 A. C.) provided the *thūpa* with a golden canopy (*chatta*) weighing four and twenty *bhāras*.[31] King Mittasena who ruled the country only for one year is said to have built gate ways in the Elephant walls of the main three *cetiyas* (which obviously includes the Mahāthūpa.[32]

King Dhatusena (459-477 A. C.) repaired the parasols of the Mahacetiyas[33] (*Mhv.* xxxviii verse 54). Also he got the three main *cetiyas* (*mahā cetiyattaye*) white washed and pinnacles gilded and provided "*Vajiracumbaṭaka* to avert lightening[34] (*Mhv.* xxxviii v 74) as done by king Bhatika. King Mahānāga (573-75) restored the stuccowork, built elephant railings (*hatthivedi*) and renovated the paintings.[35] Aggabodhi I (575-608 A. C.) presented the Mahathūpa with a golden umbrella (*chatta*) weighing four and twenty '*bhāras*' and also a precious gem.[36]

King Moggallana III (618-623 A. C.) covered the three *thūpas* (*thūpattayam*) with new cloth.[37] Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A. C.) restored the Ratnavāluka Thūpa (Mahāthūpa) which was destroyed by Tamils to one hundred and twenty cubits in height. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that former kings, apparently Parakramabahu's immediate predecessors were unable to do much for the Mahāthūpa after shifting the capital to Polonnaruwa.

Anurādhapurasmiṃ ca purā damilanāsite
Vihāre nekarājūhi dukkaratta akārite

23. *Mhv.* ch. xxxiv, *vv* 52-57.
24. *Loc. cit v.* 69.
25. *Mhv.* ch. xxxv, *v.* 2.
26. *Loc. cit vv.* 16-17.
27. *ibid.* ch. xxxvi., *v.* 24.
28. *Mhv.* ch. xxxvi, *vv.* 68 ff.
29. *Mhv.* ch. xxxvi, *v.* 75 *ff.*
30. *Mhv.* ch. xxxvi, *v.* 126
31. *Mhv.* ch. xiii, *v.* 32
32. *Mhv.* ch. xxxviii, *v.* 10
33. *Mhv.* ch. xxxviii, *v*
34. *Mhv.* ch. xxxviii, *v.* 74
35. *Mhv.* ch. xlii, *v.* 35
36. *Mhv.*ch. xlii, *v.* 32
37. *Mhv.* ch. xliv, *v.* 44

Kāretuṃ ekasacivaṃ pesetvāna samapiya
Visaṃhattha satubbedaṃ thupaṃ ratanavalukaṃ[38]

Many kings were unable to repair the *vihāras*, formerly destroyed by Damilas as it was difficult. (Parakramabahu I) sent one of the ministers and got repaired Ratanavāluka thūpa to a height of 120 cubits. It is interesting to note that, when it comes to the Polonnaruwa period the Mahāthūpa came to be known as Ratanavāluka Thūpa which means golden sand thūpa instead of Ratnamāli Thupa or Golden garlands of the Anuradhapura period.

It is also significant that Parakramabahu restored the thūpa to its original height. Kirti Sri Nissanka (1187-1196 A. C.) too carried out repairs and erected a stone replica of the *thūpa* on the platform. Malalasekera (*DPPN* II 502) quotes *Mhv*. ch. lxxx vv. 20-21 in support of Kitti Sri Nissanka having repaired the Ratnamali thūpa,. But Geiger[39] says that it refers to Kitti Sri Nissanka's repairs to Rankot Vehera of Polonnaruwa. However, there is epigraphical evidence to the effect that Kitti Sri Nissanka repaired the Mahathūpa.[40] Magha pillaged the Mahāthūpa. *Mahāvamsa* says that (Magha) destroyed the Ruvanväli *dagäba* etc.[41] The *Mahāvaṃsa* does not mention Parakramabahu II (1236-1271 A. C.) of Dambadeniya as having repaired the *thupa*. But reports that his son *Vijayabāhu* IV (1270-72 A.C.) completed the work on the *Ratanavāli* Cetiya commenced by his father which testifies that Parakramabahu II commenced the repairs.

Atha so pitu rājena ratanāvāli cetiyaṃ
Āraddhaṃ nava kammantaṃ apari niṭṭhitaṃ[42]

The *Mahāvaṃsa* further says that Vijayabahu IV having repaired (shrines) entrusted the future protection to vanniyars (*loc. Cit. v.* 89). Apparently Vijayabahu's repairs were the last by Sinhala kings, before the modern restoration commenced in the latter part of the 19[th] century.

Numerous references and additional information are scattered in Pali commentaries pertaining to the Mahāthupa. According to *Sammohavinodāni* (*VbhA*. 446-47) during the famine Bäminiṭiyāsāya, when many bhikkhus crossed over to Jambudīpa Ven. Cūlasiva did not wish to join them and went to worship the Mahācetiya. He found castor plants grown on the courtyard of the Mahācetiya. All around it were bushes and the *Cetiya* itself was covered with moss. *Papañcasudani* (*MA* II p. 403) records an instance where a monk (*ariyasāvako*) was attending to white-washing of the Mahācetiya.

The original Mahāthūpa as built by Duṭṭhagāmini would have been very much similar to the contemporary Indian Thūpas specially the thūpas at Sānci. It is clear that it had a chatta (umbrella) on the top similar to the Sanci thupa, instead of the present spire. As already said the *Mahavamsa* records several kings repairing or providing *chattas* to the thūpa. As no remains of *chattas* are discovered it can be conjectured that those *chattas* would have been made of wood. Similarly there is evidence to the effect that it had two railings (*vedikās*) one at the top and another at the top most terrace (*pesāva*). The *Mahavamsa*[43] records that king Bhatikābhaya (38-66 A. C) built two *vedikās*. The *Vamsatthappakasini*[44] explains that those were *Muddha Vedika* and *Kucchivedikā* namely a *vedikā* at the top and a *vedikā* at the belly. Restored Sanci thūpas have retained those two features up to date though they have vanished from Sri Lankan *thūpas*. It was king Saddhatissa who provided an elephant wall (*Hasti vedi*) for the *thūpa*. King Mahānāga too, (373-75 A. C.) provided the *thūpa* with an elephant wall as already said. The archaeologists hold the view that the remains of the elephant wall that have survived are not those of the elephant wall originally built by Saddhatissa but of a subsequent one, perhaps the remains of the elephant wall built by Mahanaga. *Vahalkaḍas*, the frontispiece as Smither calls them, appear to have been added at a later date. The excavations have revealed that *vāhalkaḍas* of Ruvanwälisäya have been built enclosing the limestone platforms projecting at the cardinal points constructed by Lañjatissa (59-50 B. C.). Hence, the *Vāhalkaḍa* of Ruwanveli säya should be posterior to Lañjatissa's reign. It is clear that all the original features the *thūpa* inherited from contemporary Indian *thūpas* at the beginning have

38. *Mhv*. ch. lxxviii, vv. 96-7
39. *English translation, Colombo 1953, p. 128 ft. n. 01*
40. *EZ*., vol. II - Kitti Sri Nissanka's slab inscription at Ruwanväli dagäba
41. *Mhv*. ch. lxxxx, *vv*. 68, 69
42. *Mhv*. ch. lxxxvii, *vv*. 83-4
43. *Mhv*. ch. xxxiv, *v*. 39
44. Vol. II, p. 629

been gradually erased in the course of successive restorations and repairs. What we see today is a *thūpa* having Sri Lankan identity.

Several inscriptions have been found at the site and elsewhere which refer to the *thūpa*. A damaged stone slab inscription which Paranavitana assigns to the first year of King Kaniṭṭhatissa (Malutissa) (227-245 A. C.) record the donation of land to the Ruvanvälidāgaba. It has been wilfully damaged by treasure hunters.[45] An inscription on a stone slab of Salapatala maluva (stone paved pavement) near the southern *vāhalkaḍa* which Paranavitana assigns to the reign of Queen Kalyanawathie records a gift of a *kañcuka* (closely fitted jacket) to the *thūpa* (*silālekhana Saṅgraha*-Vimalakitti M. (Sinhala Script) 1958 Colombo p. 179-80). The Galpota inscription[46] of King Kitsiri Nissanka record that he visited Ruvanväli Dāgäba, effected repairs and made an offering of a stone replica of the Dāgäba in the 4th year of his reign.

Due to South Indian invasions, drought and malaria the population of the North Central province gradually shifted towards the wet zone. The city of Anuradhapura with the sacred shrines was abandoned. Gradually covered with jungle and infested by wild beasts the shrines remained in the same condition for several centuries. Yet there were some courageous people who continued to live in pockets adjoining villages and who looked after the sacred places though they could not afford to effect any repair. In spite of the danger from wild beasts and lack of transport facilities Anuradhapura remained a popular place for pilgrims. People from even distant places continued to visit the shrines. The Kandyan king Kirti Sri Rajasinghe (1747-82) visited Anuradhapura on pilgrimage in that Dark Age.

With the gradual restoration of the ancient irrigation system and control of Malaria, more and more people started coming and settling down in and around Anuradhapura towards the latter half of the 19th century. It was during this period that Buddhists directed their attention for the restoration of shrines in Anuradhapura. Thuparāma, the first to be repaired was already restored by 1842 (Smither James G. *Loc.Cit.* p. 3). The next to receive the attention was the Ruwanväli Säya which was a "mere pile of fallen bricks". It was Ven. Naranwita Sumanasara[47] a monk with incredible courage who came with a group of pilgrims from Gampola who commenced the herculian task of restoring of Ruvanväli Säya in April 1873. It is said that he had no proper place to stay and was living under a discarded roof of a bullock cart. With the assitance of local Buddhists and those from other areas as well, he started to clear the jungle that covered the *thūpa*. The Governer General Sir William Gregory (1872-77) appreciated the work and the courage of Ven. Sumanasāra and contributed $ 100/- for the restoration work. The following extract of the testimonial, the Governor sent in appreciation of the work testify to the courage of Ven. Sumanasāra who undertook the formidable task.

Anuradhapura
February 15th 1876.

I have visited the Ruwanväli Dāgäba and have been quite surprised at the progress made by Nāranvita Sumanasāra unnānse in the restoration of the great work. Only three years ago it was a mere pile of fallen bricks. He has now completely cleared it and has restored the greater portion of the basement. The vigour displayed by Nāranwita Sumanasāra unnānse deserves every encouragement and I trust it will be appreciated by his countrymen. I have myself contributed to this restoration and not looking at it as a religious work but as a conservation of a great national monument.

The best of Sinhalese art and identified with one of the most powerful and enlightened kings who ever ruled the country.

W. H. Gregory
Governor

While the work was in progress "Ratnamāli Cetiyawardhana Society" (Ratnamali Cetiya Restoration Society was formed in 1902 initiated by Brahmacāri Walisingha Harischandra, the prominent revivalist of the day and the restoration was handled by the Society thenceforth. However, when the work to the value of over rupees 2 million wa completed a sudden torrential rain that occurred in 1911 washed

45. Paranavitāna, s., *Glimpses of Ceylon's Past, Colombo, 1972 p. 43 ff.*
46. *EZ.*, Vol. II, p. 126
47. He is said to be a grandson of Ratnayaka Korale Mahatmayā of Naranwita Gampola and a pupil & Ven. Atthadassi,Callangotta Forest Hemitage and a young novice who has not reached the age for *Upasampadā* (Higher Ordination.)

away the entire construction which Ven.Ssumanasāra did for 38 years. But the Buddhists were not discouraged and continued with their work. A philanthropist form Henegama (Akuressa) by name Siṭuge Don Hendric De Silva Rālahāmy popularly known as Henegama Appuhāmy, contributed Rs. 250,000 for the restoration work which was an enormous amount at the time. It was the biggest individual contribution made to the fund. The work progressed steadily with people contributing in money, materials and labour.

However it is said that when the dome was nearly half done, it was feared that if the dome is contructed at the same proportions, the *thūpa* would be too big, and might not be able to complete due to the high cost. (It is needless to state that such an enormous project was too difficult to handle by public contributions alone). Consequently the authorities took action to reduce the dome from that point, in order to make the *thūpa* smaller than the proportion it was intended at the beginning. This deliberate sudden drop in size of the dome, which some people try to interpret as the fault of the construction, could be seen today with the naked eye by an observant person standing in the compound of the *thūpa*. However it has affected the bubble shape and the beauty of the *thūpa* to a considerable extent.

The work continued smoothly and the crowning of the *thūpa* with the pinnacle took place on the 17th June 1940, the Poson full moon day, amids great celebrations. Burma donated the crest gem for the pinnacle. It is said 500,000 people participated at this ceremony. The four accompanying cetiyas (*parivāracetiyas*) at the four corners were completed in 1970.

It was a stone replica of the *thūpa* offered by Kitti Sri Nissanka extant up todate in the compound that helped to determine the shape of the *thūpa* during the restoration. The height of the *thūpa* after the restoration measures 338 ft. and the diameter is 300 ft. The height of the gold plated pinnacle is 25 ft. high. The *thūpa* stands on a platform 5 acres in extent one side measuring 475 ft. In the course of the restoration, *Vahalkadas* (frontispiece) have been newly constructed but the remains of the ancient Vahalkadas are preserved by the side of it. Similarly the elephant wall (*Hastipākāra*) has been newly built. But the remains of the ancient elephant wall are preserved. Two ancient statues supposed to be that of King Dutthagamini and the other of King Bhatikabhaya are found in the compound. Another statue believed to be that of Vihara Maha Devi is also found there.

Further Buddha statues, Vamana or dwarf figures, guard stones, ornamental pillar capitals, statues of Nāgini (female naga) huge stone altars, asanas are among the archaeological remains found in the compound of the *thūpa*. See PLATES XLIX, L.

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K. Arunasiri

MAHĀVAMṢA (The Great Chronicle): the epic poem *par excellence* of Sri Lanka. It was written in Pāli--- the *lingua franca* of Southern Buddhism--- by a scholar-monk named Mahānāma in the sixth century B. C. It is basically a historical work relating the story of the Sinhala Kingdom of the island from its foundation in the sixth or fifth century B. C. to the reign of King Mahāsena (274 - 310 B. C.)

The early Western schollars were impressed by both its anitiquity and its uniquely systematic historiographical methodology. Its main litterary value lies in effective use of the lucid and soft-toned Pali verse to narrate, with a minimum of distracting embellishments, the main trends of a nation's long and varied historical tradition. The author displays his skills of literary composition in the manner in which he organized, with rigour and restraint, his subject-matter culled from a wide variety of sources ranging from contemporary ballads and folktales to voluminous treatises on esslesiastical history. The importance of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is also founded on facts other than its literary form and presentation.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* has proved to be an indispensable source for the reconstruction of the ancient history of not only Sri Lanka but also India. Without the comprehensive account of Emperor Asoka in this Chronicle, the identification of *Devanapiya Piyadasi* of the edicts and the pillar inscriptions could have been delayed by at least a century. Even more importantly, the identification of the great missionaries whose relics were found enshrined in the *stūpas* of Sānchi and Soṇāri (i.e. Moggaliputta Tissa, Majjhima, Kassapagotta, Dundubissara) could never have been made without the information which the *Mahāvaṃsa* had recorded of the missions sent out to foreign lands to propagate Buddhism in the reign of Emperor Asoka. The most authentic data on the Mauryan Empire-next to the lithic records of Asoka himself-are to be found in this poem and the literature which developed around it.

As regards the history of Sri Lanka, its authenticity is amply borne out by archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic evidence which corroborates, supplements and clarifies the wealth of information recorded in it. It is significant that the early Aryan settlers of Sri Lanka, who had come in several waves of migration from both the northwest and the northeast regions of the Indian sub-continent, had developed an exceedingly keen historical sense. They began to keep records of their exploits and experiences not merely as ballads or sagas of literary or folk interest but more systematically as historical accounts aimed at asserting their cultural identity as a new nation in a new land.

The dynastic history of at least two centuries was already thus recorded before the advent of the Buddhist monk as historiographer and custodian of historical tradition in Sri Lanka. Of course, since the Buddhist monk took over this task, Sri Lanka gained its unique distinction of being perhaps the only modern nation to have maintained, in a periodically updated chronicle, an unbroken historical record extending to over twenty five centuries.

This chronicle, whose latest prolongation in identical literary form and style in Pali verse, was published in Colombo, brings the narrative to 1956. Several previous prolongations are mentioned with specific information:Viz.

(I) chapter 37 verse 50 to chapter 79 verse 84 by the Thera Dhammakitti in the thirteenth century;

(II) chapter 79 verse 85 to chapter 90 verse 104 anonymous, some time in the fourteenth century;

(III) chapter 90 verse 105 to chapter 100 verse 301 by the Thera Tibbatuvave Siddhattha Buddharakkhita in the eighteenth century and

(IV) Chapter 101 anonymous in the nineteenth century.

1. Both *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* come to an abrupt end with the notation: *"The Mahāvaṃsa ends"* during the reign of Mahasena. Hence the continuation from Chapter 37 verse 51 has been called *Cūlavaṃsa*-the lesser chronicle. But the colophon of each chapter right upto Chapter 101 calls the Chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa*.

Two further prolongations had been attempted by the Thera Yagirala Paññananda, who brought the narrative to 1935, and the Thera Polwatte Buddhadatta, who complimented the Chronicle with the history of the island under Portuguese and Dutch rule.

This continuing tradition of bringing the *Mahāvaṃsa* up to date is by itself an irrefutable proof of the deep impression which the author of the original chronicle made on subsequent scholars of the country. He had provided a model of historiography which seemed to satisfy the national needs.

Another salient factor has to be considered in assessing the importance of the *Mahāvaṃsa*: In spite of its confinement in subject-matter to the history of Sri Lanka, it had found a very wide audience in South-east Asia. The manuscripts which were collated by Wilhelm Geiger in the preparation of the current standard edition of the Pāli text, came from Burma, Cambodia and Sri Lanka in their respective characters. Interestingly, some of the foreign Mss, were better preserved than those in Sri Lanka The Cambodian texts revealed a furher phenomenon: The text had been enlarged to almost double the number of verses so as to add information elsewhere recorded only in a tenth-century commentary. This *Extended Mahāvaṃsa* appears to have been a literary feat of a scholar-monk of Thailand or Cambodia.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* is the culmination of a literary and historiographical experiment which seemed to have extented over at least eight centuries in Sri Lanka. It commenced with the massive literary movement launched by the Buddhist Missionaries of Emperor Asoka, who were ied by none other than his own son and daughter, the Thera Mahinda and the Therī Sanghamittā. While they brought the Tipiṭaka (the Buddhist Canon) in Pāli (possibly a literary from of the vernacular of Magadha), the commentaries elucidating it were produced in Sri Lanka in Sinhala, which in its Prakritic form in the third century B.C., was not too dissimilar to the contemporary North Indian dialects.

The Sinhala commentaries grew in volume and substance and from the earliest times, included information on the history of the island --- specially on the antecedents of the dynasty which embraced Buddhism. The historical sections of these commentaries came to be known as the *Sihala - Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa* (The Great Chronicle of the Sinhala Commentary). There is evidence that several recensions or versions were extant in original form even as late as the tenth century when the commentary of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, known as the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* or the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā*, was produced.

Somewhere between third century B.C. and fourth century A.C. --- most likely after the reduction of Pali Tipiṭaka into writing in first century B.C. --- a tendency had developed to translate parts of the historical narrative into Pali verse. A ready model was available from the narrative works of the Canon such as the *Jātaka*, the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. *Sinhala Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa*, with the Sinhala text intercepersed with Pāli verses, was an intermediary step in the evolution of the epic poem in Sri Lanka.

The first tentative and imperfect effort to present the historical information of the commentaries in a chronicle entirely in Pāli verse is to be found in the fourth-century *Dīpavaṃsa* of unknown authership[2]. Its imperfections range from grammer,style and linguistic inelegance --- exemplifying the lack of experience in the use of Pāli as a vehicle of literary expression --- to rechnical difficulties in copying with different sources and organizing the material in a balanced readable form.The auther, however, was not totally unaware of the tenets of ornate poetry which had made their appearance in contemporary Indian literature. The *Dipavaṃsa* has several passages which speak of the auther's preoccupation with artistic expression.

A major literary revoluion marked the period between the *Dipavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*: namely, the far-reaching initiative taken with the direct involvements of several scholar- monks from India (mainly, Buddhaghosa from the region around Buddha Gaya in Bihar and Dhammapāla and Buddhadatta respectively of Kāñcipura and Uragapura - Uraiyur --- of Tamil Nadu) to translate the Sinhala commentaries on theBuddhist Canon into Pali. The motivation came from two factors:

(i) the Sinhala commentaries were found to be the most comprehensive and authentic or, in the words attributed to Buddhaghosa himself, "conveying the true meaning of the doctrines of the Buddha"; and

(ii) eight hundred years of independent evolution of the once similar Prakrists of North India and Sri Lanka had made the Sinhala commentarties unintelligible to the Buddhists of India. The most practical solution.

2. The *Dīpavaṃsa* ends with the reign of Mahāsena. It is possible that it was completed during the reign of Mahāsena while he was alive

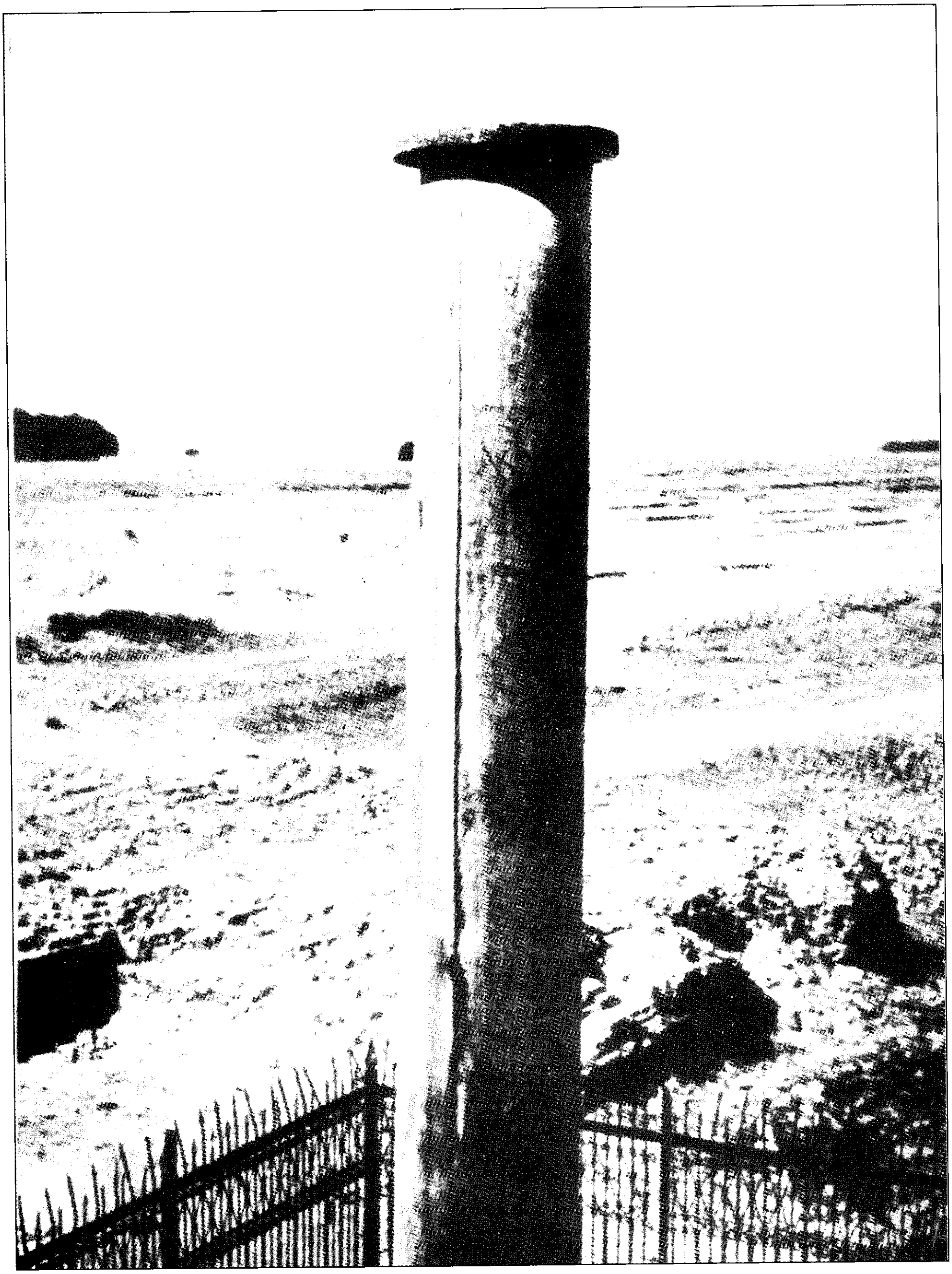
PLATE XXXIX



A few of the 1600 stone pillars that remain at presrent as ruins of the magnificent nine storeyed Lohapāsada, originally built by king Devānampiyatissa as the Uposathāgāra for bhikkhus.

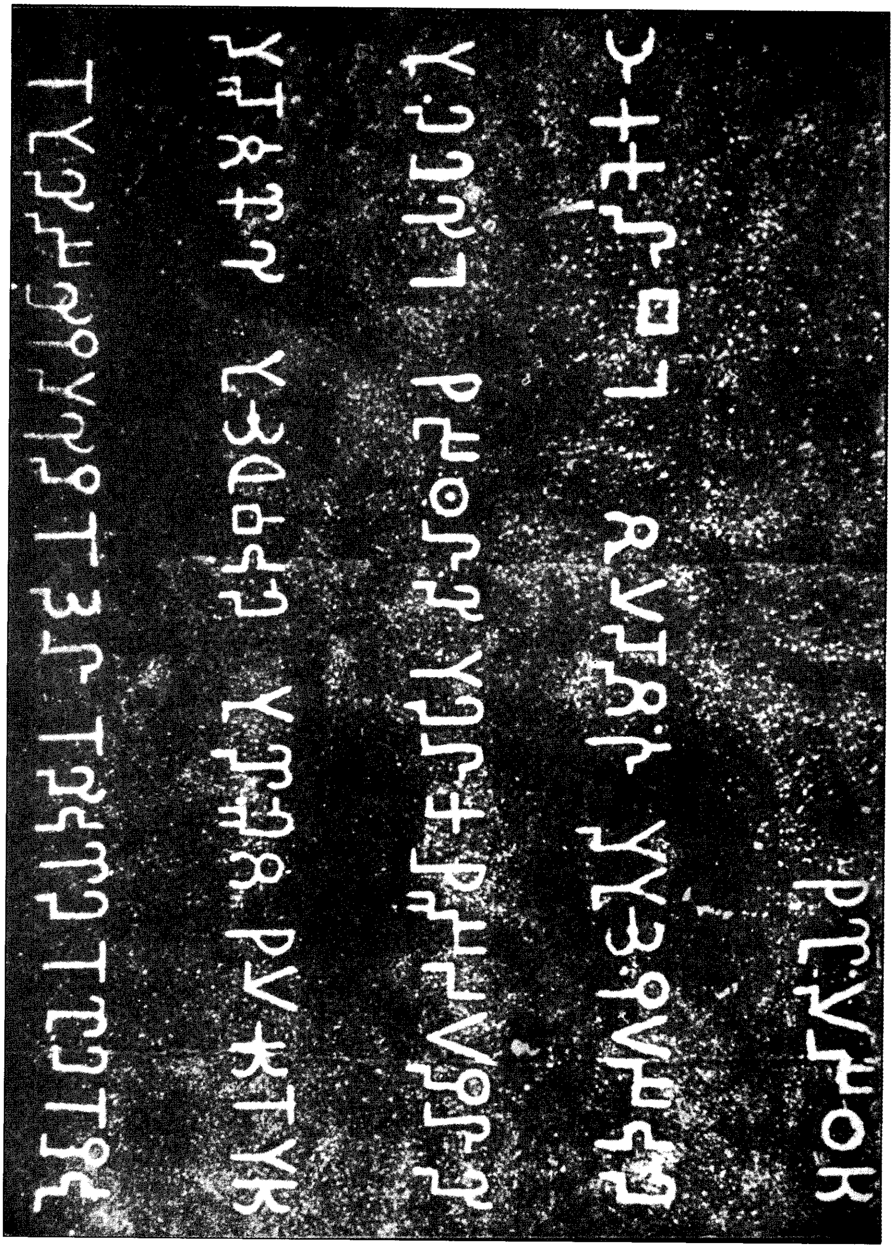
courtesy: M.W.E. Karunaratne

PLATE XL



Emperor Asoka, twenty years after his anointment, paid a visit to Lumbini, the birth place of the Buddha, and there erected this memorial pillar.

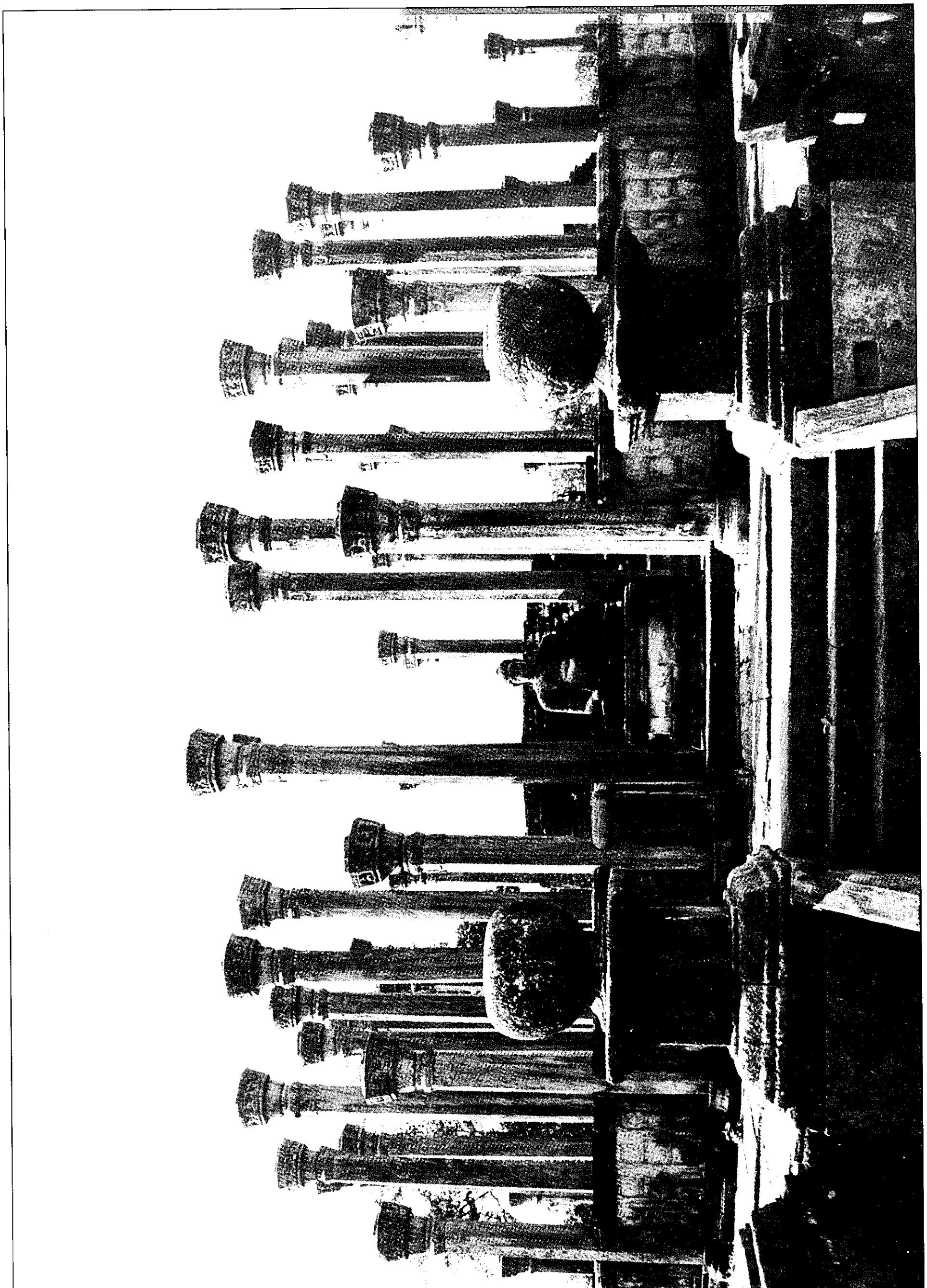
Courtesy: The Way of the Buddha Govt. of India Publication, 1956



Lumbini Pillar Inscription of Asoka recording that it was in Lumbini that Gautama Buddha was born.

Courtesy: The Way of the Buddha, Govt. of India Publication, 1956

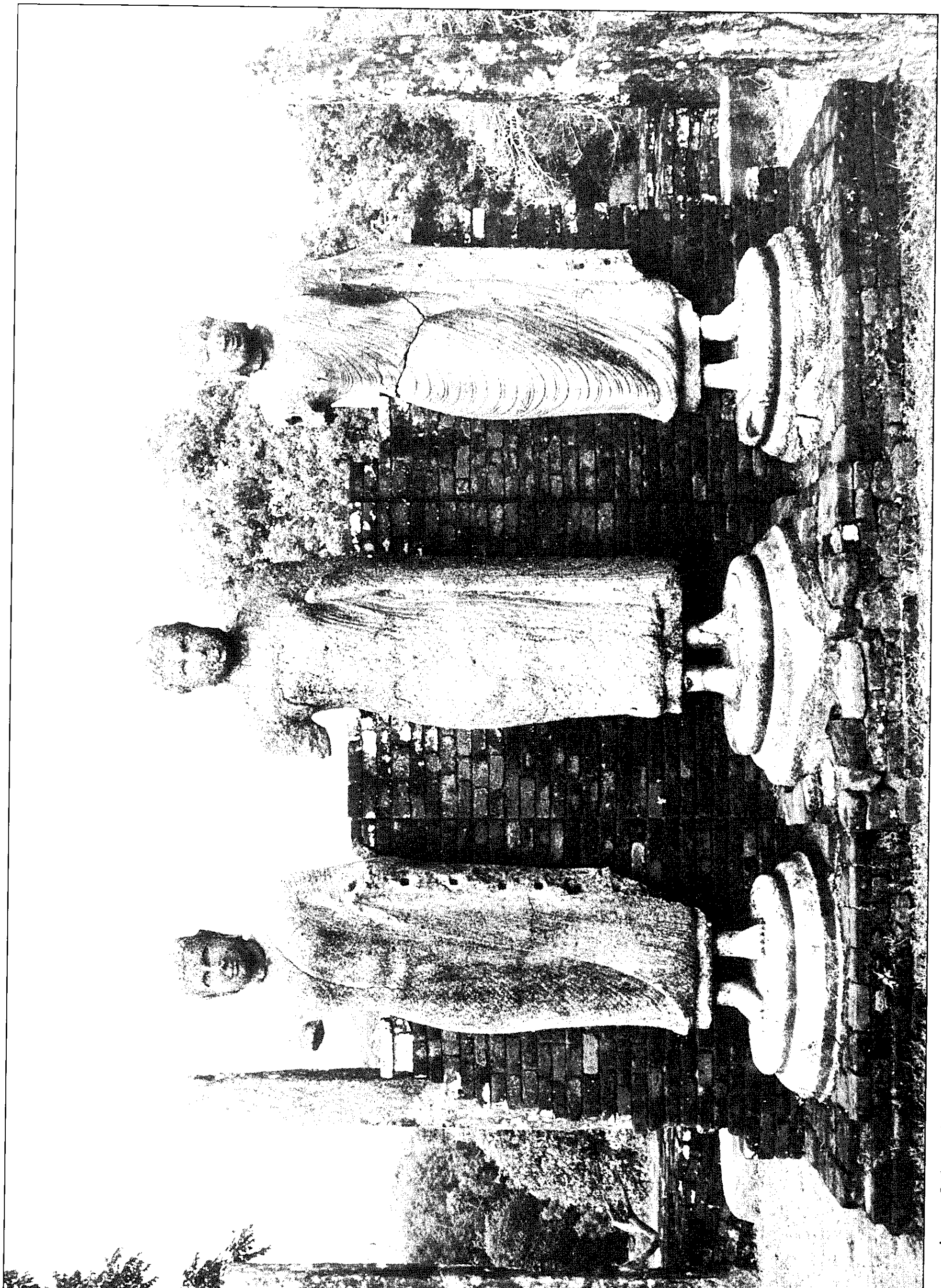
PLATE XLII



The ruins of the Vaṭadāge in the Mädirigiriya complex.

Courtesy: M.W.E. Karunaratne

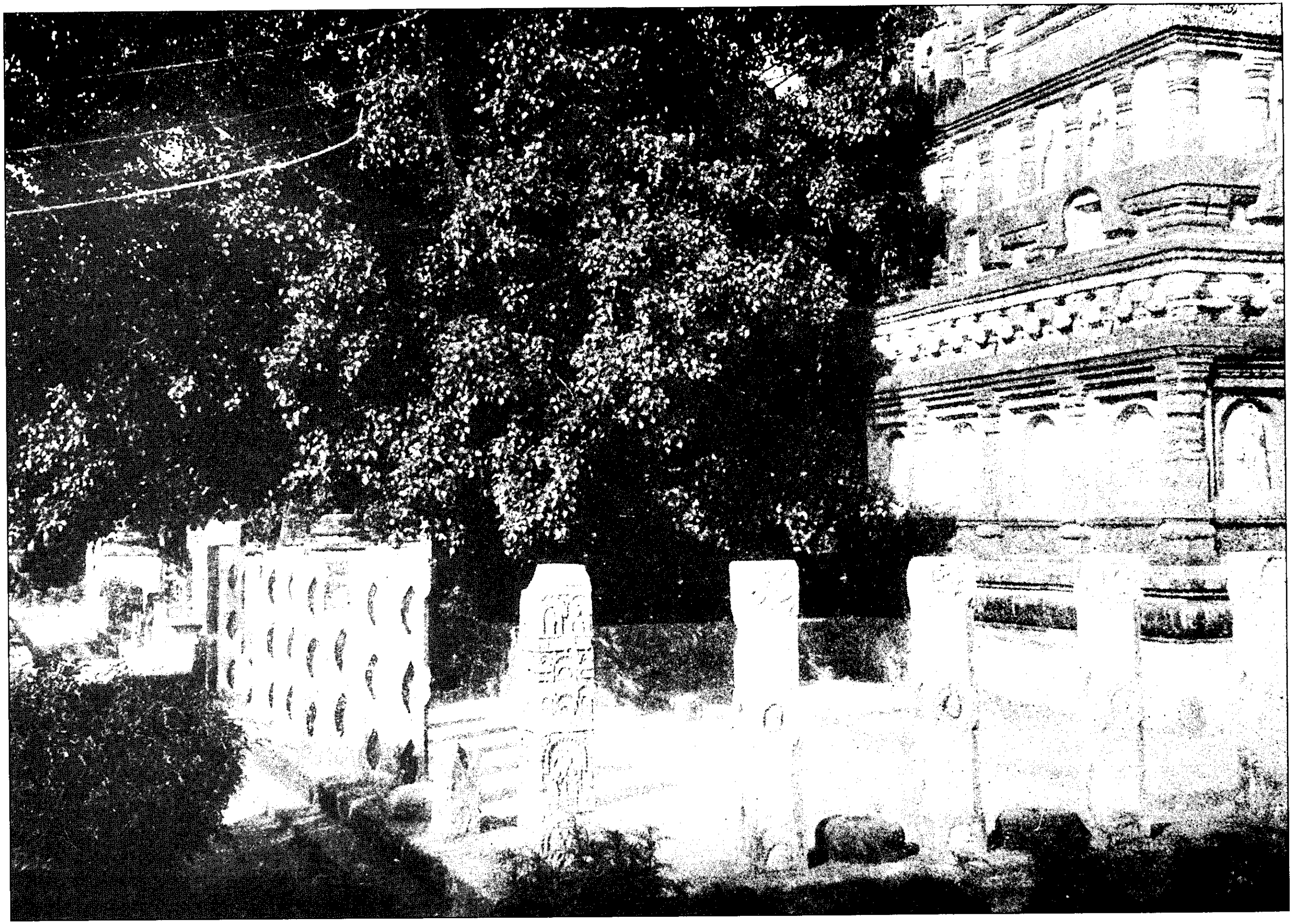
PLATE XLIII



The ruins of the Pilimage (image house) in the Mädirigiriya complex..

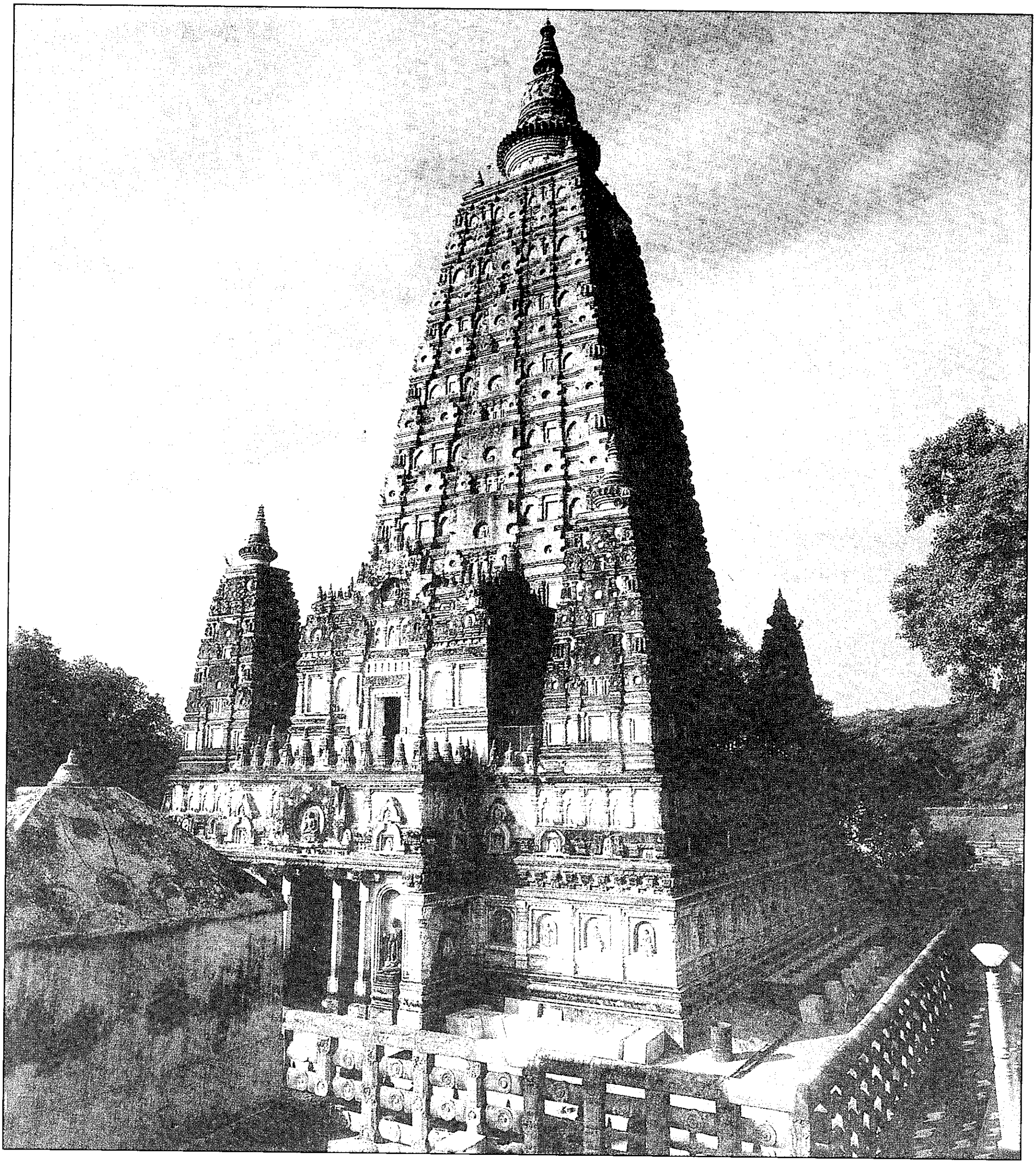
Courtesy: M.W.E. Karunaratne

PLATE XLIV



The Mahābodhi (tree) in Buddhagayā showing a section of the adjoining Mahābodhi vihāra.

Courtesy: M.W.E. Karunaratne



A full view of the Mahābodhivihāra, adjoining the Mahabodhi (tree) in Buddhagayā.

Courtesy: The Way of the Buddha, Govt. of India Publication, 1956

PLATE XLVI



The Sri Mahabodhi in Anuradhapura with the Ranwäta (guilded fence) around it.

Courtesy: M.W.E. Karunaratne

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to the problem was to translate the commentaries into the same language in which the Canon existed.

The unprecedented literary activity which this decision ushered in made Pali an effective as well as desirable medium of literary expression in Sri Lanka. Thence, for well over seven hundred years, Pali was the preferred language of many a great scholar who saw no doubt the advantage of an extended readership in at least South and South-East Asia.

Writing about a hundred years after Buddhaghosa, the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Mahānāma, used Pāli elegantly free of solecisms and employed correctly and with ease both the popular *gāthā* metre (4 lines of eight syllables each, similar to the Sanskrit Sloka or *Anuṣṭubh*) and several more complicated metres in the concluding verses of the chapters. Although it was not called a *Mahākāvya*, the basic tenets, elaborated in later treatises on rhetorics, have already been observed.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* aims at a most practical objective of narrating the history of the country concisely for the expressed purpose of generating "the serene joy and emotion of the pious". This has been done most of the time in a direct business-like manner. One looks in vain in the *Mahāvaṃsa* for the linguistic gymnastics which characterized the ornate Mahākāvya in contemporary Sanskrit literature.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* of Mahānāma is organized as three epics in one volume:

Chapters six to ten: the *Vijaya-Paṇḍukābhaya* Epic on the founding and the consolidation of the Sinhala Kingdom in Sri Lanka.

Chapters eleven to twenty: *the Devānampiya-Tissa-Mahinda Epic* on the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka and its consolidation as the state religion of the country.

Chapters twenty-two to thirty-two: : *the Duṭṭhagāmaṇi-Abhaya Epic* on the national hero of the second century B.C. who reunified the kingdom by liberating the regions under foreign domination and left a lasting heritage of magnificent monuments to the glory of Buddhism.

Instead of singling out these themes for isolated treatment, the historian in Mahānāma favoured a chronologically continuous narrative using concise connecting chapters to present the reigns in between. Thus did the *Mahāvaṃsa* become a chronicle. The style of the connecting chapters (e.g. chapters 21, 33-37) provide the prototype for the numerous prolongations of the Chronicle, to which reference was made earlier.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* begins with an account of three visits by the Buddha to Sri Lanka. Reiterating a national tradition, which is however not corroborated by either the Buddhist Canon or its major ancillary works, the Chronicles account for the sanctity of the more important sacred Buddhist shrines as located on spots visited by the Buddha.

The second chapter traces the genealogy of the Buddha from Mahāsammata (the "Great Elect') to whom is attributed the beginning of kingship. This chapter records a number of chronological synchronisms which are important in the reconstruction of the ancient history of India.

The next three chapters deal with the three Buddhist Councils held under the patronage of Ajātasattu (circa 5th century B.C.), Kālāsoka (circa 4th century B.C.) and Asoka (*circa* 3rd century B.C.). In spite of the faith-inspired accretions, which are inevitable in a monastic tradition, these accounts, after stringent and even overly critical scrutinies by several generations of modern scholars, have proved to be by far the most complete and reliable information on the early history of Buddhism.

The subject-matter for the *Mahāvaṃsa* is straceable to three distict sources:

(i) early accounts of different waves of Aryan migrations with overtones of mythical elements --- in no way different from contemporary legends of Greece and Rome;

(ii) a detailed and quite possibly even documented monastic tradition on the crucial events in the history of Buddhism, highlighting the miraculous and supernormal and demonstrating the penchant for seeking explanations for current happenings from experiences of previous births --- again, no different from other religious traditions which seek to evoke faith, belief and devotion in the pious; and

(iii) royal records of meritorious deeds accomplished for the benefit of the Buddhist Faith, on the one hand, and the general public, on the other. Within

this last category would fall panegyrics and heroic ballads which court poets and wandering minstrels had produced for humouring royalty and edifying the population.

Sri Lanka, in keeping with the ancient Indian tradition, recognized heroes of three distinct categories; *Dharmavīra* (heroes of righteousnsss), *Dānavīra* (Heroes of liberality) and *Yuddhavīra* (military heroes). The history of the island is replete with all the three varieties of heroes and hence tales on them have been an integral part of the public literary heritage. The *Mahāvaṃsa* has drawn heavily on them and a discerning reader of the Pali original can easily identify the material drawn from such tales.

Of special interest is the substantial account of the military and religious achievements of *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi-Abhaya Epic*. It is evident that the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* has had access to an epic poem in Sinhala on this national hero. Here one can see so many "Sinhalisms" which have crept into otherwise chaste Pali. Equally evident is the avidity and competence with which the military exploits of the king are described --- a task somewhat difficult for a Buddhist monk without the assistance of the court poet.

Despite its literary merits and historical authenticity, the overarching character of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is religious and ecclesiastical. It is above everyting else a history of Buddhism in India up to the missions of Asoka and in Sri Lanka henceforth. Aiming at the edification of the pious, it takes for granted a deep knowledge of doctrine and practices, which apparently the Sri Lankan Buddhist has imbibed through constant association with the monastery. The narration of the good and the evil attributable to kings and other personages in history, seems to be directed to one purpose: that is, to draw a moral. Most chapters end with either an admonition or a reminder of a basic doctrine of Buddhism. The didactic import of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is indeed quite great. The doctrines emphasized are those relating to impermanece, wholesome and unwholesome action; detachment and proper use of wealth and power.

True to his didactic role, Mahānāma, the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* displays a noteworthy degree of impartiality and objectivity in assessing the careers and contributions of various rulers. Sena, Guttaka and Eḷāra --- all three invaders from South India --- are credited with just reigns. The impartiality of Eḷāra in the dispensation of justice has received elaborate treatment with several anecdotes. The only occasions when harsh criticisms is resorted to are when some one had jeopardised the interest of the Mahāvihāra --- the ecclesiastical tradition to which Mahanama belonged.

Notwithstanding the seriousness of purpose that is shown in recording the eventful history of a colourful people, the *Mahāvaṃsa* abounds in *human interest* episodes relating to a wide spectrum of human types: a brave mother who accompanies her son to the battle field and does not hesitate to act as decoy to lure an enemy to his end; a nymphomaniac queen whose infamous career leads seven kings to death and a crown prince to monkhood; a pious king who slaves to earn his own money to offer alms to monks and proceeds to ultimate limits of liberality by offering himself, his wife and his children to the community of monks, in spite of their entreaties to the contrary; the tragic end of the ruler who declared the whole island a sanctuary for man and beast; a king with a flair for building construction who risks his life by lying down by a precipice to hold fast the mortar of a *stupa* until it sets; a door-keeper that turns tables against his king and master who loves a good laugh and plays a practical joke on the ministers; a crown prince who sacrifices the throne for the love of a pretty outcaste; the single-pointed resolve of a king whose imagination knows no bounds when it comes to designing grand ceremonies in homage to the Great Thupa; an incredibly ambitious uncle who voluntarily goes through mutilation so as to enable his nephew to usurp the throne; three unknown princes who come to the capital as strangers but end up by becomming rulers successively; a ruthless ruler who marks his father's funeral with a bloody massacre; a reble minister who, even in fierce battle, cannot but share with the king a delicacy they both loved and thus uses the evening meal to negotiate peace; etc., etc.

It is on account of all these characteristics that the *Mahāvaṃsa* qualifies to be a part of the literary heritage of humanity. It narrates the history of the people of a small island. But in doing it with vigour and ardour, it reflects and noble and the mean, the wisdom and the foibles, the sublime and the ridiculous which characterize human activity whatever be the socio-cultural or temporal milieu.

The fact that the *Mahāvaṃsa* deals with real people, and not fictional or impersonalized types, adds a significant dimension to the insights it provides on the

universality of the humankind's strengths and weaknesses. The Chronicle is an enduring record of men and women who, guided by diverse emotions, ideals, needs and aspirations, said and did things which a nation has considered worthy of perpetuation, whether as examples for emulation or otherwise. This human pageant which unfolds itself in the pages of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is its most convincing claim to be enshrined among the greatest classics of Aisan -- if not world --- literature.

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Ananda W. P. Guruge

MAHĀVASTU-AVADĀNA. This text was introduced to Europe for the first time by B.H. Hodgson in his a rticle "Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of the Bauddhas of Nepal and Bhot"[1] with a somewhat misleading description, as follows, *"Mahāvastu*, an *avadānaśāstra*, an account of the fruits of actions, like the *Karma Vipáka* of the Brahmins" (p. 428). A manuscript of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* arrived in Paris in July 1837 from Hodgson, the then British Minister Resident in Katmandu, at the request of the Asiatic Society of Paris (See *JAs*, Sept. 1837, p. 297). In his *Introduction á l'histoire du buddhisme indien* (Paris 1844) E. Burnouf quotes many passages of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* from a manuscript in his possession.

Since Hodgson's time, the title *Mahāvastu* (not *Mahāvastu-avadāna*) has been used by a number of scholars. Original MSS., however, almost always call the text *Mahāvastu-avadāna*. In his article "On the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu*" (pp. 128f.) [2] Kogen Mizuno explains this as follows: *Mahāvastu* originally indicates a chapter of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* of the Lokottaravadins of the Mahāsaṃghikas (cf. e.g. Pāli *Mahā-khandhaka*), as is described at the beginning of the text itself (ed. Senart I, 2.13-14): [3] "Here begins the *Mahāvastu*, which is based on the redaction of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* made by the noble Mahāsāṃghikas, the Lokottaravadins of the Middle Country" (tr. Jones, I pp. 2-3).[4] This reminds us of the well-known postscript to the *Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching* (Taishō No. 190, Nanjio No. 680): "The Mahasamghikas call this work *Ta-shih* (i. e. *Mahāvastu*), ..." (cf. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, I p. 96b). The Buddhist legends were first told in order to establish ordination rules and rites. Those legends were extracted from this part of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and formed the original of our text. The Lokottaravādins called it *Mahāvastu*. Later the revised and extended text was called *Mahāvastu-avadāna*. Although the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* was originally derived from the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, it has lost the so-called *Vinaya*-terms in the course of transmission from the *Mahāvastu* to the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*. The *Mahāvastu-avadāna*

1. *Asiatic Researches*, XVI (Calcutta 1828.
2. Mizuno's articke often quoted hereafter is to be highly recommended. This article was published in the *Festschrift* for Ryūshō Hikata (Fukuoka 1964) on pp. 127-156.
3. *Émile Senart, Le Mahāvastu, Texte sanscrit publié pour la premiére fois et accompagné d'intorduction et d'un commentaire*, 3 vols. (Paris 1882-90-97.
4. J.J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, 3 vols. (London 1949-52-56). All scholars in the field of South Asian and Buddhist studies must be grateful to Jones for having completed a translation of such a difficult text.

is "on the whole a collection of legends without any connection with discipline" (L. de La Vallée Poussin, *ERE*, VIII, 1915, p. 329a). The passages from the *Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya* (Taisho No. 1425) and the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* are fully discussed by A. Hirakawa in his *Studies in the Vinaya-piṭaka* (Tokyo 1960), pp. 524-535.

Mahāvastu has often been translated as the "great event". However, what the word *vastu* meant exactly is hard to know. Mizuno examines various meanings of it (*op.cit.*, pp. 130f.). As Mizuno precisely says, *avadāna* of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* should be taken in the wider sense of "allegory" including the stories of the former births of the Buddha Śākyamuni, and of his disciples, and other edifying tales (*op. cit.*, pp. 131f).

The basic story of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* starts with the great vow taken by the Buddha as a bodhisattva practising under the Buddha Dīpaṃkara in the distant past. It is followed by his rebirth in the Tuṣita Heaven in the near past, and then the Buddha's decision to enter Queen Māyā's womb to be born in this world. The story continues, relating the Buddha's youthful life, renunciation of the worldly life, enlightement, first preaching, up to his edification activities and the formation of the Buddhist order. This basic story is often interrupted by many other stories, allegories, scriptural literature, birth-stories, doctrinal discourses, and so on, sometimes out of place. Mizuno has attempted to reconstruct the original order of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* (*op. cit.*, pp. 148-156).

A number of episodes show interesting similarities to other Buddhist works. For example, the birth-stories in the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* are closely related to the Pāli ones (see Ryūshō Hikata, *A Historical Study of the Thoughts in Jātakas and the Similar Stories*, with a supplementary volume *A Comparative List of References of Jātakas and the Similar Stories*, Tōkyō-1954). The present form of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* must have been composed during the period of several centuries down to the 4th or 5th century A.C. In his *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (Calcutta 1882) R. Mitra describes the text as follows, "A cyclopaedia of Buddhist legends and doctrines. It gives an elaborate history of Buddha's life and preachings, explaining every incident of his life by references to his past existences. It also gives a simple and popular exposition of many abstruse doctrines of the Buddha's faith" (p. 115). Summaries of the text are given by R. Mitra (*op. cit.*, pp. 115-161), É. Senart ("Introduction" to his edition: I pp. XXI-LXII, II pp. III-XLIII, III pp. V-XLI), Tsūshō Byōdō (*Studies in Sanskrit Biographies of the Buddha*, Tokyō 1930, pp. 616-668) [5], and R. Basak ("Introduction" to his edition [6] I pp. liv-lxxix, II pp. xv-lxxiv).

Neither a Tibetan nor a Chinese version of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* is known. T. Byōdō believes that the *Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching* is its Chinese version freely translated from the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* with little revision and extension, and decorated with beautiful verses taken from the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghosa (*op. cit.*, pp. 156, also 392, 612ff). The *Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching* is, as *chi* (i.e. Skt. *saṃgraha*) exactly shows, a collection compiled from the Buddha's legends transmitted by the five schools mentioned in the postscript itself. Mizuno thinks that each school had its own text and that Jñānagupta (tr. 587-591/592 A. C.) has compiled and translated at his discretion with omissions and additions, and probably with emphasis on the tradition of the Mahasamghikas (*op.cit.*, pp. 134ff.).

The *Mahāvastu-avadāna* is said to represent a stage of transition from the Theravāda, the old Vehicle, to the New One (see e.g. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1920, p. 192; cf. also La Vallée Poussin, *ERE*, VIII, pp. 329b-330a).

The *Mahāvastu-avadāna* is written in the so-called Buddhist Sanskrit, or Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit as Franklin Edgerton calls it. Edgerton's monumental work *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionay*, 2 vols. (New Haven 1953, reprinted Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1969), is an indispensable tool for scholars reading the text. According to Edgerton (*Grammar* 1.73), the language of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* is "perhaps the most difficult and corrupt, as also probably the oldest and most important of all *BHS* works".

The above is a very brief description of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*. Since the publication of the *editio princeps* by Senart a good many works have appeared.

5. In comparison with the contents of the *Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching* (up till Vol. II of the ed. Senart)
6. Radhagovind Basak, *Mahāvastu Avadana*, edited with an introduction and Bengali translation (Calcutta 1963-65) [vol. III has not yet appeared.]

See further A. Yuyama, "A Bibliography of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XI, 1 (1968), pp. 11-23, where classified bibliographical information is given together with references to Senart's edition.

A. Yuyama

MAHĀVIBHĀṢĀ is a voluminous commentary belonging to the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism, believed to have been composed at the (4th) Buddhist Council of Kashmir (circa 4th century A.C.). It is a commentary on Kātyāyanīputra's *Gñānaprasthāna* (origin of knowledge), the main *Abhidharma* treatise of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism. Its Sanskrit original is lost, but three Chinese translations are extant.

Vibhāṣā in the Northern School of Buddhism literally means a commentary or a discussion, equivalent of "*aṭṭhakathā* (Skt. *Arthakathā*) in the Southern school. Takakusu explains the term thus: '*vibhāṣā*' originally means 'option.' The idea seems to be that numerous opinions collected from the compilers (500 arahats) were compared with one another and the best one among them was selected as the orthodox. The Chinese explain the word either as 'comprehensive exposition' or 'various opinions' (*JPTS* 1905 p. 67). Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary* (p. 978) gives the same meaning. The commentary receives its name from the fact that different opinions of leading teachers of the school have been carefully recorded in it, so that the reader may, at his own will adopt whatever opinion he feels inclined to (*JPTS* p. 198). The name Vaibhāsika used for Sarvāstivādins subsequently by their Hindu opponents, by reason of their adherence to *Vibhāṣās*, is derived from *Vibhāṣā*. Mādhavācārya (14th century) in his *Sarvadars'anasaṃgraha* ch. II refers to Vaibhāṣikas as one of the four Buddhist Schools. The tradition is that the *vibhāsās* were compiled at the Kashmir Buddhist council, which is not recognized by the Southern school of Buddhism. All the records of the Southlern school of Buddhism are silent regarding the Kashmir Buddhist Council. But the Chinese and the Tibetan records such as Yuan Chuang (Watters I pp. 270 ff), Tāranātha (Schiefner ch.xiii) life of Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmākoṣa Vyākyā* by (Paramartha p. 1.) Bu-ston (II p. 97) record the Kashmir Buddhist Council. Although there are some discrepancies pertaining to the Council in the above records they all agree as far as the convening of the council is concerned, under the patronage of king Kanis'ka.

The tradition goes that the Council was held *circa* 400 to 500 years after the *Parinirvāna* of the Buddha, at Kashmir, under the patronage of king Kaniska. By the first century A.C. Kashmir had become the main seat of the Sarvāsstivāda school of Buddhism, when it spread Eastwards covering almost the entire Central Asian Region and China, and Westwards to Iran etc., while Theravāda centered round Magadha. During the period under review king Kaniska of the Kushāna Dynasty swayed his power over a vast area that included Gandhāra (modern Afghanistan), Bactria, Kashmir, Khotan, and Yarkland in addition to his North Indian territories, and he was a great patron of (Sarvāstivāda) Buddhism, even as Asoka was for Theravada Buddhism. It is said that king Kaniska studied Buddhism in his leisure hours under the guidance of Pārsva, the Chief Buddhist monk of the day. The king was greatly puzzled by conflicting explanations on the Buddha's teachings presented by the different schools of Buddhism that were prevailing during that time. Consequently the king suggested to Pārs'va to summon a council of eminent monks of the day in order to obtain an authentic explanation of the teachings of the Buddha.

At the begining there was difference of opinion regarding the venue of the Council, but finally it was decided to convene the council at Kuṇḍalavana Vihāra in Kashmir. There is another tradition, which says that the venue was at Jalandhar. Five hundred 'arahants' were selected as the participants. According to another tradition the participants of the council consisted of five hundred arahants, five hundred bodhisattvas and five hundred *paṇḍits*. The Majority of them were Sarvāstivādins. Vasumitra who was a Sarvāstivādin was invited to preside over the Council. Naturally, the decision-making authority on disputed points was with the president. Therefore the accepted version in most cases was that of the Sarvāstivāda School. V.A. Smith concludes that the Council was of the Sarvāstivāda School and the literature written at the time viz. *Mahāvibhāṣā* belongs to that School, (Smith V.A. *Early History of India* pp. 267-68). It is also said that an attempt was made to reconcile the conflicting opinions of different sects, and settle once more the *Sūtra*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma* texrs. But the most important task of the Council, according to tradition, was to prepare the *Vibhaṣās* for the canon. Accordingly, it is said that the Council prepared *Upades'a s'āstra* for the

Sūtra, Vinaya Vibhāsā sāstra for the *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma maha Vibhāsā sāstra* for the *Abhidharma* consisting 100,000 slokas each. It is clear that the conflicting views of many Sarvāstivāda philosophers residing at the two great centers, namely Kashmir and Gandhāra were carefully recorded and discussed. Vasumitra himself the president of the Council, is said to have composed two *Abhidharma Pādas* (Supplements) to the *Abhidharma (Piṭaka)* of the Sarvāstivādins, namely *Abhidharma Prakaraṇa Pāda* and *Abhidharma Dhātukāya* at this council.

The eminent Buddhist philosopher Aśvaghosa, who was described as a contemporary, had a hand in the proceedings of this council. According to the biography of Vasubandhu, the president of the Council invited Aśvaghosa who was living at Sāketa to give a literary form for the deliberations of the Council, when the import of the commentary was fixed. He turned it section by section into a literary form. The composition was said to have been completed at the end of 12 years. Afterwards king Kaniska is said to have caused the *Vibhāṣās* to be scribed on copper plates enclosed them in stone boxes and enshrined them in a *stūpa* specially constructed for the purpose. Although it is said that the *Vibhāṣās* were compiled for *sūtra, Vinaya* and *Abhidharma* at this council, only *Abhidharmma mahā Vibhāṣā Sāstra*, written for Abhidharma is extant, and that, too, not in the original Sanskrit, but as Chinese translations.

Vibhāṣā and Mahāvibhāṣā are extant in three Chinese translations, translated in A.C. 383, 427 and 659 respectively. Therefore the compilation of the original Sanskrit treatise should be attributed to a period prior to the first Chinese translation.

Takakusu (*JPTS* 1905 p. 67 ff) and Nanjio (Catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka* (Oxford 1883 p. 272 f) provides details of the extant three Chinese translations. The three Chinese translations bear the Nanjio Catalogue numbers 1263, 1264 amd 1299. It is clear the Chinese translations are the threee different Chinese translations of the *Vibhāṣā* (exegesis) of *Jñānaprasthāna* the main *Abhidharma* treatise of the Sarvāstivādins. In short those that are named *Vibhāṣā* as well as those named *Mahāvibhāṣā* are different Chinese translations of the *Vibhāṣā* (exegesis) of *Jñānaprasthāna* by three different translators. The Nanjio Catalogue records the details of the Chinese translations thus:

Abhidharma mahā Vibhāṣā Śāstra
Nanjio Catalogue No. 1263
Authors five hundred 'Arahants'
Translator Hiuen Tsang 656 - 59 A.D.
400 years after the death of the Buddha.
Amount 8 groups *(Skandha)* 43 sections
200 fascicles, *(chuan)*; 1,438 Chinese letters
3630 pages. However Takakusu (*JPTS* 1905)
gives the number of Chinese characters of
No. 1263 as 438, 4449. Perhaps Takakusu
(who made an extensive study of *Vibhāṣās*)
had not come across this particular fragmentary
Vibhāṣā.)

Abhidharma Vibhāṣā Sāstra
Nanjio Catalogue No. 1264
Author Katyāni Putra
Translator Buddhavarman A.C. 437- 439
Originally 8 *gantho*
44 *vaggo*, 100 fascicali

but lost during the war between the Northen Liang and Wei (A.C. 439). They were collected afterwards, but only 3 gantho, 16 *vaggo* were found and made into 82 fasculi 400 pages (ye). It is noteworthy that though the tradition says that *Vibhāṣās* were compiled by 500 arahants, this copy (Chinese translation) gives the author as Kātyāyani Putra who was the author of the original text on which that *Vibhāṣā* was written. Takakusu, instead of saying that it was lost and later recovered, says the copy is incomplete.

Najio catalogue number 1299:

The information given on this Chinese translation by the *Nanjio Catalogue* and Takakusu are contradictory. According to Takakusu the title is *Vibhāsā Sāstra*. But in the *Catalogue* (Nanjio p. 272) it appears as *Mahāyānabhūmi Guhyavākamūla Sāstra*. It is clear that Nanjio too was not sure of the correct title of the book, because he has put a question mark before the name of the title. The author is given as Bodhisatva Asvaghosa and the translator as Paramārtha, A.C. 557-569 of the Khan Dynasty 557-589. But according to Takakusu the author is Kātyāyani Putra and the translator probably *Sanghavartin* of Kipin (Kashmir) A.C. 383.

It is clear from the above descriptions that there is a certain amount of ambiguity as regards the extant Chinese translations of the *Vibhāsā*. There appears a substantial difference in the size of the extant Chinese translations, for no. 1263 is reported to have 200

fascicles while no. 1299 has 8 fascicles. Therefore a certain amount of doubt exists regarding the extant Chinese translations as to whether they represent the exact *Vibhāsā* or the *Mahāvibhāsā* that was in Sanskrit, or at least to what extent they represent the original.

The number of *Ślokas* in the *Vibhaṣa* varies according to different sources. Hiuen Tsang says that it contains more t han 100,000 (watters *Yuan Chwang* - I, 271). Paramartha says that it contains about 1000000 (*Tong-Pao July* p. 279). An independent tradition says it has 100,000 *slokas* in which were three million and two hundred thousand syllables.

As regards the date of compilation, there is no consensus. According to Hiuen Tsang it was compiled 400 years after the *Parinirvāna* of the Buddha. Paramartha says that it was 500 years afte the *Parinirvāna*, and Tao-yen 600 years after the *Parinirvāna* (Takakusu *JPTS* 1905 p. 123). Vasumitra the President of the Council also cannot be clearly identified becuase there were seven Vasumitras on record (Watters Yuan Chwang I p. 274-75).

Some scholars hold the view that there may have existed several *Vibhaṣās* before the compilation of the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, for the name Vaibhāsika does not seem to be originating from *Mahāvibhāṣā*. According to Paramārtha Kātyāyani Putra himself earlier compiled a *Vibhāṣā* with the help of Asvaghosa of Sāketa, who was entrusted with the responsibility of putting the decisions of the Council to a literary form. Watters has conjectured that the *Mahāvibhāṣā* was not compiled at the Kashmir council on the grounds that (a) *Mahāvibhasā* refers to Kaniska as a former king (b) reference in the *Mahāvibhasā* to Vasumitra as one of the four great Sastrins (c) quoting of Vasumitra and Pars'va in the *Mahavibhasa* (d) reference to Kashmir Vaibhāsika masters in the *Mahāvibhāsā* (Takakusu 1905 p. 123).

As regards extant sources and the conflicting data, Takakusu after a careful study of the subject (i.e. Kashmir Council and the *Mahāvibhāṣā*) remarks as to the reliability of the sources as follows.

"All these points casually noticed in our authorities seem to be conflicting and confusing" (Takakusu *JPTS* 1905 p. 124).

Although an indepth study of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* is yet to be Undertaken, to the extent it has been subjected to investigation by scholars, it could be described as an Encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy where many opinions of ancient and contemporary (*circa* 1st century A.C.) Buddhist philosophers are carefully registered and discussed. It is a rich storehouse of source material for students engaged in research into the history of Buddhist thought, specially the development of Abhidharmic thought.

Between the establishment of fundamental *Abhidharma* texts of the Sarvāstivāda School and the compilation of *Mahāvibhāṣā*, there was a considerable time gap during which *abhidharma* philosophy of the school made great progress. The results of the progress ae embodied in this great commentary. It is also interesting to note that during the period of its compilation there seems to have been several philosophers who were generally called *Abhidharma Maha Sāstrins*. There were two bodies of such Sastrins differing in their views from one another. They were *Kashmir Sastrins* and *Gandhara Sastrins* apparently named after their centers of operation.

Mahāvibhāṣā contained the doctrines and theories of Buddhist schools as well as the doctrines of non-Buddhist philosophical systems of the day. Among the various Buddhist school and philosophical systems referred to in the *Mahāhvibāṣā*, we find Yuttavādin Drastāntikas Vibhadyavadins, Ekacittasantānavāīdins, southern Yogācārins, Northern Yogācārins, Universal Yogācārins, Dharmaguptakās, Mahisāsakās, Mahāsānghikās, Vātsiyaputriyas, Kāsyapīyas, Sthaviravadins and Sautrāntikas. Outside Buddhism are found Sāmkya, Vâisesika, Hetuvidyā, Sabbadāvadins, Anyatirthakas etc.

We also find some philosophers to, by their appellations such as the Great Kashmir Teachers the Great Western Teachers, the Great Gandhara Teachers, For *JPTS* eign masters, old Ābhidharmikas, New Ābhidharmikas etc. which shows the geographical expansion of the Sarvāstivāda school.

Mahāvibhāsa has its drawbacks too. As already explained it is a commentary on *Jnānaprasthān Sāstra* of the Sarvāstivāda School. Following the *Jnānaparasthāna* it is divided into eight chapters and each chapter discussing the corresponding chapter of the text *(Gnānaprasthāna)*. The chapters are divided into sections. But the eight chapters have no doctrinal connection with one another. Same applies to the sections of the chapters. Even if the chapters are annotated, the theoretical system is not clarified. Moreover

digression from the main subject, often inserted in the comments, produce complications and confusion. The great commentary, though it is a very rich source of material containing the doctrines and the theories of the time in detail, has no unity, whatsoever, as a whole. There is no coherent system. It is of great use to the scholars already versed in various doctrines, but it is very hard for the beginner to understand. To remedy this situation there arose the necessity to summarise the doctrines of the Sarvastivada School and present the doctrines in a systematic manner. As a result, many abridgements and manuals were produced such as *Abhidharmakoṣa Sāstra* of Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmanyāyānusāra Sāstra* of Sanghabhadra (great critic of Vasubandhu), *Abhidharmahrdaya Sāstra* of Upassena, *Samyukta Abhidarma Hrdaya Sāstra* of Dharmatrāta etc. were composed through which the philosophy of the Sarvāstivāda School was greatly advanced. In spite of above drawbacks *Mahāvibhāsā* is certainly a masterpiece, unique in its merit and scope. It is seen that the paramount position *Vibhāsā* occupied duing the hay day of the Sarvastivada School when Paramartha (499-569 A.D.) says Vibhasa was the principal subject of philosophical discussions during the 5th century and when there was a grave controversy between the Buddhists and Sankhya philosophers *(Translations of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu*-Tong Pao, July 1904). Watters who studied the Great Commentnary in detail remarks thus on the *Mahāvibhāsā*.

> "The exent of the commentator's investigations is, doubtless overstated (by Hiuen tsang), but there is evidence of Great study and research in the *Vibhāsā* and *Mahāvibhāsā* (Watters Yuan-chwang Vol. I p. 271).

The compilation of the *Vibhāsā* definitely produced a profound and stimulating effort on the sphere of Indian Buddhism and contributed much to promote and strengthen the position of Sarvāstivādins at that time, and spread it even beyond the Indian frontiers, covering vast areas, including Central Asia, China, Korea and Japan.

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K. Arunasiri

MAHĀVIHĀRA A few days after the arrival of Mahinda-thera and his four colleagues in Anuradhapura, King Devānampiya Tissa (307-267 B.C.) as advised by the Thera himself, ploughed a furrow to mark the boundaries of the area consecrated to the *Saṅgha*. The Mahāmegha garden was the place where edifices necessary were to come up. Work was commenced to put up the buildings which were required. This was the origin of the Mahāvihāra, the great centre of orthodox Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Mahāvihāravāsins (residents of the Mahāvihāra) was the term by which monks residing here were known. This was the original meaning of the term, but as a result of later developments such as the appearance of new sects like those of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana, the meaning was extended to embrace all the monks who owed allegiance to the Mahāvihāra wherever they lived. When later developments took place, they signified a sect or school as opposed to Abhayagirivāsins and Jetavanavihāravāsins whose origin could be assigned to the 1st. Cent B.C. to 4th Cent. A. C. respectively. The Mahāvihāra enjoyed the undivided patronage of all Sinhala kings from the time of King Devānampiya Tissa until King Vaṭṭagāmani Abhaya (88-76 B.C.) founded the Abhayagiri-vihāra and rewarded a *thera* named Mahātissa of the Mahāvihāra with its incumbency. This reward of the king to an individual monk instead of the Buddhist Saṅgha from the four quarters (as in olden times) perhaps led to dissatisfaaction among the other monks of the Mahāvihāra and before long the *thera* Mahatissa was charged by Mahāvihāravāsins, with the offence of frequenting families of laymen and was expelled from

the order. A pupil of Mahātissa-thera, Bahala-massu Tissa by name protested against the action taken by Mahāvihāra against his teacher. Disciplinary action was taken agains him also by the Mahāvihāra and Bahala-massu Tissa, thereupon left the Mahāvihāra with a following of about five hundred monks and took up residence in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. About this time, disciples of a religious teacher named Dhammaruci arrived at the Abhayagir-vihāra from a monastery called Pallavārāma in India, and the secessionists accepted the doctrines (brought by them) as the true interpretations of the Buddha's teachings. The new sect enjoyed the favour of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya and thus grew in numbers and influence.

The protest of Bahāla-masu Tissa regarding the action taken against his teacher by the Mahāvihāra and his subsequent separation indicate that while living in the Mahāvihāra itself, the monks of the Mahāvihara had rivalries, perhaps of a personal nature and not of a religious character. It was only after the formation of the Dhammaruci sect and the subsequent acceptance of the unorthodox religious views on different occasions by the Abhayagiri monks that the rivalries between the two parties assumed a religious character. The monks of the Mahāvihāra, according to Fa-Hien, were opposed to the Mahāyāna and adhered to the teaching of the Hīnayāna, whereas those of the Abhyagiri-vihāra studied both vehicles and widely diffused the Tripitaka. The Abhayagirivāsins held views which were considered unorthodox and heretic by the Mahāvihāravāsins. The latter who were faithful to the very letter of the orthodox teachings and traditions accepted by the Theravādins, preserved the teachings from the devastating influence of the Vaitulyavādins and also from complete destruction under very trying circumstances. In the 5th century A.C., when Buddhaghosa wrote his commentaries, the views held by the Mahāvihāra were considered to be unmixed and unentangled with the views of other sects, and all the commentaries including the *Visuddhimagga* were written with their contents based on the traditions of the Mahāvihāra.

The scriptures and the traditions which the earliest missionaries who introduced Buddhism to the island brought with them, were under the custody of the Mahāvihāra. These traditions, relating to the Buddha, the Magadhan kings, the councils and the sects were added to and elaborated in course of time by the Mahāvihāra. They also compiled the earliest Sinhala commentaries on the Pali canon, in which was included an historical introduction known as the *Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṁsa* which formed the nucleus of the later Pali *Mahāvaṁsa*, also a work of the Mahāvihāra. Monks of the Mahāvihāra also complied several special groupings of traditions like the *Cetiyavaṁsa-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Sīmākathā*, the *Mahābodhivaṁsa-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Sahassavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*. The *Dīpavaṁsa* is supposed to be a work of the *bhikkhuṇīs* of the Mahāvihāra who resided in the Hatthāḷhaka nunnery.

For nearly three centuries from the time of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, monks of the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri, though separated into two camps, existed side by side without much antagonism. Certain kings gave their support to the older community (i.e. the Mahāvihāra), while others supported the younger. Many kings, however, supported hoth sects without showing partiality to either. But in the reign of King Vohārika Tissa (215-237 A.C.), the rivalries between the two sects were brought to the surface by another religious force which had its way to Sri Lanka from India. Vetullavāda, identified with Mahāyāna, found access into Sri Lanka at this time and was accepted by the Abhayagirivāsins. An inquisition was held at the instance of the king by a minister named Kapila (who was learned in the Law), on whose pronouncement that these doctrines were heretical, the king had the Vetulla doctrines consigned to flames.

This act of the king suppressed the unorthodox factions only for the time being, for, a few decades later, in the reign of King Goṭhābhaya (254-267 A.C.), the Vetullavādins raised their heads again. Taking the side of the Mahāvihāra, the king meted out severe punishment to those who accepted new teachings by placing brand marks on the bodies of sixty of them and banishing them from the island.

The events which followed as a sequel to this incidet proved disastrous to the monks of the Mahāvihāra. The monks who were thus expelled found refuge in a monastery at Kāvīrapaṭṭana in the Cola country in south India. One of them had a disciple there, named Saṅghamitta, who, one day saw the brand marks on the body of his teacher and having inquired, came to know the whole incident. Saṅghamitta vowed to take vengeance from the Mahāvihāravāsins for having been instrumental in punishing his teacher and his companions. Having come to Anuradhapura, he, one day, won the heart of King Goṭhābhaya at an assembly of monks in the Thupārāma where the king himself was present. Thence forth Saṅghamitta was appointed as the tutor

[illegible] sons of the king, namely Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsena. Saṅghamitta however, could not convert Jeṭṭhatissa to his side and therefore left the island when he ascended the throne (267 A. C.). But he returned as soon as Mahāsena (277-304 A.C.) ascended the throne and brought disaster to the monks of the Mahāvihāra. He convinced the king that the Mahāvihāravāsins did not teach the correct Vinaya and persuaded the king to issue a royal edict to the effect that "whoever gives alms to a monk dwelling in the Mahāvihāra is liable to a fine of five hundred pieces of money". For three days the monks went round their usual tours for alms (*piṇḍapāta*) and each day they returned with empty bowls.

On the fourth day the monks of the Mahāvihāra (i.e. Theriya Nikāya), assembled in the Lohapāsāda and resolved not to accept Vaitulyavāda, (Pali. Vetullavāda). Leaving their *vihāras* and their seats of learning they journeyed out of Anuradhapura, some to the Malaya (i.e. the hill country) and some to the Rohana (i.e. south of Sri Lanka). The monks of the Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra too left likewise and the monks of the Abhayagiri thereupon occupied that monastery. The buildings of the Mahāvihāra were demolished and the materials were utilised to erect new buildings for the Abhayagiri-vihāra. Subsequently, even when the Mahāvihāra was rebuilt and the monks who left it earlier, re-occupied it, King Mahāsena who was not very much disposed towards them, built the great Jetavana-vihāra within the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra and ignoring the protests of the Mahāvihāravāsins, dedicated it to a monk named Tissa who happened to be a follower of the Sāgaliya sect. On account of this, the Mahāvihāravāsins abandoned the Mahāvihāra again for nine months.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* itself bears testimony to the fact that Saṅghamitta and his partisans characterised the Mahāvihāravāsins as not observing the Vinaya rules properly. A fragmentary inscription found in the grounds of the Jetavana monastery and which appears to be an edict issued by King Mahāsena, accuses the monks of the Mahāvihāra fraternity of being guilty of various sinful acts though they had been repeatedly rebuked. The *Mahāvaṁsa* states that Sanghamitta set on people to destoy the Mahāvihāra, and, if this really happened, the people themselves seem to have acquiesced in th severe measures which Mahāsena adopted against the monks of the Mahāvihāra. On the other hand, the accusations of the Mahāvihāravāsins against their opponents have not been confirmed by any other sources. On the contrary, the available scanty references to the Abhayagirivihāravāsins in other sources are full of praise about them. Hieuen-Tsiang describes them as follows:

"........ The priests attended to the moral rules and were distinguished for their power of abstraction and their wisdom. Their correct conduct was an example for subsequent ages; their manners grave and imposing."

Regarding the events in the reigns of Goṭhābhaya and Mahasena, one has to conclude that neither the Mahāvihāravasins nor the Abhayagirivāsins have acted in manner that would have had the approval of the founder of the Faith.

The nature of the mutual accusations levelled by the two factions against each other could be learnt from the *Mahāvaṁsa commentary*. The Abhayagirivāsins are said to have maintained that it was unbecoming for monks to use fans with ivory handles but their opponents disagreed, quoting from the Vinaya texts. Monks of the Mahāvihāra maintained that ordination can be conferred through a messenger but Abhayagirivāsins refuse to accept the validity of such an ordination. The Mahāvihāravāsins also maintained that the age of twenty years necessary for admission to the order could be reckoned from the time of the conception which too the Abhayagirivāsins declared contrary to the Vinaya. The Abhayagirivāsins again declared that it was unbecoming for a monk to spit on the ground after brushing the teeth, but the Mahāvihāravāsins ruled that the Buddha has nowhere prohibited this.

These and other points of dispute between the two factions only show that they had been quarrelling over very trivial matters, not involving any fundamental matters affecting moral and spiritual laxity, for , if there were any more serious reasons to quarrel, the spokesman for the Mahāvihāra who had mentioned these trivialities would definitely have mentioned them.

Rivalries between the two factions were dormant for about two centuries after the death of Mahāsena until certain events in the reign of King Silākāla (526-539 A.C.) proved detrimental to the cause of the Mahāvihāra. In the reign of King Aggabodhi I (564-598 A.C.) however, the orthodox school found a great champion for their cause in Jotipāla-thera, who, according to *Nikāya Saṁgrahaya*, hailed from the continent. In a public controversy this person is said to have

silenced the Vaitulyavādins. For the time being, Mahāvihāra appeared to have achieved a victory over its rivals.

Parakrāmabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C.) is reported to have reconciled the factions of the Mahāvihāra and then reconciled the three main sects. At a convocation held by him he removed all the undesirables from the order and made arrangements to settle them down in lay life. According to the *Nikāya Saṁgrahaya*, this ecclesiastical court was held at a place called Latāmaṇḍapa in Polonnaruva and the king remained on his feet one whole night while the judicial proceedings were in progress. After the expulsion of the undesirables, a code of disciplinary rules (*katikāvata*) was promulgated by the elders of the Church for the guidance of those who remained. Thereafter the two dissenting factions Abhayagiri and Jetavana ceased to exist for ever.

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Nandesena Mudiyanse

MAHĀVĪRA (circa 599-527 B.C. but more likely 561-489 B. C.) - Generally considered the founder of Jainism, though the Jaina tradition regards him as the last in a succession of twentyfour *Jinas* (conquerors) or *Tirthankaras* (ford-makers). His full name appears in Jaina scriptures as Jina Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.[1] In Buddhist literature, he is referred to as Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (sometimes, Nāthaputta), meaning the bondless son of the Nāta (Nātha) or Nāya or Jnātṛ clan of Vaiśālī. He is further described as *gatatta* (one whose heart has been in the attainment of his aim) *yatatta* (one whose heart is restrained) and *thitatta* (one whose heart is steadfast).[2]

Birth and Chidhood

According to Jaina sources, Mahāvīra was born in circa 599 BC at Kuṇḍragrāma of the kingdom of the kingdom of Vaiśāli (near modern Patna). His father Siddhārtha was a *kṣatriya* chieftain of the Jnātṛ clan and his mother was Triśala, a sister of the Vaisali ruler, Cetaka. He was brought up in royal luxury. Thus, like his contemporary the Buddha, Mahāvīra represents the *kṣatriya* opposition to the growing power of the Brahmanical priestly class, the caste system and the elaborate sacrificial rites which at times involved animal and human immolation.[3]

Accounts of Mahāvīra's life differ in the scriptures of the two traditions - the *Digambaras* (sky-clad or naked) and the Śvetāmbaras (white-clad). Śvetāmbara texts say that his birth was heralded by fourteen dreams which his mother had seen: namely, a white elephant, a white bull, a lion, Srī-the goddess of beauty, garlands of mandāra flowes, the full moon, the rising sun, a large and beautiful flag, a vase of precious metal filled with water, a lake full of lotuses, an ocean of milk, a celestial abode in the sky, a heap of jewels and a blazing fire. The Digambara texts add two more: a lofty throne and a pair of fish playing in a lake. Śvetāmbaras record a mysterious story that he was conceived to a Brahman couple Ṛsabhadatta and Devanandā. Sakra, the king of gods, is said have miraculously transferred the embryo to the womb of Triśalā. This story is omitted by the Digambaras. A similar discrepancy exists with regard to Mhāvīra's renunciation. Śvetāmbaras believed that he postponed his departure from home life until both his parents passed away so as not to cause them any anguish.

Renunciation and Enlightenment

According to *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, both his parents were already followers of Jina Pārśva (circa 850 BC), the Jaina Tirthankara preceding Mahāvīra (Section 1002).

1. Both *Jina* and *Mahāvīra* (great hero) are epithets and Vardhamāna appears to be his given name.
2. Other names include *Sanmati* (of excellent wisdom) and *Kāśyapa* (his lineage name).
3. Jainas seem to have a common belief, doubtless *post facto*, that Jinas and Buddhas will be born only in the *Brahman* or *kṣatriya* caste (Kalpasutra 21, *Jataka* 1, 40-Jaini 1979 p. 7)

and committed ritual suicide. Very little is said in texts of either tradions about Mahāvīra's childhood. Śvetāmbaras claim that he married Princess Yasodā and had a daughter named Priyadarśana. Digambaras, on the contrary, say that he was inclined toward worldly life and remained a beachelor. Both traditions agree that his renunciation took place at the age of thirty years. The event is glorified in Jaina texts with elaborate accounts of miracles. Laukantika gods. (i.e. those who were about to attain emancipation) are said to have carried him in a palanquin in a great procession to a park outside the city. Digambras recount that he abandoned his garments and garlands, pulled out his hair with his hands and became a naked ascetic. The Śvetāmbara account adds that he put on divine robes, donated by Śakra, wore them for thirteen months until he lost them accidentally. The adoption of nudity by Mahāvīra has been a subject of much discussion. It is quite probable that the disciples of Pārśva did wear garments, even if they had restrictions like limiting them to one. The Buddhist scriptures refer to the fourfold restraints of the Niganthas (*D*. I, 57), namely *catuyāmasaṃvara*. The *Sāmaññaphalasutta* explains them as four ritualistic aproaches to the use of water. Jaina texts speak of such restraints in exactly the same ethical terms as the Buddha does : i.e. non-injury, truthfulness, non-theft and celibacy. Mahāvīra's addition probably was non-possession, which extends to nudity. (Śvetāmbaras, however, dispute what Mahāvīra added to Pārśva's vows (Jaini 1979 p.16 and 19). Another explanation is that the four restraints of Jainas were non-injury, truthfulness, non-theft and non-possession and that Mahāvīra added celibacy as the fifth.

Like the Buddha who practised various forms of austere asceticism for six years from renunciation to enlightenment, Mahāvīra wandered from place to place and observed severe ascetic penances for twelve years. Long foodless, waterless fasts are said to have been as long as a week. Śvetāmbara texts state that during the entire period of twelve years, he took food only on 349 days (*Kalpasūtra* 185). Someetimes, he had not drunk water for even six months. He had squatted in the scorching sun to meditate and experienced violence in the hands of hostile crowds. "He meditated free from aversion or desire, attached neither to sounds nor to colours ..... he never behaved carelessly" (*Ācārangasūtra* 512-521). He suffered verbal abuse from people. He demonstrated incredible patience and tolerance. His single-minded austerities enabled him to develop miraculous power. According to Śvetāmbara sources, Makkhali Gosāla of the Ājivika sect offered to be a disciple of Mahavira to acquire such powers.

Twelve years, six months and fifteen days from renunciation, Mahāvihara attained enlightenment, which the Jaina scriptures describe as reaching 'the highest *jñana* (knowledge) and *darśana* (intuition), called *kevala* which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete and full" (*Kalpasutra* 120). With enlightenment he became "a Jina and a Arhat (worthy of workship); he became a *kevalin*, Omniscient, comprehending all objects". He knew whence beings came and where they will be rebon. "He knew the ideas and thoughts, the food, doing, desires and deeds of all the living beings in the world." (Jaini 1979 p. 28)

Spiritual Career and Nirvāna

According to Digambara texts, Mahāvīra converted Brahman Indrabhūti Gautama sixtysix days after the enlightenment. He was the first to become a *gaṇadhara* (=supporter of the community; i.e. the first mendicant disciple). He and his two brothers and eight other Brahmans constituted the nucleus or inner circle of eleven *gaṇadharas*. "Having mastered the Jina's doctrine upon hearing his divine sound, they in turn composed all the Jaina litanies, rules of conduct, and so on" (Jaini 1979 p. 36). Śvetāmbara sources describe Mahāvīra's encounter with Indrabhūti Gautama as involving a sacrificial rite. Mahāvīra had on this occasion delivered a sermon on *Ahiṃsā* (non-injury) and dissuaded the three Brahman brothers and 1500 of their disciples to abandon the sacrifice.

Mahāvīra, like the Buddha, became an active participant of and a portent subscriber to the religous and cultural ferment which characterized India of the sixth century BC. Whereas the Buddha preached what he realized by himself and thus claimed some degree of originality, Mahāvīra was a reformer of an existing religion of which Parśva was the latest exponent. Śvetāmbara sources depict Mahāvīra with human characteristics, engaged in mundane activities. The Digambaras portray him in a supernatural form; for instance, he did not preach to the people. What the people heard was a divine sound (*divyadhvani*) which miraculously emanated from his crystal-clear body for which gods created an asssembly hall wherever he went (Jaini 1979 p. 35). Indicative of his life as a wandering preacher are the accounts of Śvetāmbaras on places where he spent the four-month rainy seasons: first in Asthikagrama, three in Campa and Pṛṣticampā, twelve in Vaiśāli and Vaṇijagrama, fourteen in Rajāgṛha and the suburb of Nalanda, six in Mithila, two in Bhadrikā, one in Sravasti and the last in the town of Pāva in King Hastipala' office of the scribes, (*Kalpasutra* 122).

Mahāvīra's forty-two years career as an effective promoter and reformer of Jainism ended with his death at the age of seventy-two years at Pāpā or Pāvā. His passing away is described in Jaina texts as entering "into *nirvāṇa* and becoming a *siddha*, i.e. one who is fully liberated and forever free of embodiment" (Jaini: 1979 p. 37). His intense activity and charismatic leadership resulted in a significantly enlarged Jaina community. *Kalpasūtra* (133-135) and *Jinacarita* (134-137) give the following figures: 14,000 Śramanas or monks with Indrabhūti at their head, 36,000 nuns with Candaṇā at their head, 159,000 male lay votaries under Śankhaśataka and 318,000 female lay votaries under Sulasā and Revatī. The nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra and the enlightenment of his first disciple Indrabhūti are jointly celebrated by the Jainas in a festival of light which coincides with Hindu Dīpāvali.

Chronology:

The Jaina scriptures make no mention of the Buddha, whereas the Pali Buddhist Canon has many references to the fourfold discipline *(catuyāmasamvara)* of Jainism and its exponent Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. There is no doubt that Nātaputta refers to Mahāvīra Vardhamāna who is known from jaina sources to be a scion of the Kṣatriya Jnātṛ clan. The traditional chronology and the more recent calculations of Western scholars show that Mahāvīra was a contemporary of the Buddha:

According to traditional chronology of Buddhists and Jains:

Buddha	623-543 BC
Mahāvīra	599-527 BC

"Shorter Chronology" as calculated by Western Scholars

Buddha	563-483 BC
Mahāvīra	549-477 BC

But the traditional chronology on which the Buddhists and the Jainas celebrated the 2500th anniversary of the death of their founders in 1956 and 1975 respectively contains a major flaw. According to *Sangitisutta*, *Dasuttarasutta* and *Pāsādikasutta* (*D*. 29, 33, 34) of *Dīghanikāya*, and *Sāmāgāmasutta* of *Majjhamanikāya* (*M*. 104), Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha. the suttas describe in detail the disputes and dissensions caused among the Jainas on account of Mahāvīra's death. In *Sāmagāmasutta*, the Buddha tells Ananda how to handle similar dissensions if they occurred among his disciple. Two other suttas reflect the scholastic action which Sariputta initiated to prevent a similar situation with the death of the Buddha. Both suttas suggest that Sāriputta engaged himself in making an extensive subject index for the Buddha's teaching. Such a task would have entailed several years and Sariputta himself predeceased the Buddha. The "Shorter Chronology" is equally incompatible with the afore-mentioned information we have from the Buddhist Canon. What is most plausible is that Mahāvīra passed away around 489 BC, (i.e. about six years before the Buddha). If so his birth has to be dated in 561 B. C. More research is needed to reconcile the discrepency in currently accepted dates.

Buddhist Canonical References to Mahāvīra

The Buddhist literature goes further and details the circumstances which led to the death of Mahāvīra. The conversion of his lay devotee Upāli to the teachings of the Buddha is narrated in detail in *Upāligahapatisutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* (*M*. 56). Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta himself comes to Upāli's residence to verify the news. Upāli praises the Buddha and the sutta ends with the statement, "But because Nātaputta could not bear the eulogy of the Buddha, then and there hot blood issued from his mouth." The commentary of the sutta completes the tradition: "He fell down, was taken outside the town on a litter and then on to Pāvā, where he died, for few beings are able to live after discharging blood" (*MA*. III 99-100).

While there is no record of any meeting between the Buddha and Mahāvīra in Buddhist canonical or commentarial sources, the Buddha is said to have met a number of Mahāvīra's disciples. Sakuludāyi (*DPPN*. p. 957 is mentioned as a famous Jaina monastic whom the Buddha met in his visits to two Jaina monasteries at Moranivāpa and Sappini. *Samyuttanikāya* (*S*. iv. 398) records the only discussion which Mahāvīra had with a disciple of the Buddha, namely: Citta-gahapati. While Jaina monastic Dīgha Tapassī met the Buddha but was not converted to his teachings, Asibandhakaputta, Abayarājakumāra and general Sīha, like Upāligahapati, became disciples of the Buddha.

In what details and accuracy the Buddhist canonical and commentarial sources discuss the teachings and pratices of Mahāvira is a moot point. **(For a comprehensive discussion, See JAINISM)**. King Ajātasattu's report to the Buddha in *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* is restricted to *Catuyāmasaṃvara* relating to the use of water. (*D*, 2) [Cf. I. B. Horner's interpretations in

Majjhimanikaya translation Middle Length Sayings. II, p. 41 fn 4]. *Upāligahapatisutta* states that Mahāvira spoke of *danda* instead of *Karma*. *M.* II, p. 371. *Mahasakuladayisutta* says that Mahāvira was "reviled with abuse for his behaviour." (*M.* II, p. 1)

Cullasakuladāyisutta, also of the *Majjhimanikāya*, makes reference to Mahāvira's claim to omniscience. He is reported as saying, "Whether I am walking or standing still or asleep or awake, knowledge-and-vision is constantly and perpetually before me." But Sakuladayi expresses his scepticism, "He, on being asked a question by me concerning the past or the future, shelved the question by asking another, answered off the point and evinced temper and ill-will and sulkiness." (*M.* II. p. 29).

In *Devadahasutta* and *Cūladukkhakkhandasutta* of *Majjhimanikaya*, the Buddha himself states that Nigantha Nātaputta has claimed omniscience using the same expression as Sakuladayi and elaborates a teaching of Mahāvira as follows: "If there is an evil deed that was formerly done by you, wear it away by severe austerity. That which is the non-doing of an evil deed in the future is from control of body, control of speech, control of thought here, now. Thus by burning up, by making an end of ancient deeds, by the non-doing of new deeds, there is no overflowing into the future. From there being no overflowing into the future comes the destruction of deeds; from the destruction of deeds comes the destruction of anguishs from the destruction of anguish comes destruction of feeling; from the destruction of feeling all anguish will become worn away." The Buddha expresses his agreement with this statement ascribed to Mahāvira and says, "Because this is approved by us as well as being pleasing to us, therefore we are delighted." (*M.* I. p. 91 and *M.* II. p. 214) But the Buddha proceeds in *devadahasutta* to a detailed analysis of the Jaina view on deeds experienced and the striving directed to wear them out and comes to the critical conclusion: " This being so, the effort of the reverend Jains is fruitless, their striving fruitless ..... the ten reasoned theses of the Jains .... thus give occation for contempt" (*M.* II. p. 214).

Attributed to a god called Ninka is a verse praising Nigantha Nataputta.

The mature and detached monastic (*jegucchi nipako bhikkhu*)
Well-restrained in fourfold discipline (*catuyama susamvuto*)
Revealing what is seen and heard.
What fault is there to find? (*S.* II, 3, 100)

In all contexts where the Pali Canon refers to Nagantha Nātaputta along with five other contemporary preachers of deliverance (*aññatitthiyā* - literally, other ford-makers), he is respectfully introduced as 'a leader of religious life who is a head of companies of disciples and students, teacher of students, well-known, founder of a school of doctrine, esteemed as a good man by many people" (e.g. *M.* II. pl. D. II, p. 72). As a statement of fact, this description of Mahāvira is borne out by the statistics of Jainas referred to earlier. Even the Buddha's uncle Vappa was an adherent to Jainism (*Anguttaranikāya* Commentary II, 559).

The Pali Canon also contains criticisms of the Buddha and his teachings, attributed to Mahavira and his disciples: e.g.

- The Buddha was "deceitful" (*māyāvī*) and knew the "enticing device" (*āvattanim mayam*) by which 'he entices disciples of other sects" (*M.* II. p. 371)
- The speech of the Buddha is "not liked by others and disagreeable to them" (*M.* II. p. 392)
- He "professes the theory of inaction (*akiriyavāda*), preaches the doctrine of inaction and in that he trains his disciples" (*A* IV. p. 180)
- The Buddha is an annihilationist (*ucchedavādi*) (*Ibid*)
- "Today a huge beast has been killed by General Siha and a meal has been prepared for the recluse Gotama; and the recluse Gotama is going to eat meat, knowing that it was meant for him, that the deed was done on his account." (*Ibid*)

The Buddha had offered explanations in respect of some criticisms in the same suttas where they occur. About disagreeable speech, his explanation was that a person needed to be hurt for his or her own good and gave the parable of saving a child by pulling out of its mouth a pebble, even if the child was subjected to pain in the process. He also explained that he was not an exponent of inaction. As regards being an annihilationist, the Buddha played on the word and said that he could be so described because he preached the annihilation of greed, hatred and delusion.

Mahāvira and his disciples found the Middle path of the Buddha far too lax in comparison to their 'five vows', in general, and the last one on non-possession

(*aparigraha*), in particular. A typical satirical comment repeated in later literature was that "the Śākyaputra slept in comfort (*mṛtvi śayyā*), got up early and drank gruel, ate rice at noon, consumed sugar and mollasses in the afternoon, and also saw redemption at the end" (*mokṣaśca ante śākyaputrena dṛṣṭah*). The Buddha, in turn, stressed the futility of nudity (*acelaka*) and austerities of Mahāvira as regards spiritual perfection. Equally meaningless in the eyes of the Buddha were such practices as *govatika* (literally, 'cow-vow') and *kukkuravatika* ("dog-vow"). Whether these were specific Jaina practices or those of the Ajīvika school is, however, not clear from the relevant suttas.

Order of Nuns in Jainism: An interesting point of comparison between the Buddha and Mahāvīra relates to the position of women in their monastic system. As stated earlier, Mahavīra's monastic order consisted of 36,000 nuns in comparison to 14,000 monks. Padmanabha Jaini argues from these figures that Jaina women seemed to have preferred monastic life in preference to functional widowhood and that the "Jainas were probably the first religious sect of India to open their ranks in this manner to the female relatives of initiates." (Jaini 1979 p. 37). The Jainas right up to modern times count more nuns than monks among their monastic communities. But Digmbaras hold the view that "women lack the adamantine body necessary to attain *mokṣa*; hence she must be born as a man before such attainment is possible." Svetambaras, as the Buddha himself did, consider that a woman is as capable as a man in reaching spiritual accomplishments (Jaini 1979 p. 39). They further believe that the nineteenth Tirthankara, Malli, was a woman. According to Digambaras, the inability of women to adopt nudity is an automatic disqualification for salvation (*Ibid*, p. 40).

Visual Representation of Mahāvīra in Jaina Art:

A significant tradition in Jaina art in representing Mahāvīra is also relevant. Previous Tirthankaras, particularly Gommateśvara and Pārśva occur in Jaina shrines in Ellora, Śravana Belgola and elsewhere mostly as standing figures in the nude (Ellora Cave 33-Indra Sabha, Mahāviragumpha, Khandagiri and Ayodhyā.) But Mahāvīra at Ellora, Abu Mountain and Ayodhyā is always depicted seated in the meditational pose which is identical to the seated Buddha statue. One has to observe very carefully that the lines around the neck and the ankles which represent the robe of the Buddha are absent in the Mahāvira statues wherein nudity is subtlely depicted.

Conclusion

Though relatively little is known of the life and career of Mahavīra, the evidence from the Buddhist Pali Canon and its commentaries confirm the position of importance and esteem in which he was held in his times. Through his disciples a lively interaction had taken place with the Buddha. At least in one instance has the Buddha spoken of his agreement with Mahavīra's teachings. His teachings had the resilience for survival in spite of sectarian dissensions and centuries of disruption. The monastic system continues to this day as an influential religious body in India even though numerically small (e.g. 1977 census: Śvetāmbaras 1200 monks and 3400 nuns; Digambaras 65 monks, 60 novices and 50 nuns; Sthānikas 325 monks and 522 nuns ---- Jaini 1979 p. 247). A resurgence of Jainism is in evidence both in India and aboard. Religious institutions, research projects and publications show rapid growth in number. More people are aware of Mahāvira and his teachings. He is being recognized as the exponent *par-excellence* of non-violence and vegetarianism.

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Ananda W. P. Guruge

MAHĀVYUTPATTI, a Buddhist lexicon written in Sanskrit, the contents of which are so miscellaneous that it serves many purposes such as a dictionary of synonyms, a Sanskrit vocabulary, a list of names or epithets, a manual of Sanskrit grammar or even as a reference work on doctrinal instruction. These varied contents are all on Buddhism with a bias towards the Mahāyāna.

Neither its period of composition nor its authorship is known. But as As'vaghosa and Kanis'ka are mentioned and as allusions to Greek astrology are found, the work can generally be attributed to the third or the fourth century A.C.

The work begins with the usual salutation to the Buddha "Śākyamuni". The first item is a list of synonyms for the Buddha, followed by a list of past Buddhas, which includes the Dhayāni-Buddhas of the developed Mahāyāna along with the Buddhas of the Pali tradition like Dipankara.

At times the work reads like a commentarial work on the lines of the usual Pali commentaries. It has certain close similarities with the pali work, the *Niddesa*. For instance, the *Mahāvyutpatti* list of synonyms for *sattva* (section 207) almost corresponds to the *Niddesa* list at *Nd.* 1, 12, while the list of diseases in section 284 is very much similar to *Nd.* 1, 17.

An instance of its instructions on grammer is found is section 210 where the complete declension of *vṛkṣa* is given, while section 97 gives a list fo terms of salutation.

These features show that *Mahāvyutpatti* seems to have been composed for instruction mainly on Buddhist doctrinal matters along with the correct use of the Sanskrit language. Expansion of vocabulary also appears to have been one of the main aims of the author. In general, the work seems to have been intended as a manual of instruction for both students and scholars. The person who masters the words and phrases listed here, along with the concepts conveyed by them, should certainly be a versatile scholar in keeping with the concept of scholarship in vogue at the time.

The *Mahāvyutpatti* has been published as volume XIII of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* under the editorship of J. P. Minayeff in 1911 with notes, *etc.* in the Russian language. For further details, see F. W. Thomas, *Indian Historical quarterly,* II, 1926, pp. 501 ff.

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

MAHĀYĀNA : The compound *Mahāyāna* comprises of *mahā* meaning *great* and *yāna* meaning vehicle, means "Great Vehicle". The idea of *mahā* has reference to the religious goal of the Buddhists who call themselves the followers of the Mahāyāna. It is their assertion that, while they endeavour to realize the superior goal of Buddhahood, the other Buddhists seek to realize the inferior goals of Arahanthood and Paccekabuddhahood, the goals which in their view do not ensure complete emancipation. Hence the Buddhists outside the pale of Mahāyāna came to be referred to as followers of Hīnayāna, the "inferior vehicle".

Although the tradition of ideas which contributed to the emergence of Mahāyāna Buddhism dates back to the time of the Second Buddhist Council, i. e., the second century after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha, the principal doctrines of the Mahāyāna are of much later origin. The second Buddhist Council marks an important milepost in the history of Buddhism as it is from this point onwards that the Theravadins and those who seceded from them started writing their own historical accounts and developing their own interpretations of the teachings of the Buddha.

According to the *Cullavagga* the Second Council was convened to decide on the ten points (*dasavatthūni*) of the Vajjian monks of Vesāli. As both contending parties failed to reach agreement, the ten points were referred to a committee (*ubbāhikā*) under the rules of *Vinaya* and upon the committee rejecting them, were turned down by the assembly of seven hunedred members convened for the purpose. The Council which was thus convened decided on the content of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*. The other party rejected the decision of the committee and is said to have held another Council of their own. This Council had ten thousand participants and was hence known as the Mahāsaṅgiti.[1]

1. E.J. Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, 252; S. Dutt, *Buddha and five after centuries*, 134.

According to the Dīpavaṃsa account they developed their own interpretation of the texts and had a canon of their own. Those who accepted the doctrines as adopted by this Council came to be known as the *Mahāsāṃghikas.*

The Nothern Buddhist traditions attribute other reasons for the Second Buddhist Council. According to one tradition, recorded by Bhavya and attributed to the Sammitīyas, the dispute was caused by five controversial propositions raised by one Mahādeva. The issues related to doctrines and not to monastic rules. Vasumitta's account of the Second Council, too, agrees with that given by Bhavya.[1]

Attempts have been made to rationalize the discrepant traditions. One hypothesis is that there had been in fact a composite ground of difference for the schism, but the Ceylonese tradition fixed upon that part of it, viz, *Vinaya,* which seemed to the orthodox monks of the Theravāda school to be more important, while traditions preserved by the later shcolars and schoolmen, Bhavya and Vasumitra, were those which related to thedoctrinal part in which they were more interested. That the Five Points mentioned by Bhavya and Vasumitra, were not mythical or illusory, but had been subjects of debate and were actuallly debated in ancient times, has been proved by Poussin's identification of them with a set of 'heresies' noted in the *Kathāvatthu.* The first four of them are in the nature of an attack on the presumption cherished by the Theravāda of an Arhat's perfections, - heresies ascribed by the commentator on the *Kathāvatthu* to sub-sects of the Mahāsanghikas".[2]

The importance of the Second Buddhist Council lies not in its successful rejection of the views of the dissident monks, but in the recognition that the dissidents successfully stamped on variant interpretations on matters of discipline or of doctrine. It was in fact, as proved by the history of the *sāsana* of the next hundred years, the opening of the flood-gates for more liberal interpretations, because from both schools more and more dissident sects sprang up during this period. Though strange as it may seem, there were more schools from the Theravadins than from the Mahasañghikas.[3]

Thus the Mahāsanghikas who commanded a bigger following at their Council which was held concurrently some distance away from the scene of the Theravada Council, were zealouslyl dedicated to their cause. "Yuang Chwang records that the Mahasañghikas had a complete canon of their own which they divided into five parts, viz., the sūtra, the Vinaya, the Abhidharma, the Dhāraṇis and miscellaneous. The vinaya of the Mahāsañgikas, according to Yuang Chwang, was the same as that compiled at Mahākassapa's Council. He writes that he studied the treatises of the Abhidharma with two monks at Dhanakaṭaka in the South. He carried 657 Sanskrit works from India back to China and translated them into Chinese under the orders of the Emperor. Among them were fifteen Mahāsañghika works on the Sūtra, the Vinaya and the Abhidharma. Still earlier, Fa-hien had taken away a complete trascript of the Vinaya from Pāṭaliputra to render into Chinese. Nanjio's Catalogue furnishes us with the names of the Mahāsañghika Vinaya texts, the Bhikṣu-vinaya and the Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya, which are extant in Chinese only. The only original work of the Mahāsañghika sect available to us is the Mahavastu, or the Mahāvastu-avadāna. It is the first book of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsañghika school. According to it, the Buddhas are *lokottara* (supramundane) and are connected only externally with the worldly life. This conception of the Buddha contrubted much to the growth of the Mahayana philosophy. The biography of the Buddha is the central theme of the *Mahāvastu* and it gives us the history of the formation of the *Sangha* and the first conversions. It is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit or a mixed Indian dialect allied to Sanskrit. The work was probably composed between the 2nd century B. C. and the 4th century A. C.".[4]

"The general doctrines of the Mahāsañghikas with all their branches are contained in the *Kathāvatthu, Mahāvastu* and the works of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva. The Bahuśrutīyas and the Caityakas were

1. These are found in Chinese translations by Huan-Tsang and Paramartha: S. Dutt. *Buddha and five after centuries,* 130.
2. S. Dutt. *ibid,* 1957, 130; G. P. Malalasekara. *DPPN.* II.562.
3. While nine schools are recorded to have sprung up from the Mahāsangikas 15 schools have sprung up from the Theravādins-diagram facing, p. 112, 2500 yrs. of Buddhism.
4. *ibid.*

later off-shoots of the Mahāsan'ghika sect and differed somewhat from the original Mahāsan'ghikas in their views".[1]

The Mahasan'gikas, like the Theravadins accepted the principal teachings of Buddhism like the four noble truths, the eightfold-path, the *anātma*, the theory of *karma*, *pratītya-samutpāda*, the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣiya-dharmas* and the stages of spiritual advancement. "According to them the Buddhas are *lokottara* (supramundane); they have no *sāsrava dharmas* (defiled elements); their bodies, their length of life and their powers are unlimited; they neither sleep nor dream; they are self-possessed and always in a state of *samādhi* (meditation); they do not preach by words, they understand everything in a moment (*ekakṣaṇika - citta*); until they attain *parinirvāṇa*, the Buddhas possess *kṣayajñāna* (knowledge of decay) and *anutpādajñāna* (knowledge of non-origination). In short, everything concerning the Buddhas is transcendental. The Mahāsan'ghika conception of the Buddhas contributed to the growth of the later Trikāya theory in Mahāyāna. Thus the Mahāsan'ghikas conceived of the Buddha docetically and gave rise to the conception of the *Bodhisattvas*. According to them, the *Bodhisattvas* are also supramundane, and do not pass through the four embryonic stages of ordinary beings. They enter their mothers' wombs in the form of white elephants and come out of the wombs on the right side. They never experience feelings of lust (*kāma*), malevolence (*vyāpāda*) or injury (*vihiṃsā*). For the benefit of all classes of sentient beings, they are born of their own free will in any form of existence they choose. All these conceptions led to the deification of the Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas*. A section of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the adherents of Mahādeva, maintains that *Arhats* also have frailities; that they can be taught by others; that they still have a degree of ignorance, and a degree of doubt; and that they can acquire knowledge only with the help of others. Thus, *Arhathood* is not the final stage of sanctification".[2]

It is important to note that from the Second Council onwards, while there had been no known attempts at bringing the two dissenting parties together, the history of the *sasana* from this important historical event becomes in fact the history of these two schools of Buddhism. It in other words also means that whatever the doctrinal developments that took place after this point of separation were in fact those which further strengthened the separate identities of the two traditions of Buddhism.

The trend of thought started by the Mahāsan'ghika was further developed by their sub-sects like the Bahus'rutīyas and the Caityakas. The Bahus'rutīyas held, "That the teachings of the Buddha concerning *anityatā* (transitoriness), *duḥkha* (suffering), *s'ūnya* (the absence of all attributes), *anātman* (the non-existence of the soul) and *nirvāṇa* (the final bliss) were *lokottara* (transcendental), since they led to emancipation. His other teachings were *laukika* (mundane). On this point the Bahus'rutīyas may be regarded as the precursors of the later Mahāyāna teachers. They also accepted the five points of Mahādeva as their views. In some doctrinal matters they had a great deal in common with the S'aila schools, while in others they were closely allied to the Sarvāstivādins".[3]

"The Caityavāda shool originated with the teacher Mahādeva towards the close of the second century after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. He is to be distinguished from the Mahādeva who was responsible for the origin of the Mahāsan'gikas. He was a learned and diligent ascetic who received his ordination in the Mahāsan'ghika San'gha. He professed the five points of the Mahāsan'ghikas and started a new San'gha".[4] They shared the basic doctrines of the original Mahāsan'ghikas. In addition to these, they held that one acquires great merit by the creation, decoration and worship of *caityas*; even a circumambulation of *caityas* generates merit. They also held that the offering of flowers, garlands and scents to *caityas* were likewise meritorious acts. One acquires religious merit by making gifts and one can also transfer such merit to one's friends and relatives for their benefit. It may be noted here that this conception was quite unknown in early Buddhism, but became an important doctrine in the Mahāyāna.

"It is thus apparent that the doctrines of the Mahāsan'ghikas and their offshoots contain germs from which the later Mahāyāna doctrine developed. They were the first school to deify the Buddha and the *Bodhi*

1. *ibid.* 114.
2. *ibid.* 114f.
3. *ibid.* 117f.
4. *ibid.* 118f.

satta, which ultimately led to the complete deification of the Buddha and the *Bodhisattva* in Mahāyāna, and to the consequent popularity of the religion among the masses. Their conception of *Sambhogakāya* led to the Trikāya theory which is one of the prominent features of Mahāyāna. The worship of *caityas* and the making of gifts advocated by the branches of the Mahāsan'ghika school was to a large extent responsible for the evolution of the popular form of Buddhism. Teh Mahāsan'ghikas can, there for, be said to be the precursors of Mahāyāna movement, through which Buddhism came to attract more people than it would othewise have done".[1]

While the religious aspects of Mahāyāna have thus been largely subscribed to by the Mahāsan'ghika schools, the systematisation of its philosophical aspects has been the work of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra schools. Nāgarjuna or Ārya Nāgarjuna 2nd cent A. C.) as he is sometimes referred to, was the founder of the Madhyamaka school. He was followed by a galaxy of Madhyamaka thinkers such as Āryadeva (3rd century A.C) Buddha pālita (5th century A.C.), Bhāvaviveka (5th century A.C.) Candrakirti (6th century A.C.) and Śāntideva (7th century A.C.). Nāgarjuna wrote a number of works of which the *Madhyamakakārikā* is regarded as his masterpiece, as it presents the Mādhyamaka philosophy in a systematic manner. The school is so called on account of the emphasis it lays on the *Mādhyamā-pratipad*. The Madhyamaka explanation of the middle path differs from what is found in the Pali texts. Here, it "stands for the non-acceptance of the two views concerning existence and non-existance, eternity and non-eternity, self and non-self, and so on. In short, it advocates neither the theory of reality nor that of the unreality of the world, but merely of relativity. It is however, to be noted that the middle path propounded at Banaras has an ethical meaning, while that of the Mādhyamakas is a metaphysical concept.[2]

In the invocation in verse at the beginning of his *Mādhyamakakārikā* Nāgarjuna describes *pratītya-samutpāda* by means of eight negatives. "There is neither origination nor cessation, neither permanence nor impermanence, neither origination nor cessation, neither permanence nor impermanece, neither unity nor diversity, neither coming-in nor going out".[3] *Pratītya-samutpāda* according to the Mādhyamika view is the middle path which avoids the two basic views of existence and non-existence. It is the relative existence of things which they explain as *śūnyatā*. By *śunyatā*, the Mādhyamikas do not mean absolute non-being, but relative being. *Śūnyatā* being the central idea of its phillosophy, it is designated as *śūnyavāda*. The *Mādhyamakakārikā* also distinguishes between two kinds of truth, the *saṃvṛti satya* (conventional truth) and the *paramārtha satya* (absolute truth). The former is born not of ignorance or delusion and gives a false impression of reality, while the latter is the realization that worldly things are non-existent like an illusion or an echo. The former is only a means, while the latter is the end. Therefore, viewed from the relative stand point, *pratītya-samutpāda* explains worldly phenomena, but looking at from the absolute stand point, it means non-origination at all times and is equated with Nirvāṇa or *Śūnyatā*.

Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka initiated a new phase in the development of the Madhyamaka system. "Buddhapālita takes the essence of the Madhyamaka method to consist in the use of *reductio ad absurdum* arguments alone (*prasaṅga-vākya*). The true Mādhyamika connot uphold a position of his own; he has therefore no need to construct syllogisms and adduce arguments and examples. His sole endeavour is to reduce to absurdity the arguments of the opponet on principles aceptable to him. We have the evidence of Candrakīrti to say that Buddhapālita held *prasanga* (*reductio ad absurdum*) to be the real method of Nāgarjuna and Ārya Deva. He therefore initiates the Prāsangika School of the Mādhyamika.

"Bhāvaviveka (Bhavya), a younger contemporary of Buddhapālita criticises the latter for merely indulging in refutation without advancing a counter-position. He seems to have held that the Mādhyamika could consistently advance an opposite view. When the *satkāryavāda* is criticised, the opposite view of cause and effect being different should be set forth".[4] Bhāvaviveka is the founder of the Svātantrika Mādhyamika school. Candrakīrti criticises him for being inconsistent as a Mādhyamika in advancing independent arguments. Bhāvaviveka seems to have held

1. *ibid.* 120f.
2. *op. cit.* 120 f.
3. *op. cit.* 121 f.
4. T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, 1955, p. 95 f.

that the realisation of *s'ūnyatā* was not absolutely necessary for the realisation of Nirvāna. He also conceded that *Srāvakas* and *Pacceka Buddhas* could also attain final release, which certainly was opposed to the *ekanayavāda* of Nāgarjuna which held that votaries of other paths had to be initiated into the *Sūnyatā* discipline for attaining final release.

Maitreya or Maitreyanātha who lived in the third century A.C. founded the Yogācāra School and was followed by Asanga (4th century A.C.), Vasubandhu (4th century A.C.), Sthiramati (5th century A.C.), Dinnāga (5th century A.C.), Dharmapāla (7th century A.C.), Dharmakīrti (7th century A.C.) Sāntarakṣita (8th century A. C.), and Kamalas'ila (8th century A. C.), who count among the prominent teachers of this school. The school reached the height of its power and acceptance in the days of Asanga and his brother Vasubandhu. The appellation Yogācāra was given to it by Asaṇga, while the term Vijñānavāda was used by Vasubandhu.

The Yogācāra School, was so called because it emphasised the practice of *yoga* (meditation) as the most effective method for the attainment of the highest truth (*bodhi*). All the ten stages of spiritual progress (*dasa bhūmi*) of *Bodhisattvahood* had to be passed through before *bodhi* could be attained. The school is also known as the Vijñānavāda on account of the fact that it holds Vijñaptimātra (nothing but consciousness) to be the ultimate reality. In short, it teaches subjective idealism, or that thought alone is real. The 'Yogācāra brings out the practical side of its philosophy, while Vijñānavāda brings out its speculative features'. The *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* which is an important work of this school maintains that only the mind (*cittamātra*) is real while the external objects are not. They are unreal like dreams, mirages and 'sky-flowers'. *Citta-mātra*, in this case is different from *ālayavijñāna* which is the repository of consciousness underlying the subject object duality. It also is the womb of the Tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*). Vasubandhu's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* is the basic work of this system. It repudiates all belief in the reality of the objective world, maintaining that *citta (cittamātra)* or *vijñāna (vijñānamātra)* is the only reality, while the *ālayavijñāna* contains the seeds of phenomena, both subjective and objective. Like flowing water *ālayavijñāna* is a constantly changing stream of consciousness. With the realisation of Buddhahood, its course stops at once".[1]

According to the Yogācārins emancipation is attained by comprehending *pudgala-nairātmya* (the non-existence of self) and *dharma - nairātmya* (the non-existence of the things of the world). The former is attained by removing the veil of passions (*kles'āvaraṇa*) and the latter by the removal of the veil that covers true knowledge (*jñeyāvaraṇa*). "The Yogācāra recognizes three degrees of knowledge: *parikalpita* (illusory), *paratantra* (empirical), and *pariniṣpanna* (absolute). *Parikalpita* is the false attribution of an imaginary idea to an object produced by its cause and conditions. It exists only in one's imagination and does not correspond to reality. *Paratantra* is the knowledge of an object produced by its cause and conditions. This is relative knowledge and serves the practical purposes of life. *Pariniṣpanna* is the highest truth or *tathatā*, the absolute." [2] The first and the second correspond to the *saṃvṛti-satya* (relative truth), the third to the *paramārtha-satya*(highest truth) of the Madhyamaka system.

By the time of the early centuries of the Christian era, the schools which grew up in the traditions of the Mahāsan'ghikas seem to have expressed themselves in two types of religious activity. On the one land, with the transcendentalisation of the Buddhas and the *Bodhisattvas*, they built up a composite system of ritual and worship centred around devotion (*bhakti*) to these transcendental beings. Propped up by the concept of the transfer of merit, this made a massive impact on the acceptability of their practices by the masses who were thus offered convenient passage to the Buddha or the *Bodhisattva* paradises of their choice and to eventual liberation with nore or less no toil on their part. On the other, by the development of a systematic literary presentation of Buddhism through which they sought to clarifiy the deeper philosophical teachings of the Buddha which the after Buddhist schools, according to them, had failed to grasp.

While they called the non-Mahāyāna Buddhists the Hinayānists, as they sought to attain liberation through "inferior goals of *Arahanthood* or *Pacceka Buddhahood*." they described themselves as the Mahāyanists

1. *ibid.* p. 123.
2. *ibid.* p. 123.

as they sought to attain liberation by attaining the superior goal of Buddhahood. Thus, Mahāyāna becomes the generic name by which all those traditions of thought and practice which descended from the Mahāsan'ghika sect came to be known.

Both the Mahāyāna and non -Mahāyāna schools accept that individual existence is sorrowful (*dukkha*) and therefore needs delverance from it. Both accept the belief in rebirth and the existance of a moral natural law which rules the process of *kamma* and rebirth which are neither created by a deity nor are supervised by him. The phenomenal world is without substance and is in a state of constant flux. The empirical person, it is held, is without self and is a complex of soulless factors with which the attainment of final liberation of the individual is logically connected. Both traditions hold that liberation is only achievable through the extinction of greed (*lobha*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). It is the path discovered by the Buddha which leads on to final emancipation whether the Buddha is held as a human teacher, superman or transcendant being.[1]

A detailed study of the differences between the two major traditions shows that almost all elements which seem 'typically Mahāyānic' are traceable in the original Pali text, although of course they were not understood in this same sense in which they came to be understood in the Mahāyāna. The most prominent of the differences between the two traditions are as follows:

i. "In relation to the reality of the world the Hinayāna holds a psychological realism, the Mahāyāna an idealism. Consequently the Hinayāna regards suffering as real, the Mahāyāna as an illusion (which however, only the sage recognises as such).

ii. "In contrast to the Hinayāna which denies a 'true being' behind phenomena and avoids making metaphysical statements, the Mahāyāna teaches an Eternal Absolute under a great veriety of names. This Absolute is not transcendent but something immanent in Saṃsāra. Even in the *dharmas*, which by the Hinayāna are considered mere phenomenal entities, the Mahāyāna is able to see the Absolute: in their emptiness. Likewise the Mahāyāna looks at the beings in all forms of rebirth as identical in their core with the Absolute (and consequently with each other). The Mahāyāna is monistic, and the constant accentuation of non-duality its special note".[2]

iii. In the Mahāyāna the historical human teacher Buddha Gotama is interpreted as a projection of the Absolute, while in the Theravāda he is regarded as a natural man and teacher, at most a superman.

iv. Nirvāna according to the earlier view can only be attained by one's own effort. Mahāyāna concedes that this can be attained through assistance from outside.

v. According to the Mahāyāna merit acquired can be transferred (*puṇya parināmanā*) to others as against the earlier view that whatever one attains in one's *saṃsāric* sojourn is one's own achievement. There is, however, a shift from this position in the functional religion of the Theravadins as *punya anumodanā* has found acceptance therein.

vi. While according to the Theravāda, attainment of nibbāna is the individual's ultimate goal, the Mahāyānists consider the perfection of *Bodhisattvahood* as their immediate goal before the attainment of final Buddhahood.

vii. According to the Theravāda, nirvāna is the final deliverance from *saṃsāric* suffering whereas according to the Mahāyāna it is understood as becoming conscious of one's Absoluteness. The individual according to the Mahāyāna already possesses Buddhahood, he merely has to become aware of this.

Mahāyāna Literature: While the Theravādins retained Pali as the language of their texts, other schools like the Sarvāstivādins used Sanskrit as the language of their writings. It was the Mahāsan'ghikas who started using Sanskrit as the language of their canon after they separated from the Theravādins. This seems to palce the earliest date of the Sanskrit canon at some point in the second century after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. While the process of its completion would have taken several centuries of growth, a considerable number of its original texts have been lost.

The Mahāyāna literature falls into three main classes-*Sūtras*, *Śāstras* and *Tantras*. The *Sutras* are the most authoritative, and no follower of the Mahāyāna

1. Hans Wolfgang Schumann, *Buddhism, an Outline of its teaching and Schools*,1973, 94.
2. Hans Wolfgang Schumann, *ibid*. 92 f.

would wish openly to repudiate anything they contain; the authority of the *Śāstras* is more limited, and they are binding only on the members of the pholosophical school which they represent; that of the *Tantras* is even more restricted, its range being confined to the few adepts of a small esoteric sect".[1]

Sūtras claim to be the discourses of the Buddha himself and re written in the same format as the Pali *suttas* beginning with the place, whether on earth or in heaven, where the sermon was believed to have been preached by the Buddha. Apart from this, nothing is known of their individual authors. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* count among the important Mahāyāna *Sūtras*. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* is one of the earliest texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is composed partly in prose and partly in verse. The date of its composition is thought to be about the first century A. C. A large part of the book is devoted to proving that Hinayāna Buddhism was preached by the Buddhas for the benefit of people of lower intelligence and modest aims, to whom the whole truth was not divulged. The text explains that the Buddha preached two kinds of truth in order to attract people of lower intellect with the ultimate objectve of leading them to the highest knowledge.[2]

The *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* literature has been innovative in two principal ways: (i) It advocates knowledge of *sūnyatā* as the highest wisdom that the *Bodhisattva* ideal is the highest form of religious life and that (ii) knowledge of Sūnyatā is the highest wisdom.

According to Conze, "The thousands of lines of the *Prajñāpāramitā* can be summed up in the following two sentences. (i) One should become a *bodhisattva*, i.e. one who is content with nothing less than all knowledge attained through the perfection of wisdom for the sake of all beings (ii) There is no such thing as a *Bodhisattva*, or as all-knowledge or as a 'being' or as the 'perfection of wisdom' or as an 'attainment'. To accept both these contradictory facts is to be perfect".[3] The other important developments in the Perfection of wisdom literature are the concept of skilful means (*upaya kauśalya*) and the practice of dedicating one's religious merit to others to assist them to realise *śūnyatā*. The major exponent of the Perfection of Wisdom School was Nāgārjuna.[4]

If the Hinayāna *Suttas* are valued on account of their contents, the Mahāyāna *Sūtras* also posses beside that a 'magical' value. They are foci of transcendental power, for every truth, irrespective of the weight of its contents, is effective. It is held that the *Sūtras* protect those who master their contents. By inner criteria two main groups can be distinguished in the *Sūtra* literature. To the first group belong those devotional texts whose spiritual centre is in the Buddhology and the Bodhisattva teaching. They demand of the reader devoutness and faithful confidence in the Buddhas and have their origin in the Northern part of India. To the second group belong the philosophical *sūtras*. They deal mainly with the Absolute which is the centre of all Buddhas and beings. The areas of their origin are the eastern parts of South and Middle India. The period between the first century B.C. and the sixth century A. C. is regarded as the period of origination of the *sūtras*. Since all important *sūtras* were translated into Chinese and / or Tibetan at dates which were carefully recorded, it is possible with most of them to tell when they must have existed at the latest.[5]

A *Śastra* is a treatise attributed to an author and is either in the form of a commentary on a *Sūtra* or in the form of a systematic text book. Four of the well-known writers of the *Śāstras* are *Nāgārjuna* and Āryadeva (about A. C. 150) and Vasubadhu and Asaṅga (about A.C. 400). The first two, as we have already seen are the founders of the Madhyamaka School, while the last two initiated the rival School of the Yogācārins.

There is an important difference between the *Sūtras and the Śastras* on the one hand and the *Tantras* on the other. While the first two are public documents in the sense that they are accessible to any one desiring to read them, the *Tantras* are secret documents intended only for a chosen few who are properly initiated or consecrated by a properly initiated teacher or *guru*. It is an unpardonable crime to let the uninitiated into their secrets. In order to hide their contents from outsiders more effectively, the *Tantras* employ a deliberately

1. *Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*. 297.
2. 2500 *Years of Buddhism*. 159.
3. *Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*, p. 745.
4. *ibid*
5. *ibid*

mysterious and secretive language which becomes meaningless without the oral explanation of an initiated guru and therefore, reveal nothing of importance. *Tantras* contain instructions to the initiated for the practical realisation of certain *Yogic* practices. *Tantras* were profusely written, in fact, thousands of them about A. C. 500 onwardas. The authority of a *Tantra* is usually derived from a mythical Buddha who is said to have preached it in the remote past to some other mythical person, who transmitted it to a human teacher who stands at the beginning of a long line of initiated *gurus* who held the secret wisdom down from generation to generation.[1]

Principal Mahāyāna teaching; Edward Conze writes, "The creation of the *Bodhisattva* ideal and the elaboration of hte doctrine of 'Emptiness' a re the two great contributions which Mahāyāna has made to human thought. While the philosophy of Emptiness has proved an unfailing source of attraction to generations of scholars and intellectuals, it was to its teachings about the '*Bodhisattva*' that the Mahāyana owed its success as a religion."[2]

The Sanskrit term *Bodhisattva* describes one who is an aspirant for *Bodhi* or enlightenment. Dayal thinks that, "the *Bodhisattva* doctrine probably originated in the second century. B. C. The word is very old and occurs in the Pali *Nikāyas*. Gautama Buddha speaks of himself as a *bodhisatta*, when he refers to the time before the attainment of Enlightenment. This seems to be the earliest signification of the word. It was applied to Gautama Buddha as he was in his last earthly life before the night of Enlightement. The following clause recurs frequently in the *Majjhima Nikāya*:' In the days before my Enlightenment, when as yet I was only a *bodhisatta*,[3] etc.' The word also seems to be used only in connection with a Buddha's last life in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya*,II.13) and the *Acchariya-abbhūta-dhamma sutta (Majjhima- Nikāya*, III.119).[4] In the *Kathā-vatthu*, certain questions are raised with regard to the *bodhisatta's* actions; the signs on his body, his rebirth in a state of woe, and the possibility of his harbouring heretical opinions or practising asceticism are discussed. It is clear that the previous lives of Gautama Buddha and other saints have now begun to excite interest and speculation. But there was no new systematic doctrine in the middle of the third century B.C., when the *Kathā-vatthu* was composed.[5] The idea of a *bodhisattva's* renunciation of personal *nirvāna* is stated clearly and unequivocally in the *Aṣṭasāhaśrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and *bodhi* is set up as the new ideal in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. These tratises belong mainly to the first century B.C. we may infer that the Mahāyāna doctrine in its earlist form was formulated in the second contury B.C".[6]

The *Bodhisattva* according to the Mahāyāna conception is dominated by the two forces of compassion (*karuṇā*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). It is *karuṇā* which governs his conduct towardsal living beings both human and non-human. The *Bodhisattva*, in the exercise of his compassion, makes no difference between human beings and animals which principle is derived from the Buddhist attitude to life in all forms. "Scrupulous respect for the life and dignity, for the rights and wishes of all living beings is a *Bhodisattva's* first and most elementary duty .... It is quite usual for the *Bodhisattvas* to sacrifice their lives for animals. When he was a prince of Benares, the *Bodhisattva*, who subsequently became the Buddha Gautama, threw himself down in front of a tigress who had given birth to five cubs and was exhausted from hunger and thirst. 'But she did nothing to him. The *Bodhisattva* noticed that she was too weak to move. As a merciful man he had taken no sword with him. He therefore cut his throat with a sharp piece of bamboo and fell down near the tigress. She noticed his body all covered with blood, and in no time ate up all the flesh and blood, leaving only the bones (*Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra*)".[7] The *Bodhisattvas* have no self-interest. They live exclusively for others. Their lives are directed by compassion (*karuṇā*). *Karuṇā* is compassion without self-interest, the out-going desire to make others happy.

1. Hans Wolfgang Schumann, *Buddhism*, 95f.
2. *Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*, 298.
3. *Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*, 298.
4. "*Aham pi sudaṃ bhikkhave pubbe va sambodhā anabhisambuddho bodhisatto va samāno* ..... *M*. I. 163; etc.
5. In the later texts like the *Buddhavaṃsā* the names by which Gotama was known under each of the twenty-five Buddhas as *bodhisatta* are found. The introduction to the commentary on the *Jātakas* describes how the *bodhisatta* gave up his attainment of *nibbāna* to attain Buddhahood and makes his first resolve under the Buddha Dipaṅkara, the first Buddha in the line of the twenty-five Buddhas.
6. The *Bodhisattva* in the Pali texts is still only a seeker of enlightenment and does not possess any of the extra-ordinary powers of the Mahāyāna *Bodhisattva*.
7. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, 43f.

As the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* elucidates, "How no action is appropriate for the *Bodhisattvas* if it does not benefit others. .... is elaborated in the noble *Dharmasaṅgītisūtra.* Whatever deed the *Bodhisattvas* perform, be it) with the body, voice (or) mind, all that they do for (the benefit of) others, (solely) governed by the Great Compassion for all beings; (all this) has as its cause the realisation of the welfare of beings and originates froms the fervent wish for the well-being and happiness of them all.

It is the deepest conviction of the *Bodhisattva* that there is no difference in essence between himself and all others. It is by his belief in the essential identity of all beings (*sattvasamatā*) and by hiss compassion that he can be recognised as a *Bodhisattva*".[1]

A *Bodhisattva's* compassion is limitless and it does not make distinctions in its exercise. He radiates great friendliness and compassion over all beings and resolves,' I shall become their saviour, I shall release them from suffering'. Unlike the earthly Buddhas whose task in the world is to expound the *dharma*, the *Bodhisattvas* actively intervene in the world and willingly take the suffering of all beings on their own shoulders.[2]

In oder to exercise the function of saving others, the *Bodhisattva* is prepared to give away anything that he possesses. "To the same extent that the *Bodhisattva* voluntarily takes the suffering of the world upon himself, he sacrifices his bodily material and *karmic* possessions if by so doing he can bring a being closer to liberation:

My bodies (in all rebirths) as well as all the property and pleasure which I have acquired (and will acquire) in the Three Times (past, present and future), I give away indifferently for the welfare of all beings (*Bodhicaryāvatāra,* 3.10)".[3]

It was through its teachings on the *Bodhisattva* that Mahāyāna introduced the concept of the transference of merit acquired (*puṇya parināmanā*). The *Bodhisattva* does not lose his position as a *Bodhisattva* when he donates (*parināmanā*) his *karmic* acquistions to those in need. The selfless compassionate giving away simultaneously yields him *puṇya*, so that his punya becomes inexhaustible. "Yet the *Bodhisattva* has to check his selfless offering. Alluding to stories in the *Sūtras* which in their descripion of the readiness of the Bodhisattva to sacrifice himself go beyond reasonable bounds. Śantideva says (*Śikṣasamuccaya*, 2, V, p. 23) that a Bodhisattva has to be a benefactor to all and hence ought not to sacrifice his body and person for an insignificant cause. The *Prajnāpāramitā* texts stress that the Bodhisattva has to control his compassion by wisdom (*prajnā*). Compassion regulates his relationship with beings, wisdom that with the Absolute."[4]

According to the Mahāyāna treatises, "Two types of *Bodhisattvas* can be distinguished: Earthly and Transcendent ones. The former are human beings like millions of others, recognisable as *Bodhisattvas* only by their all-embracing compassion and their determination to strive first and foremost for the salvation of others and not to think of their own good. Everybody one meets may be a *Bodhisattva.* Without grumbling, patiently and ready for any sacrifice the Earthly *Bodhisattvas* accept rebirth after rebirth, for this enables them to remain close to suffering beings.

Transcendent *Bodhisattvas* are those who through the realisation of Six Perfections (*pāramitā*) have attained the liberating wisdom (*prajñā*) and thus sainthood from which there is no relapse. At the moment of their death they refuse to enter the Post-mortal, Perfect or Static Nirvāṇa which would make them ineffective to the world, but accept instead the 'Nirvāna without Standstill' or 'Active Nirvāṇa', a state of deliverance from which in their compassion they can continue to work for the benefit of the world. No longer are they perceptible through the sense-organs;since gross accidentals have largely fallen off from them they are visible only to the spiritual eye ......".[5]

These Transcendent *Bodhisattvas* far surpass the Earthly *Bodhisattvas.* Unlike the latter, they are no longer subject to the drugdery of rebirth, but can at their free discretion assume any bodily form and appearance which is appropriate for the help they intend

1. Hans W. Schumann, *Buddhism,* 110.
2. *ibid*
3. Hans Wolfgang Schumann, *Buddhism,* 111.
4. *ibid.*
5. H. W. Schumann, *Buddhism,* 112f.

to give. Of the many transcendental *Bodhisattvas* named in the *Sūtras* some enjoy particular veneration by the Mahāyanists. The most important of them all is Avalokites'vara, also named as Padmapāṇi, Lokes'cara, whose outsstanding characteristic is the virtue of compassion. He is the chief minister in Buddha Amitābha's paradise. "He abrogates and nullifies the old law of *karma*, as he visits the purgatory of avīci and makes it a cool and pleasant place. He goes to the realm of the *pretas* and gives them plenty of food and drinks; they thus regain a normal figure. The beings who are liberated from these realms, are reborn in the paradise of *Sukhāvatī*. In the purgatories, he creates a lake of honey and wonderful lotuses, which are as large as chariot-wheels. He visits the demonesses (*rākṣasīs*) in Ceylon and they fall in love with him; but he converts them to the true religion ...... It is distinctly stated in the *Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha* that Avalokites'vara is much greater than the Buddhas in Merit, intelligence and the sphere of influence. His merit is incalculable, like drops of rain falling continually for a year... The apotheosis of Avalokitesvara culminates in identifying him with the spirit of the Universe and bestowing on him all the attributes of Brahman and Isvar ...".[1] Avalokitesvara is invoked by the famous mantra, *Om manipadme hum*[2]-which refers either to the Absolute that is contained in everything or to the wishfulfilling jewel which Avalokites'vara keeps in the hollow of his hand, palms held together, in the form of a lotus bud.

Mañjusri is regarded as a master of wisdom and knowledge. He has trained and disciplined many *Bodhisattvas*. His special task is the destruction of ignorance and the awakening of knowledge. Vajrapāni is considered the destroyer of evil. With his *vajra* or thunderbolt sceptre he burns to ashes all temptations barring the way of the faithful. Among the other important transcendental Bodhisattvas are: Ks'itigarbha, who is the *Bodhisattva* who is the guardian over the hells. He continually endeavours to ease the suffering of the beings born there from the effects of their bad *kamma*. The *Bodhisatta* Mahāsthāmaprāpta is the one who opens man's eyes to see the need for liberation. He is usually depicted with Avalokites'vara at the side of Amitābha. While Avalokitesvara symbolises Amitābha's compassion, Mahasthāmaprāpta symbolises Amitābha's wisdom. *Bodhisattva* Samantabhadra is the protector of those who preach the Buddha's doctrine. Maitreya is the *Bodhisattva* who at present is in the Tusita heaven, preparing for his role as the future Buddha. As the future saviour he enjoys a cult of his own with some Mahāyāna groupps.[3]

Through the development of the Budhisattva doctrine, the Mahāyānists have also introduced into Buddhism the concept of prayer and supplication, which was totally foreign to Early Buddhism. When we trace the development of the Bodhisattva doctrine in the Mahāyāna literature, it is seen that in the early Mahāyāna the *Bodhisattvas* are inferior to the Buddhas. In course of time, they acquire greater importance till they are regarded as equal to the Buddhas in many respects. They are to be worshipped like the Buddhas or even in preference to them This gradual exaltation culminates in the apotheosis of Avalokites'vara who is declared to be a kind of Budhamaker who helps others to acquie Buddhahood while he himself remains the eternal *Bodhisattva*.

Also, wisdom (*prajñā*) and compassion (*Karuṇā*) are regarded as equally important in the early Mahāyāna. It is said that a *Bodhisattva* must possess the double equipment of Knowledge and Merit (*jñāna-sambhāra, puṇya-sambhāra*). Wisdom in fact is considered more important than compassion. Mañjus'ri, who represents wisdom is invoked in the opening verses of several treatises and is praised in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*. The glorification of wisdom found its climax in the writings of Nāgarjuna of the Madhyamaka School of philosophy. But in later Mahāyāna compassion is emphasised over wisdom. Early Mahāyāna attaches equal importance to social life and to ascetic retirement from the world. It, in fact inclines to exalt the layman-householder and the women. This position is found reversed in the age represented by treatises like the *Mahāvyutpatti*, *Lalitaviistara* and the *Avadānas'ataka* where the old ideal of celibacy and forest life is found praised. A *Bodhisattva* is represented as the Yogin *par excellence*.

In the next phase of development the quest for *Bodhi* is relegated to the background, while active altruism in this world of sin and suffering is regarded as almost sufficient in itself. Altruism which is one of the means of attaining Buddhahood in the early Mahāyāna, which is the goal of *Bodhisattva's* quest, is forgotten

1. Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, 48.
2. cf. adoption of a similar *mantra* in the traditional pon religion of Tibet - which reads, *Om Matri Myre Sale Du*.
3. H. W. Schumann, *Buddhism*, 116.

... Mahayana. A *Bodhisattva* is in no hurry to ... and become a Buddha as he can help all ... more effectively as a *Bodhisattva*. The ... commitment to relieve the sufferings of living creatures becomes the mission of the *Bodhisattva* who postpones his attainment of Buddhahood for this purpose. "*Karunā* (mercy, pity, love, compassion) and its personified symbol, Avalokites'vara, are all-in-all. This is the last word and the consummation of the Mahāyāna".[1]

A *Bodhisattva's* career is a long and arduous one. It starts with the arising of the thought of *bodhi (bodhi cittotpāda)*. It is with this that he thinks of becoming a Buddha for the weal and welfare of the world, makes certain vows for the purpose and his future greatness is predicted by a Buddha. These three events mark the conversion of an ordinary person into a *Bodhisattva.* However, with the development of the *Bodhisattva* doctrine, the idea that the thought of becoming a Buddha can arise only in a person who is really qualified for the purpose seems to have been added on.

Thus, the preliminary stages of *gotra, adhimukti-caryā* and *anuttara-pūjā* have been added on as stages preceding the first stage. The individual who is to become a *Bodhisattva* and then a Buddha must have the proper and requisite *gotra* for him mission. The second is the stage of *adhimukti-caryā* (aspiration). In this stage the *Bodhisattva* is afraid of pain and is not prepared to suffer pain for the sake of others. The next stage is that of *anuttara-pūjā* (supreme-worship). A *Bodhisattva* must perform the following religious exercises before he can attain to the 'Thought of Enlightenment': (a) worship and adoration of the Buddhas (*Vandanā* and *pūjā*), (b) Taking refuge in the Buddha, doctrine and the *Bodhisattvas* (*Saraṇa-gamaṇa*), (c) the confession of sins (*pāpa-des'anā*), (d) rejoicing in the good (*puṇya-anumodanā*) (e) prayer and supplica tion (*adhyeṣanā* and *yācanā*) and (f) declaration of altruism and self-denial (*parināmanā* and *ātma-bhāvādi-parityāga*). The last stage which immediately precedes the *cittotpāda* has been described as *parināmanā*. Thus according to the later texts, it is only when a person has fulfilled the requirements of the *gotra, adhimukti* and *anuttarapūjā*, that he is ready for the decisive step of *bodhicittotpāda*. The second stage after the *bodhicittotpāda* is *Praṇidhāna or Praṇidhi* which means resolve, which as D.T. Suzuki explains is, 'strong wish, aspiration, prayer or an inflexible determination to carry out one's will'.[2]

According to the accepted doctrine a *Bodhisattva* must declare his intention (*praṇidhāna*) in the presence of a living Buddha who predicts his future success in attaining Enlightenment. This is called *Vyākaraṇa* or *Vyākṛti*. *Caryā* meaning conduct, behaviour or course of action is the next stage of a *Bodhisatva's* career. The Mahavastu divides this into four sub-divisions as *Prakṛti-caryā* (this seems to correspond to *gotra*), *Praṇidhāna-caryā* (*caryā* of aspiration), *Anuloma-caryā* (the *caryā* to regular practice), and *Anivartana -caryā* (*caryā* of non-turning back). The *Bodhisattva Bhūmi* and the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālan'kāra* list another set of four *caryās* which are as follows: *Bodhipakṣya-caryā* (principle conducive to Enlightenment), *Abhijñā-caryā* (practice of super-knowledge) *Pāramitā-caryā* (the pracice of the Perfectins), and *Sattva-paripāka-carya* (the practice of maturing living beings, i.e. by preaching and teaching).

Of these the *bodhipakṣya-dharma* are thirty-seven in number. These are common to the Theravāda and Mahāyāna. "The latter starts with these *dharmas*, but adds the *pāramitās* and the *bhūmis* which constitute its special contribution to the development of Buddhism". The six/*Pāramitās* are really the chief factors in a *Bodhisattva's* discipline and the four additional *pāramitās* are merely supplementary in character. The six *pāramitās* are mentioned and discussed in many passages of Buddhist Sanskrit literature, while the seventh, eight, ninth and tenth *pāramitās* are mentioned only in a few passages and are not explained at great lenth".[3] These are as follows: *dāna, s'īla, kśanti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajñā*, the four supplementary *pāramitās* being, *upāya, praṇidhāna, bala,* and *jñāṇa*.

Dāna: Through *dāna* the Mahāyānists emphasised the practice of charity and self-sacrifice. They taught that *dāna* should be based solely on the feeling of mercy and compassion (*karuṇā*). They evolved the new and revolutionary idea of the 'gift of merit' by which a *Bodhisattva* could save all sinners from punishment. A *Bodhisattva* should give all that he has, his wealth, his limbs, his life and his merit (*puṇya*) and also his

1. Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 46f.
2. Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 64.
3. *op. cit.* 75.

wife and children. Stories of the gift of self-sacrifice of the *Bodhi-sattvas* are narrated in the Mahāyāna works like the, *Avadāna Śataka, Avādana Kalpalatā, svarnaprabhāsa, Jātakamālā,* etc.

Sila: as a *paramita* has beem defined in three ways. It has been identified with Virtue in general, and many admirable qualities have been enumerated as its characteristics. It has also been interpreted in relation to the ideals of purification and restraint, as they are realised with the body, speech and mind (deed, word and thought). It is usually understood as referring to the five moral precepts and the ten good and meritorious. Ways of Action' which constitute the "Buddhist layman's definite code of practical ethics".[1] The *Bodhisattva Bhumi* and other treatises explain that the ethical rules are not absolute. They may be infringed, if a *Bodhisattva* can thereby render service to an unfortunate creature.[2]

Kṣānti is forbearance and endurance. A *Bodhisattva* has to forgive all kinds of injury, insult, abuse and censure. He endures hunger, thirst, pain, heat, cold, etc. Mahāyāna books are replete with beautiful and moving stories of the *Bodhisattva's* illimitable *kṣānti.*

Virya, courage, valour, prowess, etc. It is determined endeavour for moral development and is of two kinds: the *vīrya* of preparation and initative (*sannāha-vīrya*) and the *vīrya* of practice and activity (*prayoga-vīrya*). *Virya* is best discribed under the following aspects: (i) Moral development - A Bodhisattva has to resolutely combat all sins and vices, great and small that may drag him down. He dispels hatred by the cultivation of love, sensuality by meditating on impurity and so on. (ii) Study of the Scriptures and General education (*Sikṣa-vīrya*), a *Bodhisattva* studies the Doctrine well, but he also studies the arts and sciences as well. (iii) Altruistic activity (*Sattv-ārtha-kriyā-vīryaṃ*). A *Bodhisattva* has indefatigable energy and he acts on two grat principles, "Equality of self and others" and "regard for others in place of self". A *Bodhisattva* develops a healthy pride in himself and his own capacity and is therefore eager to undertake the most difficult tasks. This same pride gives him the strength to overcome all passions and endure all trials. He is determined to observe the five 'contnuities' (*ānantaryāni*) by persistence in his devotion to the Mahayana, to the ideal of self-sacrifice, to the duty of saving all beings and to the pursuit of true knowledge and perfect wistom.[3]

Dhyana : A *Bodhisattva* must renounce the world in all his lives after taking the great vow. A *Bodhisattva* who begins to practise *dhyāna* must go through a preliminary stage of preparation which include renunciation and solitude, the cultivation of the four *brahmavihāra* and the use of the *krisnāyatanas*. These are the ten *kasiṇāyatanas* of the Pali texts. The Mahāyāna explanation of the *samādhis* attained by a *Bodhisattva* is similar to the one given in the Pali texts, except for minor variations. They are very useful for a *Bodhisattva* for all possible purposes. A *Bodhisattva* can employ *samādhis* to heal the sick, protect people from all dangers, produce rainfall in a period of drought and famine, bestow wealth on the poor, etc.

Prajñā is wisdom and is of three kinds: that which is based on hearing the teaching for another person or from the study of Scripture (*śrutamayi*); that which arises from reflection (*cintāmayi*); and that which is developed by cultivation and realisation (*bhāvanāmayi*). The two philosophical schools, Yogacara and Madhyamaka explain *prajñā* in two different ways. The former identifies it with perfect knowledge and regards it as insight into the nature of Reality (*tathatā*). To the latter it is the mother of all the Buddhas and the *Bodhisattvas*. It is greater than all the other *pāramitās*. It is somtimes identified with *sunyatā. Prajñā* and *Śūnyatā* are the two sources of a *Bodhisattva's* moral strength. According to the *Samādhirāja Sūtra* the Bodhisattva is not attached to anything and is freed from all desires and fears. He acquires all the *dhyānas, samādhis* and *samāpattis* of a Buddha.

Upāya-Kauśalya may be explained as skillfulness or wisdom in the choice and adoption of means or expdients for converting others or helping them. It is specially related to a *Bodhisattva's* work as a preacher and teacher. A *Bodhisattva* should always adapt his teaching to the capacity of the audience. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* Sutra relates some interesting parables which illustrate this Perfection. Even trickery and falsehood seem to be permitted, if the end of converting or helping others is achieved.[4]

1. *op. cit.* 193.
2. *op. cit.* 207.
3. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 219.
4. *op. cit.* 270.

A *Bodhisattva's* career consists of several stages. He advances from one stage to another till he finally attains Enlightenment. These stages are called *Bhumis* and also *Vihāras*. There are at least four different schemes of divisions of these in the principal Sanskrit treatises. The *Prajñapāramitā Śataka*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* describe these as ten, but in different ways, whereas the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* speaks of even *bhūmis* and thirteen *vihāras*.

"The most systematic treatment of the subject of the *bhūmis* is found in the *Daṣabhumika Sutra*. The author takes us throgh a mighty maze, but it is not without a plan. He manages to place almost all the important concepts and categories of Buddhist philosophy in his scheme of ten bhumis ...... A *Bodhisattva* especially cultivates one of the *pāramitas* in each *bhūmi*".[1] The first *bhūmi* is called *Pramuditā* (joyful). A *Bodhisattva* enters this first stage immediately after the production of *bodhicita*. He rejoices exceedingly, as he realises that he has now risen above the foolish common people. He practises the *dāna-pāramitā* and also the other perfections according to his capacity. He pays special attention to the first of the four *san̄graha-vastu*. In the second *bhūmi* which is *Vimala*, he frees himself from all defilements and become honest, self-controlled and follows the ten meritorious actions. He especially cultivates *sīla-pāramitā* while not neglecting the other perfections, and practises the seconed of the four *san̄graha-vastu* which is *priyavacana* (pleasant speech). The third *bhūmi* is *Prabhākarī*. In this, the *Bodhisattva* diffuses the great light of the doctrine. He practises regular self-examination and meditation and aquires all the *dhyānas* and the *samāpattis*. He especially cultivates *kṣanti* without neglecting the other perfections and the third of the four *san̄graha-vastu* which is *arthacaryā* (promoting the good of others). In the fourth which is *Arcismati* he gains entrance to the light of the Doctrine by reflecting on the nature of the worlds of things and living beings. He practises the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*. He especially cultivates the *virya-pāramitā* and the fourth of the *san̄graha-vastus* which is *samānātmata*. The fifth *bhūmi* is *Sudurjayā* wherein the *Bodhisattva* performs the difficult task of maturing others and guarding his own mind. He comprehends the four Noble Truths. He practises all the *sangraha-vastus* in this *bhumi* and especially cultivates the *dhyana-paramita* without neglecting the others. The sixth *bhumi* is *Abhimukhi* and in this he understandds that all things and phenomena are signless and have no definite characteristics; they are not produced and not originated; they are unrelated and also corrupted since the beginning; they are like a dream and are like magically created unreal objects. He especially cultivates the perfection of *Prajña* without neglecting the others. The seventh *bhumi* is *Dūran̄gamā*, he acquires great wisdom in the choice of expedients for helping others. He understands that all the Buddhas are identical with their spiritual cosmic body. He practises all the ten *pāramitas* at each moment. He transcends the lower wisdom of the Hinayana. He attains liberation, but does not attain personal *nirvāṇa*. He especially cultivates the *upāyakauṣalya pāramitā*. In the eighth *bhūmi called Acalā* a *Bodhisattva* acquires the *kṣānti* called *anutpattika-dharma-kṣanti* and is not contaminated by any actions. The Buddhas initiate him into infinite knowledge, otherwise he would enter into *nirvāna* instead of persevering in his efforts to attain *bodhi* for the good of all. He especially cultivates the perfection of *pranidhāna* in this *bhūmi* without neglecting the others, and pervades the whole world with the feeling of friendliness. The ninth *bhūmi* is *Sādhumatī* in which a *Bodhisattva* acquires the knowledge of all phenomena and priciples truly and certainly. He becomes a great preacher and acquires the four *pratisamvids* and is especially protected by the *dhārmaṇis*. He especially cultivates the perfection of *bala* without neglecting the others. The tenth *bhūmi* is *Dharma-meghā* in which a *Bodhisattva* enters the stage of consecration (*abhiṣeka*) and experiences many great *samādhis*. He performs many miracles and creates numberless magical bodies of himself. He especially cultivates the perfaction of *jñana* without neglecting others. An eleventh *bhūmi* is mentioned in the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* called *Tathāgata-bhūmi*.[2]

The conception of the Buddha: Parallel with the development of the *Bodhisattva* doctrine, the conception of the Buddha also underwent extensive changes in the Mahāyana writings. The Theravāda conception of the Buddha is based on the standard description of him found in the Pali *Nikāya* texts.[3] According to this description, the Buddha was a human teacher who had, "reached the highest state of perfection and attained not only knowledge and power superior to any man

1. *Ibid.* 283.
2. H. Dayal. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 283 f.
3. N. Dutt. *Mahayana Buddhism*. 137; *D.* I. 87; etc.

and god, but also the highest knowledge and power attainable. "In the *Majjhima Nikāya* Ānanda explains why the Buddha should be considered superior to the Arhats as well, although both arrived at the same goal. He says that there is not a single *bhikkhu*, who can be regarded as endowed with all the qualities in all their forms as possessed by the Buddha. Moreover, a Buddha is the originator of the path not existing before, a knower and promulgator of the *mārga*, which is only followed by the *sāvakas*".[1]

There were other descriptions of the Buddha in the earlier portions of the Pali canon which lent themselves to other interpretations. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Buddha tells Ananda just before his *parinibbāna* that the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* which have been preached and promulgated by him, will be their teacher after his *parinibbāna*.[2] The conversation between Gopaka Moggallāna and the Venerable Ananda in the *Majjhima Nikāya* makes it clear that the *bhikkhus* after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha were not to be regarded as *appaṭisaraṇā* (without refuge), but as with refuge because they had the *dhamma* preached by the Buddha as their refuge (*dhamma paṭisaraṇā*).[3]

Just as a traditional brahmin would claim that he is born of Brahma, through his mouth (*Brahmuṇā putto oraso mukhato jāto, brahmajo brahmanimmito*)[4], a *bhikkhu* who is a member of the *sakyaputtiya samaṇas* may say that he is born of Bhagavā (*Bhagavato'mhi putto orasomukhato jāto dhammajo dhammanimmito dhamma dāyādo ti*)[5] because the Tathāgata is also described as *Dhammakāyo Brahmakāyo, Dhammabhūto* and *Brahmabhūto*.[6]

Again when the Venerable Vakkali was on his death-bed and was eager to see the Buddha in person, the Buddha came to him and said, "*Alaṃ Vakkali, kiṃte pūtikāyena diṭṭhena. Yo kho Vakkali dhammam passati, so man passati, Yo maṃ passati, yo maṃ dhammaṃ passati*".[7] This is followed by an exposition by the Buddha on the impermanence of the five aggregates of existence. Vakkali is admonished to see the *dhamma* which is more beneficial than seeing the filthy and impermanent physical body. Dona, the brahmin who was walking behind the Buddha, becomes curious when he noticed the sign of the wheel[8] in his footprints. His curiosity was further strengthened by the unusul composure of the Buddha when he seated himself under a tree by the side of the road. To his inquiry whether he was a *deva*, a *gandabba*, a *yakkha* or a human being, the Buddha replies that he is none of these, but a Buddha.[9]

In the *Mahahatthipadopama Sutta* of the *Majhima Nikāya* the Buddha declares that he who sees dependent origination sees the *dhamma* and that he who sees the *dhamma* sees dependent origination (*Yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ, passati, yo dhammam passati, so paticcasamuppādaṃ passati* ...).[10]

In the *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* of the Dīgha Nikāya it is said that one who has attained complete mastery of the four *iddhipādas* can, if he so desires, live an aeon.[11] In the *Nikāya* texts it is clearly stated that the mastery of the *iddhis* can be realized by a disciple of the Buddha after he attains the fourth *jhāna*.[12] The Buddha had attained complete mastery over these, and was hence pre-eminent among those who possessed *iddhi* powers. It was the possession of *iddhi* which enable the holders of such powers to perform various miracles like assuming different forms, walking on water, etc.[13]

It may be noted here that the Theravādins have been consistent through out their history in their conception of the Buddha as their human teacher, the passages cited above falling quite within these boundaries without the slightest doubt. Therefore, to the Theravādins, the *rūpakāya* of the Buddha was only the physical body of the Buddha which had all the characteristics of a normal human body while the

1. N. Dutt, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 1978: 138: *M*. 111.8.
2. *D*. II. 154.
3. *"Na kho mayaṃ brāhmaṇa appaṭisaraṇā; sappaṭisaraṇā mayaṃ, brāhmaṇa dhammapaṭisaraṇā ti"*. *M*. 9f. 81; *M*. 11.84.
4. *D*. III. 81; *M*. II. 84.
5. *D*. 111. 84:M.111.195,224 has *"bhagavajānaṃ jānāti passaṃ passati cakkhubhūto ñāṇabhūto dhammabhūto brahmabhuto.*
6. *D*. 111.84.
7. *S*. 111. 120.
8. The 'wheel' was one of the thirty-two marks of a *Mahāpurisa* according to the brāhmanic tradition.
9. *A*. 11.38: *"Yesaṃ kho ahaṃ brahmaṇa asavānaṃ appahīnattā devo bhaveyyaṃ te me āsava pahīnā ....*"
10. *M*. 1.190f. 11. *D*.11.117f. 12. *D*. 1.76f. 13. *D*. 1.77f

dharmakāva was the collection of his teachings and the disciplinary rules collectively.[1]

It was the Mahāsaṅghikas who were the first to think that the Buddhas are supra-mundane (*lokottara*), they have no defiled elements (*sasrava dharmas*), their bodies, their length of life and their powers are unlimited: they neither sleep nor dream; they are self-possessed and are always in a state of *samadhi* (meditation).[2] The *Divyāvadāna* has a few passages which contain the terms *rūpakāya* and *dharmakaya* but these have the same sense as those of the Pali texts. In the *avadānas*, however, a slight Mahāyānic tint is seen. For example, according to the *Rudrayanavadana*, the rays of light which issued forth from the mouth of the Buddha when be smiled, lighted up the beings of heaven and hell.[3]

In the *Lalitavistara* the Buddha is deified but there are no traces of the *Trikāya* conception. It says that the Buddha appears in the world of men in order to follow the ways of the world (*lokanuvartanā*) which, if desired he could avoid by remaining in one of the heavens and attaining emancipation there

According to the *Abhidharmakoṣa* f Vasubandhu, *Dharmakāya* is formed of the qualities by the acquisition of which a person is called a Budhda. These *dharmas* are: *Ksavajñāna* (knowledge of the destruction of suffering) *anutpadajñāna* (knowledge of the further non-origination of suffering), and *samyagdrṣti* (right view) of the *as'aikṣas* together with the *dharmas* attendant to the *jñāna* viz. the five *skandhas*. Thus the *Abhidharmakoś'a* replaces the concrete conception of the *Dharmakāya* of the *Nikayas* and the Divyavadana by an abstract one [4]

According to Harivarman, the propunder of the Satyasiddhi school, the *Dharmakaya* of the Buddha is to be distinguished from that of the *Arahats* because it consists of the ten powers (*dasa-balas*), the four proficiencies (*vaiśaradyas*), and the three recollections (*smrtyupasthana*), which the *Arhats* cannot obtain. The *Abhisamayalaṅkārakarika* and *Pañcaviṃsati-sahasrika-prajñaparamita*, which are important text-books of the Yogacara school, also maintain the conception that the various *dharmas* viz.: *Apramanas*, *Vimokṣas*, *samapattis*, and so on, constitute *sarvajñatā* and that *Sarvajñata* is the *Dharmakava*. The *Prajñāpāramitas* also maintain the conception that the *Dharmakāya* is produced by *dharmas*, the highest of which, according to them, is the *Prajñapāramitā*.[5]

The Mahāsaṅghika view that everything regarding the Buddha was transcendental was developed into the Nirmānakaya conception by the Mahāyānists. The final steps of this process are clearly seen in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* and the *Svarṇaprabhasa Sūtras* the main thrust of which is to erase any still lingering impressions of the historical existence of *Sākyamuni*.

The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* obseves that it is imposible for the Buddha to perform, within a space of forty years after the attainment of *Bodhi*, the innumerable duties of a *Tathāgata* and lead incalculable *Bodhisattvas* to Buddhahood. Also, it is not to be understood that Bhagavān Śākyamuni left his family life and attained *Bodhi* at Gayā because he attained *Sambodhi* incalculable ages ago and has been preaching the *dhamma* since then. Also, all that has been said about the previous Tathagathas like Dipaṅkara, etc., and about their *parinirvāṇa* were only expedients for imparting the *dharma* (*upāyakaus'alya-dharma-das'anābhinirhāra nirmitāni*).[6]

In the *Svarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* it is obseved that it is impossible for Sakyamuni who had performed so many meritorious deeds to have had such a short-span of life as eighty years: The length of his life is incalculable. It is said that it might be possible to count the drops of water in a sea, but it would be impossible to ascertain the length of his life. It is impossible to expect relics from the *Buddhakaya*, as the *Tathāgatas* have no origin, they are ever-existing and are inconceivable. It is only the *Nirmānakāya* that is shown by them. Buddhas do not have relics, they do only have *Dharmakāya* and *Dharmadhātu*.

The Mahāyānic writings were aimed at showing that the Theravadins were wrong in their belief that Sakyamuni was really a man of flesh and blood and that the relics of his body existed. Accordingly they introduced the two conceptions of *Nirmānakāya* and *Buddhakava*. Everything that has been done by the

1. N. Dutt, *Mahayana Buddhism*, 142
2. *2500 Years of Buddhism* 114
3. N. Dutt, *Mahayana Buddhism* 143f
4. N. Dutt, *Mahayana Buddhism*, 144
5. *ibid* 148
6. *op. cit.* 152.

Buddha Sakyamuni was the apparent doing by a shadowy image created to follow the ways of the world (*lokānuvartana*) in order to bring conviction to the people that the attainment of Buddhahood was not an impossibility. As the Buddhas possess the knowledge of all that is to be done (*krtyanusthanajñana*) they can take any form they desire for the enlightenment of the various classes of beings. The *Pañcavimsati Prajñāpāranita* says that a *Bodhisattva* after acquiring all the necessary *Dharmas* and practising *Prajñāpāramita*, becomes a *sambuddha* and then renders service to beings of all *lokadhatus*[1] of the ten corners at all time by *Nirmānamegha* (*Nirmana* clouds). This is called the *Nirmānakaya*.

According to the Chinese sources, Nagarjuna, in his commentary on the *Prajñāpāramita* explains *rūpakāya* as the body born of parents, possessing the qualities of sentient beings and is subject to human frailities. It was born in Kosala while his *Dharmakāya* was born at Rajagrha. "The material body was necessary for 'earthly truth'. It was for the deliverance of beings that the buddha assumed different *kāyas*, different names, birth-places and the ways of emancipation. This interpretation of *rupa*-and *dharmakayas* is also followed in the Chinese versions of the *Parinirvāṇasutra* and *Sandhinirmocanasutra*".[2]

The *Sutrālankara* explains *Nirmanakava* as those forms which the Buddhas assume to render service to beings of the various worlds. It refers to the human form that the Buddha assumes to show that he aquires the skills of an average man, living a family life, then retiring from it and attaining *Nirvana* throught ascetic practices. The *Vijñaptimatratāsiddhi* explains that *Nirmānakaya* is meant for *Sravakas*, *Pratyekabuddhas* and *Prthagjanas* and *Bodhisattvas* who are not yet in one of the ten *bhūmis*. It may appear in all lands, whether pure of impire. Acceding to the Chinesse commentaries on this, the Buddha can transform his body or another's body, voice and his or other's mind to suit his purpose. The Buddha could transform himself into Sariputra, into any other or create an altogethr new aparitional body, often, he assumed the voice of Brahma or expressed himself through the mouth of Sariputra or Subhuti. This is why we find abstruse Mahayana teachings being explained by these which they were not expected to understand. The Buddha could produce in mind any thought he liked. In fact, he appeared in his *Nirmanakaya* as *Sakyamuni* with a mind suited to the ways of the world. He could also impose his thoughts on the minds of others.

According to the *Abhisamayalan'karakarika* there are four *kayas* of which the *Svabhavikakaya* is real and the three other viz., *Dharmakaya* (= *Svasambhogakāya*), *Sambhogakaya* (= *Parasambhogakaya*) and *Nirmanakaya* are unreal. These three are meant for *Bodhisattvas* and *Sravakas*. Accoriding to it, the entire course of life of a Bodhisattva, extending throughout his incalculabe births is nothing but the *Nirmānakaya* which in fact is not separate from the *Dharmakaya*.

According to the *Lankavatāra*, the *Nirmitabuddhas* are not produced by actions: the *Tathāgata* is neither in them nor outside them. The various duties of a *Tathāgata* are performed through the *Nirmanakaya*. Vajrapani serves as an attendant on the *Nirmitanirmanabuddhas* and not on the real Buddhas and it is the *Nirmitabuddhas* who explain the characteristics of *dana*, *sīla*,*dhyāna*, *samādhi*, *citta*, *prajña*,*skandha*, *dhatu*, *ayatana*, etc.[3] As the *Rupakāya* or *Nirmānakaya* was meant for *Srāvakas*, *paccekabuddhas* and ordinary folk who were not yet in one of the ten *bhūmis*, another *kāya* had to be devised for the benefit of all the *Bodhisattvas*. This body is called the *Parasambhogakāya* as different from the *Svasambhogakaya*, a subtle body perceived by the Baddhas alone. It is this *Parasambhogakāya* which serves as the preacher of the various Mahayāna *Sūtras*, the site being either the Grdrakuṭa or Sukhāvati-vyūha or one of the heavens. Grdrakuta is the only place in the three *dhatus* considered pure for the appearance of a *sambhogakaya*. It may be noted here that inspite of the massive changes brought about by the Mahāyanists in the conception of the Buddha, they were still unable to forget or rise above the human conception of the Buddha of the Theravadins. It is Sākyamuni who is still the presiding Buddha of the Universe. All the *Bodhisattvas*, *sravakas*, *grhapatis* of the various *lokadhatus* of the ten directions came with flowers, incense, etc., to hear from him the *Prajñaparamita*. The *Bodhisattvas* had their own tutelary Buddhas who according to the Mahayana metaphysics had the same *Dharmakaya* as that of Sakyamuni. They themselves

1. *op. cit.* 153.
2. N. Dutt, *Mahayana Buddhism*, 154.
3. *op. cit.* 156.

came or sent masages of greetings and flowers as tokens of their regard to Buddha Sākyamuni. These descriptions sometimes go so far as to say that the Buddhas themselves came to hear dirscourses from Sakyamuni whose *Buddhakṣetra* then was the *Sahalokadhātu*. The gathering of Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* was so great that the *sahalokadhātu* had to be cleared of all the mountains, rivers, cities as well as of gods, men and other beings to accommodate them Accoriding to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* due to this lack of space, the Buddhas could not have with them more than one or two *Bodhisatvas* as attendants. According to the *Śatasāhaśrikā* and the *Pañcaviṃsatisāhaśrikā* the *kāya* of this Buddha, "is an exceedingly refulgent body, from every pore of which steamed forth contless brilliant rays of light".[1] In the *Prajñāpāramitās* this refulgent body was usually called the *Prakṛtyātmabhāva* (natural body) or *Āsecanaka Ātmabhāva* (all-diffusing body). However, this refulgent body was not called the *Sambhogakāya* in the *Prajñāpāramitās*. It is first found only in a recast version of the *Pañcaviṃsati-sāhaśrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, while the original text regarded this refulgent body as *nirmita* and therefore as included in the *Rūpakāya*. Thus, it is clear that the conception of *Sambhogakāya* was not differentiated from that of the *Rūpa* or the *Nirmānakāya* up to the time of Nāgarjuna. It is first presented in the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, calling it *Niṣyanda* or *Dharmatāniṣyanda* Buddha, still the term *Sambhogakāya* being not current.

The *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* distinguishes between two *Sambhogakāyas* calling them *Parasambhogakāya* and *Svasambhogakāya*. While the first is seen by the *Bodhisattvas*, the second is seen only by the Buddhas of the various *lokadhātus*. These do not differ as regards their illimitability and immeasurability and both have colour and form as well as voice. On account of the knowledge of sameness (*samatā*) obtained by the Buddhas, the body is pure (*anāśrava*). It can appear only in a pure land like Sukhāvatīvyūha or Gṛdrakūṭa. The first has *mahāpuruṣalakshanas* while the second does not. The *citta* of the first is as unreal as that of the *Nirmānakāya* wihile the *citta* of the second is real and possesses the four Jñaṇas.[2] The rūpa of both *kāyas* is exceedingly subtle and expansive without limit. The subtle bodis of countless Buddhas are interpenetrable.

According to the Mahāyāna conception, the only real *kāya* of the Buddha is the Reality. The *Mādhyamakakārikā* and the *Satyasiddhiśāstra* call it the *Svabhārika* or *Svabhāva kāya*. It is immeasurable and illimitable. It fills all space and is the basis of the *Sambhoga* and the *Nirmānakāyas*. It is devoid of all marks (i.e. *Mahā puruṣlakṣaṇas,* etc.) and is inexpressible (*niṣprapañca*). It is possessed of eternal, real and unlimited *guṇas*. It does not have both *citta* and *rūpa*. *Dharmakāya Buddhas* may have their individual *Sambhogakāyas,* but they have all one *Dharmakāya.* It can only be realised within one's own self (*pratyātmavedya*) and not be described, as that would be like the attempt of a blind man to describe the sun which he has never seen.[3] The *Aṣṭasāhaśrikā* states that he who knows that the *dharma* existing in the world or preached by the *Tathāgata* have no more existence than things seen in a dream and does not equire whence the *Tathāgata* came and where he goes, realises the *Tathāgata* through *Dharmatā*. "The *Buddhakāya* that people speak of arises through cause and condition like the sound of a flute; it involves really no appearance and disappearance. Those who run after the form and voice of the *Tathāgata* and conceive of his disapperance and disappearance are far from the truth".[4] According to an often quoted verse in the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā,* the Buddha cannot be seen through his form and cannot be heard through his voice because the Buddhas only have *Dharmakaya.*[5]

Nirvāṇa: The Mahāyānists argue that the Srāvakas aim at the realization of only *pudgala-nairātmya* and not at the realiztion of *dharmanairātmya*.[6] Therefore, their realiztion cannot take them to Nirvāṇa, it takes them only some distance towards it. The *Sūtrālaṅkāra*

1. *op. cit.* 158.
2. These are: i. *Ādarśajñaṇa* (mirror like knowledge) ii. *samatājñāṇa* (knowledge of sameness of all things), iii. *Pratyavekṣaṇājñāṇa* (knowledge distinguishing subject-object and varieties of things), iv. *kṛtyānuṣṭhānajnāṇa* (knowledge of doing all that is to be done).
3. N. Dutt, *Mahāyana Buddhism,* 163.
4. *op. cit.* 164.
5. *Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*, 305; N. Dutt, *op. cit.* 165.
6. *Pudgalanairātmya* is explained by N. Dutt as the non-existence of a permanent entity like soul. It seems best understood as the cessation of the individual series of existence.
Dharmanairatmya is the realization of the non-existence of things what-soever, of the universe.

argues that the Theravadins have only personality (*pugdgala-nimitta*) as their basis for meditation, as a result of which they reach only *Śrāvaka-bodhi* or *Pratyekabodhi* and not *Samyaksambodhi*, which can only be attained by making all *dharmas* the basis of meditation. According to the non-mahayanists all constituted things which originate from causes and conditions are in a state of flux and devoid of any substance. There is no permanent entity in mental and physical constituents which are in a state of constant flux. The realization of *nirvāna* is made possible through the realization of the non-existence of an *ātman* either identical with one of the *khandhas* or apart from them. The Mahāyānists do not admit that the *skandhas* really exist. These exist only in the imagination of beings suffering from defective vision due to ignorance. The truth therefore, according to the Mahayanists is *Śūnyatā* or *dharma nairātmya.*

According to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* he who knows the *dharmas* as devoid of *ātman* knows the truth. It is because one does not possess this knowledge that one is called a *Śrāvaka.* Of the seven reasones adduced by the *Sūtralan̄kāra* to show why Mahāyāna should be considered superior to Hinayāna, one is that the knowledge of the Mahāyānists is on a higher level, for it pentrates into both *padgalanairātmya* and *dharmanairātmya.* The realiztion of the *dharmanairātmy* removes the screen over true knowledge. The removal of both screens is needed for the attainment of emancipation (*mokṣa*) and omniscience (*sarvajñatā*). Passions are obstacles to the attainment of emancipation; hence the removal of passions leads to *mokṣa.* The screen of *jñeya* works as an obstacle to the functioning of knowledge. When it is removed, knowledge penetrates unobstructed into all objects of knowledge in detail (*sarvākāra*) without however causing attachment of any kind, and this is called the attainment of omniscience or *Bodhi.*

The Theravādins do not accept the above explanations of the Mahāyānists. They contend that by the removal of the screen of actions (*karmāvaraṇa*), of the effects of *karma*(*vipākāvaraṇa*) and of afflictions (*kleśāvaraṇa*), the Arhats atttain full knowledge without any veil (*anāvaraṇa*). They completely eradicate all *āsavas* from their minds, including the *avijjāsava* and therefore attain full and complete emancipation.[1]

Mahāyana Religion: The intricate philosophical fabric of the Mahāyāna which we have examined in the preceding pages served as the founadation upon which the impressive edifice of the Mahāyāna religion was buil up. According to the Pali canonical texts, the path to the attainment of Nibbāna was the path of gradual training, gradual practice and gradual progress (*anupubba-sikkhā anupubbakiriyā anupubba-paṭipadā*)[2] which constituted a process of maturing the individual through disciplined training. This is the path which lies through the three steps of *śīla, samādhi* and *paññā.* Provision was available for different points of entry into this process of training which suited the particular requirements of the individual seeking spiritual training through the process. The Mahāyānists, it will be seen, evolved a system, of religious practice which, unlike the earlier system, did not require such exacting commitment from the individual, in order to attain the same ultimate spiritual goal.

Thus, according to Mahāyāna teachings, Nirvāṇa is a attainable through one of the following ways:

(1) The path of self-discipline
(2) The path of wisdom (*Prajñā mārga*)
(3) The path of the *Bodhisattva (Bodhisattva mārga)*
(4) The path of Faith (*Śraddhā mārga*)
(5) The path of cultic worship (*pūjā mārga*)

(1) *The Path of self-discipline:* Although the Mahāyānists recognize the Noble Eightfold Path, they claim that only the specially gifted are able to follow it, and hence, it is too steep for all others. They say that it is a path for the selfish who care only for their own liberation and close their eyes to the sufferings of others.

The main objection of the philospphical Mahāyāna schools to the eightfold path is based on their conviction that suffering belongs to the phenomenal realm and that all beings, to the extent that they are identical with the Absolute, have always been free, though without knowing it. Liberation is therefore to be achieved by the removal of this ignorance and by the realisation of the Absolute. It is not possible to attain deliverance by mere ethical action. According to Bhāvaviveka, a Madhayamika monk who lived in the sixth century A. C. the Noble Eightfold Path is not to be understood literally, but as key words to emancipating insights:

1. N. Dutt, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 176.
2. *M.* III.2.

(i) Right View is insght into the *Dharmakāya* of the Perfect One;

(ii) Eight Resolve is the pacification of all imaginations;

(iii) Right Speech is the realisation that language confronted with the *Dharmas* falls silent;

(iv) Right Conduct is abstinence from any action (aiming at *karmic* merit);

(v) Right Livelihood consists of the insight that all *Dharmas* are without origination and destruction;

(vi) Right Effort means relinquishing Energy and Method in the knowledge that no *Dharmas* rise out of action;

(vii) Right Awareness means to stop brooding over being and non-being;

(viii) Right Meditation means freedom from opinions by the non-grasping of *Dharmas* (here ideas).[1]

(2) *The Path of Wisdom* *(Prajñā-mārga):* The Mahāyānists make a dstinction between knowledge (*jñana*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). While knowledge is limited to the sphere of phenomena, wisdom reaches beyond this to the infinite and the essence." Knowledge is a matter of mere intellect which can grasp only fragments of reality: wisdom on the other hand is intuitive identification with the reality of all existence and being an experience which is made with the whole of the personality after all rational limitations, views and doctrines have been discarded. It is defined as 'omniscience' (*sarvajñatā*) and in the Mahāyāna is synonymous with 'enlightenment' (*bodhi*)'.[2]

The follower of the wisdom path free himself by developing wisdom because wisdom destroys craving and ignorance, the two causes of suffering. Craving feeds on sense-contacts, but it withers when the sense objects are seen through as *dharma*-phenomena and as illusory. Ignorance vanishes the moment the Absolute is realised.[3]

(3) *The Path of the Bodhisattvas* *(Bodhisattva-mārga):* The first and the second paths to Nirvāṇa require in a follower self-discipline, intelligence and commitment, abilities possessed only by a small fraction of man-kind. For the many, who are untalented the Mahāyāna offers three other ways to Nirvāṇa. The first of these is the path of the *Bodhisattvas* (the *Bodhisattva-mārga*). This can be achieved in one of two ways. The first, by relying on the Great Compassion (*Mahā-karuṇā*) of the *Bodhisattvas.* It is sufficient to invoke them entreatingly because *Bodhisattvas* never refuse help. "On account of their inner perfection and their karmic merit accmulated through wholesome deeds in countless lives, the Transcendent *Bodhisattvas* are able to remove the unwholesome *Karman* of those in need and thus make possible their speedier emancipation. Their loving-kindness is stronger than the impending *Karma* of the salvation seeker."[4]

Second, when a being benefits from the compassion of the *Bodhisattvas,* it places the seeker of such help under a heavy obligation which is re-paid by adopting the career of a *Bodhisattva* and undertaking to relieve the sufferings of the beings of the world. Although the *Bodhisattva* way is the easiest to be followed in its passive aspect, it is the most difficult path to deliverance in its active aspect. While it takes extra-ordinary selflessness to take the vow to become a *Bodhisattva* to devote oneself entirely to help others without thinking of one's own liberation, it is also the path which takes the longest duration of time to reach liberation. As schumann puts it, "to be liberated is the final goal (of the *Bodhisattva*) but to liberate (others) is the more urgent and nobler one".[5]

(4) *The Path of Faith* *(Śraddhā mārga):* Faith according to the Mahāyāna teaching is the central virtue from which all other virtues develop automatically and which unfailingly leads to rebirth in a Buddha paradise. According to the *Śiksasamuccaya*, "Faith is the guide, mother, originator, protector, increaser of all virtues, dispeller of doubts, rescuer from the flood of rebirths. Faith is the signpost to the secure city (of the Budha paradise) .... Faith creates liking in renunciation, faith creates delight in the doctrine of the victors (i.e. the Buddhas). faith creates distinction in the

1. Hans W. Schumann, *Buddhism*, 120.
2. *op. cit Buddhism*, 123.
3. *op. cit.* 127
4. *op. cit.* 127
5. *op. cit.* 129

knowledge of the virtues: it leads in the direction of the Buddha goal".[1]

Śraddhā, according to its Mahayānic conception, operates in two ways. One, it produces unimaginable merit (*puṇya*) which merit is much superior to the results of *śīla*, the results of which are limited to the sphere of *saṃsāra* only. Second, *Śraddhā* is the means by which the compassion and help of the Transcendent *Bodhisattvas* and Buddhas is invoked. Their help and assistance cannot be obtained by karmically wholesome actions alone. Invoking them with faithful confidence in them is more powerful than karmically wholesome action. *Śraddhā* is mainly directed to two Transcendent Beings; the *Bodhisattva* Avalokitesvara and the Buddha Amitābha (or Amitāyus). The former is appealed for help when one is in distress while the latter is a helper to salvation. The pure Buddha paradise *Sukhāvatī* is the paradise of Buddha Amitābha which he created for himself. "In the texts the numerous Buddha paradises are divided into two groups. For the first group there is no special collective name, but the second are the so-called 'Pure Lands'. The ordinary paradises lie within our universe and more or less resemble our world, but are free from ill-will and violence. The Pure Lands on the other hand are transcendent and their inhabitants are not born into them on account of their karmic merit, but through the grace of a transcendent Buddha. They are radiating and lovely paradises of bliss. Amitābha's paradise Sukhāvatī is the prototype of a Pure Land. Each of these lands (*kṣetra*) is under the control and care of a Transcendent Budhda, who regards it his main task to impart liberating wisdom to the beings of his paradise".[2]

The birth in a Buddha paradise through the grace of a Transcendent Buddha or Bodhisattva does not automatically take one to final liberation, it being only an intermediate station on the way to liberation. Therefore, rebirth in a Buddha Land serves as a good starting point to develop wisdom and attain enlightenment.

(5) *The Path of Cultic Worship* (*Pūjā mārga*) : Mahayana has developed a system of workship and ritual, the due performance of which ensures liberation for the worshipper. "Whereas Śantideva (seventh century A.C.) in his anthology *Śikṣasamuccaya* (17 p. 156f.) only quotes *Sūtra* passages which regard ritual practice as instrumental to better rebirth, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasutra* (2, 78-94) characterises the worship of relics, the erection of Stūpas, the creating of Buddha images, the offering of flowers and incense, and the making of music at shrines as the way to Enlightenment. The text continues: "Those who at a Stūpa have shown (their) veneration (by placing their palms together, either in the) perfect (way) or (only) with *one* hand, (and those who) have bent the erect head and body a single time for a moment, (95), - (moreover the people who) have at those relic containers (i.e. *stūpas*) said 'Honour to the Buddha!' a single time (and), be it only with distracted mind, have all obtained Supreme Enlightenment (*agrabodhi*)".[3]

The adoption of worship also necessitated the development of a system of ritual formulae and detailed procedures to be followed in such worship. While each item of offering had its own ritual formula consisting of one or more *ślokas* preferably, each cultic object of workship too had its own ritual formula of one or more of such *slokas* spelling out the veneration of the worshipper. Each act of worship which followed the *pūjā* (the act of offering) had its alloted placing in the total procedure of the worship. While the non-infringement of the given procedure was essential, the proper recital of the formulae of *pūjā* and *vandanā* too was similarly essential for the generation of results. There is evidence to show that music too was in use as part of the accepted pattern of such worship.[4] The complete ritual structure if compiled into a text would have constituted a treatise of considerable length.

It may be noted here that it was with the complex *pūjā* system that the Mahāyānists accomplished their aspiration to make Buddhist practices attractive to the common folk, thereby providing an easier path to salvation. The *pūjā* ritual contributed in no small measure to social harmony as these also provided for public participation. As the *pūja* rituals were adaptable to particular socio-religious requirements of the different schools of thought as well as of the cultural contexts in which Buddhism had to work, these came to possess regional identities. It is these regional identities, it may be noted, which bacame the distinctive characteristics of Buddhism to a very large extent, in each region in which it took roots by weaving itself into the religio-ritualistic fabric of the respective region by suitable adaption and adjustment as required.

1. *op. cit.* 133
2. *op. cit.* 137
3. *op. cit.* 138
4. e.g. the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* verses quoted above as well as numerous other passages.

Mahāyāna in China. The ancient trade route which lay through Cental Asia connecting the Roman Empire with India and China took Buddhism to the Central Asian countries and China. "By the first century A.C., a number of prosperous city states had arisen in the watersheds of the oxus and Tarim rivers. The source of their prosperity was the trade between China, India and the Roman Empire. Culturally, this area was international. Some cities spoke Iranian dialects, wrote them in Indian alphabets, were ruled by Greek dynasties and issued Grecian-looking coins. Central Asian art combined Indian, Hellenistic and Iranian elements. During the first century, these states came under Chinese suzerainty. However, Indian cultural influence was dominant. Indian settlers and adventurers found their way to Central Asia, and Buddhist monks moved back and forth, travelling with the traders' caravans.

The Chinese terminus of the Central Asian trade route was the city of Tun Huang. It was in international community, where Chinese, Kucheans, Sogdians, Khotanese and Indians lived together. It is said that thirty-six languages were spoken in its market place. The two bonds between the inhabitants were trade and Buddhism. In this way, Buddhism came overland, by stages, to the frontiers of China".[1]

It is recorded that Buddhism was in China once or twice during the first century A.C., although it is not recorded to have made any headway. The conversion of China seems to have begun, according to historical records, with the arrival of several translator-missionaries about 150 A.C. These missionaries came from Central Asia. Those who had grown up in Tun Huang already spoke the Chiness language, others learnt the language before starting their work. Assisted by their Chinese disciples and scribes, they concentrated on the translation of scripture as the most important part of their missionary work. It was their initial labours which thus created a nucleus of Buddhist *Sūtras* in Chinese which served as the foundation for the speedier spread of the religion during the folowing centuries.

During the third century, the Chinese *Saṃgha* was consolidated. Inspite of civil wars in the country, Buddhist missionaries arrived and were welcomed. Buddhism spread throughout the country. It is recorded that Chinese pilgrims set out through Central Asia in search of scriptures and returned with texts to augment the growing canon. During the fourth century Buddhism became the dominant faith of China and during the next century it completed its domination of Chinese religious life. By the seventh century A.C., Buddhism reached its prime of the initial period, under the T'ang dynasty. While the study of Buddhism became popular, it was during this period that the famous pilgrim and translator Hsuan-Tsang returned after fifteen years stay in India with the latest form of the Yogācāra School. The worship of Amitābha became widespread particularly in Norht China." The divergent tendencies that had operated since the early fifth century eventually produced the separation into distinct sectarian traditions, each with its own possibilities to work out".[2] During the eighth and ninth centuries, the different sects built upon their foundations. The disciples of the sixth Patriarch spread the Ch'an teaching throughout China and even to Tibet. During the ninth century, Buddhism had a severe set back under the T'ang regime from which it took a long time to find some recovery at last. Under the Sung dynasty, during the eleventh, twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, though all sects and schools were studied and practised, only the Ch'an sect continued to evolve qualitatively, penetrating deeply into the culture of the period.

"The Mongols, who ruled China during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries adopted the Tibetan variety of Buddhism, and Lamaist establishments have since then constituted a separate sect in China. The Mongols, though tolerant of all religions, patronized Buddhism lavishly. The Ming dynasty (1364-1644), which restored native rule, looked backwards to the glorious T'ang and Sung eras. Its culture was conservative, and the power of the old ways was overwhelming. Buddhism was subject to no new stimuli and envisaged no new problems. The period from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth is predominantly an age of closed vistas. Nevertheless, there were a few outstanding thinkers and leaders in each generation of monks".[3]

The first entry of Buddhism to China was only the beginning of a long line of live cultural contacts between India and China. As each successive phase of Indian Buddhism arrived in China, it gave rise to a new cult or school. As each of these had their own

1. *Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*, 1964, 322.
2. *op. cit.* 323
3. *op. cit.* 324

Mahāyāna texts upon which they based their interpretations of the teaching, the Chinese Buddhist canon is the collection of the Chinese translations of the original Sanskrit texts and their Chinese commentaries. :"Two-thirds of its contents are translations from Indian languages. Most of these were translated before 750, and thus were based on older versions of the Sanskrit texts than those employed by the Tibetan translators. Unlike the Tibetan *Tripiṭaka*, the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* includes the complete Hīnayāna Sūtras (*Āgamas*). In fact, about one-fifth of the Taisho *Tripiṭaka* consists of Hīnayāna works. Thus, though Chinese Buddhism is exclusively Mahāyāna, it has conserved the Hinayana traditions fully".[1]

As the main pre-occupation of the Buddhist missionaries in China was the compilation of the *Tripiṭaka* in the Chinese language, it provided a firm foundation for the stabilization of Buddhism in the Chinese society . However, the great success of Buddhism in China was due in large measure to the skill with which it was able to weave itself into the religio-ritualistic fabric of the Chinee society. As a result, Buddhism was able to offer a system of ritual and cultic worship which greatly appealed to its Chinese followers

Chinese Buddhism thus came to possesss a rich and complex system of worship. The principal form of worship was the worship of the Buddha, Dhamma and the Samgha which centred round the offering of gifts and services to these. While the gifts included all items required for the maintenance of the Order and the shrines, the services consisted of acts of homage and reverence to the triple gem and other centres of cultic worship. Each of these cult-centres like the *stūpa*, the images of the Buddhas and the *Bodhisattvas*, was serviced through appropriate ritual.

Those prominent among the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas who thus were centres of cultic worship and veneration in China are Sākyamuni Buddha, Amitābha Buddha (Amit'o), Maitreya Buddha (Milo), Bhaisajyaguru Buddha (Yao-shih), Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Kuan-yin), and Kshitigarbha Bodhisattva (Ti-tsang). Each of these cults is based on an Indian *Sūtra* which explains the special attributes of the holy personage.[2]

"The problem of the relationship and jurisdiction of the various Buddhas does not trouble the unphilosophical devotee, who either woships all in turn or concentrates on the most congenial to him. The theor etical problem is resolved by all sects in essentially the same way: the Essence Body (Dharma-kāya) is free from all determinate marks such as unity and mul tiplicity, and the multiplicity of Buddhas belongs to the realm of appearance".[3]

The Chinese *Saṃgha* consists of a number of sects. A sect bases itself on a distinctive textual tradition or cultic practice, while subsects represent lineages from the several disciples of the founder of the original sect, and can have minor differences of teaching. Cults consist of a special practice of devotion or of contemplation, but do not possess a lineage of masters, necessarilly. Devotion to Maitreya was for long an important cult in China, but there was no Maitreya sect. Devotion to Amitābha was in practice for centruries before a lineage of teachers founded the Amitābha sect, and thereafter it reverted to the status of a cult. A *cult* commonly arises from a particular *Sūtra.* It can attract followes from all established sects without itself constituting a sect.

A sect is founded by a great master. It may be a philosophical system, a mystical insight, a devotional cult, a discipline or system of rites and initiations. It exists as long as its lineage of masters survive. When the lineage fails, its teachings may still be preserved and studied and may even be revived. A sect has a centre, since a master may confer approval on his best student, but it has no physical boundaries. One can study a sect or practise its teaching, but one cannot join a sect.

Robinson distinguishes three general types among the Chinese Buddhist sects: (i) The Classical School, which have as their heritage an Indian doctrinal system contained is a group of *Śāstras* (ii) The Catholic Sects which classify the different scriptures and doctrinal systems as an ascending series of accommodated teachings for beings of different intellectual types upwards to the true teachig. Their fundemental texts are the Mahāyāna Sūtras which are explaind in the commentaries and other works by the founders and other

1. *op. cit.* 327
2. *Encycloppaedia of Living Faiths*, 328.
3. *op. cit.* 329

patriarchs of the sects and *the Exclusive Sects* which discard the classification of the teachings and reject all other teachings except their own. of these. the principal schools are : (1) *The Kośa School* - This school was founded on the *Abhidharmakoṣa* translated by Hsuan-Tsang in the seventh century. A.C. It did not maintain a separate lingeage for long after Hsuan-Tsang. (2) *The Satyasiddhi School*, based on Kumārajiva's translation of the *Satyasiddhi Sastra*: this school flourished during the fifth century A. C. (3) *The San-Lun (Three Treatises) School,* based on three Madhyamaka texts translated by Kumārajiva, did not arise until the early sixth century, and its lineage did not persist for many generations after its greatest master, Chi-Tsang (549-623) (4) *The Fa-hsiang School* based on *Vijñānavāda* and founded by Hsuan- tsang (600-64) whose work *Ch'eng wei-shih lun (Vijñaptimātratasiddhi)* expounds the school's teaching. The School began to decline in the ninth century, but contined as a philosophical influence for many centuries.[1]

The principal *Catholic Sects* are: (1) *The Tien-t'ai* founded by Chih-I (538-97). It classifies the *Sutras* according to the period of Sākyamuni's life when they were supposed to have been spoken, and also according to the audiences to whom they were addressed. The final and perfect teaching of Sākyamuni, according to this sect, is that of the *Lotus-Sūtra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarika*), the pricipal Scripture of the *T'ent'ai Sect.* The philosophical doctrines of the school are a combination of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra teachings. This sect has its own liturgy and the sect survives in china to the present day. (2) The *Hua-yen*, founded by Tu-Shun (557-640) and brought to completion by Fa-Tsang (643-712). It is based on the *Avataṃsaka (Hua-yen)Sūtra*, which ranks highest in the classifications of the *Hua-yen* sect. According to the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, Sākyamuni Buddha entered the *Sāgaramudrā-samādhi* immediately after his enlightenment in which he saw simultaneously all the teachings that he later preached and all the beings to whom he preached them. However. when he preached the contents of this vision as the *Avataṃsakáśutra*, it proved too difficult for ordinary listeners as a result of which he preached a graded series of accommodated teachings. However, the highly intellectual teachings of this school did bot become a popular sect and after the ninth century its lineage was broken (3) *The Chen-yen* is the Chinese version of the *Mantrayāna*, and was introduced abou t 720 A. C. by three indian missionaries Subhakarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghava jra. It is based on the *Mahavairocana Sutra* and the *Vajraśekara Sutra*. This sect distinguishes ten stages of the religious life, culminating in the *Chenyen* stage. As the members of the original Indian Trantrayāna, the members of this sect, too, are initiated into the sect, after which only they are allowed into the secret symbolic language of the sect. This sect did not maintain a lineage in China for very long. It has been re-introduced from Japan where it had remarkable popularity.

(iii) *The Exclusive Sects:* There are two sects, coming under this, (1) *The Pure Land Sect* and (2) the *Ch'an.* Of these, the *Pure Land Sect,* is a devotional form of Buddhism centring on the Buddha Amitābha. "One of China's early Pure Land adherents was Hui-yuan (334-416), an eminent Buddhist master who established a monastic community on Mount Lu. In 402 he organized a society of 123 believers who performed devotion to Amitabha and jointly vowed to be born in Pure Land. The spread of Pure Land Buddhism to the general populace occured a century or two later as a result of the evangelistic efforts of several Pure Land masters. The first of these was T'an-luan (476-?560). He embraced the Pure Land teachings at the urging of the Indian priest Bodhiruci. a famous transmitter and translator of Buddhist scriptures. T'an-luan spent his life popularizing such devotional practices as meditating on the Pure Land and chanting Amitābha's name. Tao-ch'o (562-645) who carried on T'anluan's work, added a historical dimension to the Pure Land teachings. He maintained that the world has passed into a period of decline, the age of the Latter-day Dharma (China., *mo-fa*; Jap., *mappo*) during which the earlier teachings of Buddhism no longer have efficacy. Only Amitābha's Pure Land offers hope of salvation and enlightenment to sentient beings".[2]

Tao-Ch'o was succeeded by Shan-tao who distinguished the Saintly Road, the way to Enlightenment through self-power from the easier way to Enlightenment through exernal power, through reliance on *Amitābha's* grace. He held that though the saintly road may have been possible for people in the period of the True Law, or immediately after *Sākyamuni's parinirvāṇa* or in the subsequent period, it was not possible during the degenerate period of the Latter Law.

1. *op. cit.* 330; *Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*, 334.
2. *Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*, 776f.

Consequently, there was no alternative to relying on external power. Shan-tao maintained that right faith is produced by Amitabha's name, co-operating with his saving power. The moment the believer places his faith in Amitabha and calls on his sacred name, "Namo Amit'o Fo" (Glory to Amitābha) the believer receives the gift of well-being and assurance of rebirth in Sukhavati from where he attains Nirvāṇa. The Pure Land sect maintained a lineage until the ninth century, after which it had so thoroughly permeated all Chinese Buddhism except Ch'an that it ceased to have any reason for independent transmission.[1]

The Ch'an Sect is a school of *prajña* (wisdom). Its teachings are transmitted directly from master to disciple. Bodhidharma was the first patriarch of this school. He was followed by Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin, Hung-jen and Hui-neng, "Though Ch'an is the Chinese form of Sanskrit *dhyāna* (meditation) it is not really a school of meditation, but a school of *prajña* or intuitive insight. The lofty, paradoxical utterances of Ch'an masters and their assertions that great merit is that which is filled with insight, are in the spirit of the *Perfection of wisdom Sūtras*. Most ideas in eighth-century Ch'an writings are simply culled from the Mahāyāna *Sūtras*. What is distinctively Ch'an is the fresh, incisive tone and the unwavering focus of attention on the realiztion of insight.

The Ch'an Sect it radical in its exclusiveness, and it exhibits a manner unlike that of other sects. But it is not radical otherwise. It has kept the monastic system, though it has its own monastic rule which requires manual labour of the monks. It has not discarded rituals or any of the normal appurtenances of Chinese Buddhism."[2]

Mahāyāna in Japan. In Robinson's words, "Though Japanese Buddhism does not differ very much from Chinese Buddhism in doctrine, in institutions, and social role, it is as unlike Chinese Buddhism as Japanese society is unlike Chinese society. It was intimately connected with the introduction of civilization to Japan and with the development of national institutions and values. It has shared the historical experience of the Japanese people and, thanks to the relative soundness of Japan's economy when the country was opened to Westernization, Japanese Buddhism has been better preserved and has met the impact of the modern world more successfully than Chiness Buddhism".[3]

The pre-Buddhist religion of Japan was a form of spirit and nature worship with no system of moral teachings or metaphysical doctrines. It was believed that, "there were numerous deities or spirits which shone with a lustre like that of fire-flies, and evil deities which buzzed like flies. There were also trees and herbs which could speak".[4] It was also believed that, the country was founded by the god who descended from heaven and established the state in the period when heavan and Earth became separated. These primitive ideas have formed the basis for certain systems of worship and formed the foundation of a national life on the worship of the 'Deity who originally established the State". This complex of beliefs and worship is known by the name, "Shinto", after the name given to it in the sixth century, and the 'Deity who established the state' came to be worshipped as the sun-goddess, the supreme deity of the Shinto religion. When this complexity of beliefs and whorship came to be organized in the course of several centuries up to the eighth, emphasis was laid on the supremacy of he Sun-goddess, who was naturally adored as the protectress of agriculture and as the ancestress of the ruling family.[5]

The establishment of Japanese colonies in the southern part of Korea, probably in the early centuries of the Christian era, military and diplomatic engagements with Korean principalities, the perpetual influx of Chinese and Korean immigrants, broke the insualarity of the Japanese and exposed them to continental culture, as by this time, due to the extension of Chinese influence and the consequent propagation of Buddhism, Koreans had undergone change and were much in advance of the Japanese. It was chiefly the Korean immigrants and some Chinese who introduced the various arts of civilization and writing, followed by the introduction of confucian ethics and Buddhism. The first name we have of a Buddhist in Japan is Shiba Tachito, a refugee from the eastern coast o China, who arrived in Japan in 522, probably through Korea. He is well remembered as a leader of the new movement because his family produced eminent Buddhist workers, the first Buddhist nun and greatest Buddhist artist of the seventh century who was Tori.

1. *Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*, 331.
2. *Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*, 333.
3. *op. cit.* 344
4. *History of Japanese Religion*, Masaharu Anesaki, 1971, 19.
5. *op. cit.* 20f

The official introduction of Buddhism to Japan was in 522 by a delegation sent by the Perince of Kudara (Pakche, a principality in south Korea) to Yamato as a sign of homage and friendship. Through Buddhism the Japanese learnt for the first time that there was a deity or superman who looked after the welfare and salvation of all beings without regard to clan or nationality. The people saw, to their astonishment and admiration, the figure of a divine being represented in beauty and adored by means of elaborate rituals. This was indeed, a new revelation which was destined to rule the faith and sentiment of the nation. The first presentation of Buddhist objects was followed by a continual influx of missionaries, artisans and other immigrants, reinforcing the influence of the new religion.

It was during the reign of Prince Shotoku that Buddhism was proclaimed as the religion of the State. This was accompanied by the foundation of a grand Buddhist institution comprising four establishments: the temple proper, an asylum, a hospital and a dispensary. The temple proper served not only for the performance of Buddhist worship, but it included departments for the study of Buddhist philosophy and the sciences, for a disciplined order of monks, and their training in arts and ceremonies. The three other institutions were the first of their kind and became the models for the coming ages. This institution was called Tenno-ji and was a group of religious, educational and philanthropic organizations. In 604 the prince proclaimed a new constituion of seventeen articles which laid special stress upon moral and spiritual harmony between the sovereign and the subjects, between the superior and his subordinates, which was propounded to be the essential basis of national life and government. "The rulership of a single monarch implied the equality of all people, just as faith in the unique personality of the Buddha as the saviour of all mankind presupposed the intrinsic value and destiny of every individual to be in communion with him".[1] The prince was a man of pious devotion and he endeavoured to explain his ideals and instruct his people by giving lectures on Buddhist scriptures in the palace and in the temples. For this purpose he selected three texts: (1) *Hokke-kyō* or the Lotus of Truth, expounding the scheme of Buddhist salvation, (2) *Yuyima-gyō*, the discourses of the lay Buddist sage Yuyimā (Vimalakīrti) and (3) *Shōman-gyō*, discourses between the Buddha and queen Shōman (Srimālā) of Benares, the ideal representative of Buddhist womanhood.

The most prominent leader of the Buddhist movements in the seventh century was Dōshō (629-700) who had studied in China under the greatest Buddhist scholar of that time, Yuan-Chang, and brought back with him new translations of Buddhist books produced by his master. Through these Dosho introduced the religious philosophy of the Hosso School, which was destined to exercise great influence. He was a pioneer of Buddhist philosophy and logic and other sciences. He spent the last years of his life visiting the provinces, building monasteries and alms-houses, making ferries, constructing bridges and the like, thereby becoming a model for Buddhist leaders of the next century. Buddhism also rendered great service to the government, in working to confirm the belief that the peace of the country and the security of the Throne depended upon the guardianship of the Buddha and his saints. Temples were dedicated to Buddhist deities, rituals were organized in the court and official buildings; copies of the sacred texts were distributed in the provinces bacause it was believed that these texts would secure celestial protection. At the time of the foundation of the Court Chapel (Nai-Dōjō, or Inner Sanctuary), an order was issued in 655 to set up, "a similar place of worship in every household throghout the country".[2] The work of civilizing the country and promoting charitable work lay mainly on the shoulders of Buddhist workers. The State capital was founded at Nara in 710 and the central cathedral later known as Tōdai-ji was erected in Nara and dedicated to the Buddha Lochana, a heavenly manifestation of the Buddha Śākyamuni. In the central cathedral in Nara he is represented in a broze statue more than fifty feet in height, seated on a gigantic lotus petal, studded with minor statues of Buddhas and saints. The structure was completed in 752 and its dedication was marked by a historic function.

Although Buddhism was the dominating force of the eighth century, the indegenous religion maintained its influence upon the people, and Confucianism played an important role in social and political institutions. The interaction between these three forces brought about a synthesis whereby, instead of reacting against Buddhism, Shinto raised its prestige by identifying itself more closely than ever, with the interests of the

1. *History of Japanese Religion*, Masaharu Anesaki, *60*.
2. *op. cit.* 82

central government by cooperating with Buddhism. The identity of the Sun-goddess with Buddha Lochana was formally proclaimed in connection with the foundation of the Central Cathedral, when an oracle was secured from the Sun-goddess identifying herself with the Buddha and giving sanction to the building of the Cathedral. Another, more important, alliance was accomplished by means of an oracle ascribed to the Shinto god Hachiman or the "God of Eight Banners" believed to symbolize the eightfold path of Buddhist morality. The oracle declared that the god wished to pay respect to the newly founded Cathedral at Nara and accordingly, the divine cart of the god was moved and kept in a Shrine, so that he could remain a guardian of the temple. Although his worship cotinued at the original site, he became a Buddhist-Shinto deity and played an important role in the later history of the Japanese nation.

The union of Confucianism with Buddhism was a more natural one, because the former was to supply the latter with its practical ethical teachings, especially in inculcation of virtues. In the two-hundred and fifty years since its introduction to Japan, Buddhism achieved great results by broadening the mental vista of the people, benefiting them in welfare work, while confucianism gave them a system of moral ideas and legal institutions, and extended educational influence in the service of the government in co-operating with Buddhism. However, decadence seems to have set in due to the abuse of wealth and power acquired by the hierarchy both ecclesiastical and political. Therefore, meaningful reform was the need of the hour, the first move in this direction was taken by moving the seat of government from Nara to Miyako, the modern Kyoto. This almost impossible task, resisted by the political conservatives as well as by the religious aristocracy, was accomplished in 794 assisted by Saichō, who, due to his deep dissatisfaction with the degeneration which had set in, in the system had left Nara and founded a small monastery on Mount Hiei. Saichō was rewarded for his contribution in the task by generous government donations to his institution. The result was a great centre of Buddism which was declared the chief seat of Buddhism in the country. In 804 Saicho was sent to China by imperial decree for "the search of truth". He came bake the following year with teachings of the Tendai School of Chinese Buddhism, together with material necessary for the performance of special ceremonies.

In 818, Saichō requested the government for an authorization to institute an independent seat of ordination which was resisted by the prelates of Nara. This dispute raged for several years, but was approved by the government, in 822, a week after Saichō's death.

Saichō's younger contemporary, Kūkai (774-835) went to China where he studied in the year 804-806 and became a master of the then flourishing form of Buddhism known as Shingon, a combination of mysticism and occultism. After his return, he founded a monastery on Mount Kōya, about fifty miles south of Kōya. After Saicho's death, Kukai was brought to fame in 823 when he was appointed to the headship of the State temple Toji in Miyāko. Buddhism advocated by Kūkai was an all-embracing syncretism of a highly mystic nature.

The period which comes next in importance to the period of Shingon Buddhism is the period of Amita-Buddhism, which was a religion of pious devotion freed from its association with intricate ritualism or methodic contemplation. The man who consummated this development of devotional piety was Genkū (1135-1212), better known as Hōnen, whose treatise written in 1175 signalled the independence of Amita Buddhism.

The fundamental tenet of Hōnen's religion was nothing but the placing of absolute faith in the redeeming power of the all-compassionate Buddha, embodied in the person of Buddha Amitābha, the Lord of the Western Land of Purity. Since the Buddha has completed his scheme of salvation of virtue of his long training and accumulation of merit, it is sufficient to take any and every person who will trust him and invoke his name, the "Name" being the mysterious embodiment of his saving power. The formula provided for this is, *Namu Amida Butsu* (Adoration to the Buddha of Infinite Life and Light).[1] Hōnen died shortly after his freedom from banishment, after which his followers divided themselves into several sub-sects. One of these was Shinran. He carried the idea of Buddha's grace to extreme conclusions. According to him, neither virtue nor wisdom but faith was what was most fundamental. It has nothing to do with our own intention or attainment, but is solely Buddha's free gift. As the foundation of salvation has been laid down in the vows taken by the Buddha Amitābha, the mystery of his name is the sole key to salvation. Our destiny is entirely in the hands of the Buddha, and it has been encompassed into his scheme of saving all.

1. *History of Japanese Religion*, Masaharu Anesaki, 173.

The School of Hōnen encountered the most formidable attacks from Nichiren, whose name meant, "Sun-Lotus" which symbolized a combination of Shinto and Buddhist ideals, the Sun embodying light and life, and the Lotus purity and perfection. He spent his early life studying all branches of Buddhism which gave him the conviction that Saichō's doctrine of the *Lotus of Truth* was the only true Buddhism. His contemplation led him to the conviction which reduced the whole of his religion to the uttering of the sacred title of the scripture in the formula *Namu Myo-Hō-renge-kyō* (Adoration to the Lotus of Perfect Truth). It was sufficient according to Nichiren to utter these words as it at once elevates oneself to the highest enlightenment of Buddhahood.

The next movement of importance was that of Zen, introduced by Yeisai (1141-1215). Yeisai had been a monk in Hiei, but being dissatisfied with the scholastic doctrinalism of the institution, made two journeys to China, mastered the new method of spiritual exercise and introduced it to Japan, in 1191. He founded the monasteries in Kyūshū and Miyako to train disciples in the method of Zen.

"Zen is an intuitive method of spiritual training, the aim of which consists in attaining a lofty transcendence over worldly care. The Zennist is proud to see in his method an unwritten tradition directly transmitted from Buddha to his great disciple, Mahā-Kāsyapa, and then successively to the masters of Zen. Not only does the Zennist defy reasoning and logic, he takes pride in transcending the usual channels of thinking. He denounces any idea to formulate tenets, for any formulation deadens the soul and life. Zen aims at giving an intuitive assurance of having discovered in the innermost recess of one's soul an ultimate reality which transcends all individual differences and temporary mutations..."[1]. Another leader and organizer of Zen Buddhism in Japan was Dogen (1200-1253) who too had been at Hiei and had been initiated into Zen by a disciple of Yeisai.

Zen, according to Anesaki, "Was introduced at the time when the military men were rising to the position of rulers and administrators. There was need of a religion which could fulfil the task of training the ruling class in mental firmness and resolute action and of satisfying their spiritual aspirations".[2]

Scholars of Japanese Buddhism had always been in the habit of going to China for new knowledge, whenever the need for a fresh approach to local situations was the need of the day. It was on the basis of such new knowledge acquired that new schools of Japanese Mahāyāna Buddhism came to be established and rose into prominence.

Mahāyana in Tibet. : It was in the early part of the seventh century A.C., during the reign of King Naradeva *(Miḥ ilha)*[3] that Tibet received Buddhism through the king's Nepalese and Chinese queens who were Buddhists. The princess of Nepal brought with her, as part of her dowry, the images of Akṣobhya Buddha, Maitreya and Tārā. The king built a great temple in the middle of Lhasa to enshrine these images. Nepalese architects and builders and craftsmen were sent from Nepal for work on the temple. The princess from China brought an image of Śākyamuni which is said to have been taken from Magadha by the Chinese about the first century B. C. This too, was installed in a great temple built by the king in Lhasa. Both wives were canonized as incarnations of Avalokiteśvara's consort Tārā, the goddess of mercy and the fact that they had no children is pointed to as evidence of their divine nature. The Chinese princess was glorified as the white Tāra and the Nepalese princess as the green Tārā. By persuasion of the two queens the king was converted to Buddhism. It is recorded that he ruled over the country on the basis of the ten Golden Precepts which agree with the ten rules of morality. A code of sixteen virtues was also formulated to convert his subjects. Many young men were sent to Nepal and China to study Buddhism. It was Thon-mi-Sam-bhota who was sent to India along with sixteen companions who reduced the Tibetan language to writing. From the time of its introduction, all historical events in Tibet as also the sacred Buddhist works were translated and written down in this Tibetan script. The king established several Buddhist centres and temples in his dominion and it was during his reign that the famous sandalwood image of Avalokitesvara which is worshipped even today, was brought to Tibet.[4]

1. *History of Japanese Religion*, Masaharu Anesaki, 208.
2. *ibid.* 210
3. *Buddhism in Tibet*, K. Krishna Murthy, 14f; *Religion of Tibet*, Charles Bell, 34f. The king was also known as Srong-tsan-gam-po.
4. *op. cit.* K. Krishna Murthy, 18.

In the years following the death of Srong-btsan-sgam-po, the progress of Buddhism in Tibet was on the decline. The king Khri-Ide-gtsug-btsan who ascended the throne in 750 A. C., championed the cause of Buddhism by building many monasteries and temples. He encouraged the translation of the Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. The next great king was Khri-srong-Ide-btsan (740-786). His rule marks the zenith of Tibetan power and the affirmation of Buddhism as the national faith of Tibet. It was during his reign that the Indian teachers Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava and Kamalaśīla were brought to Tibet. Shortly after Śāntarakṣita started teaching the *Dhamma*, an epidemic broke out and the adherents of Bon[1] the ancient religion of Tibet incited the people by alleging that this calamity was a result of the wrath of the gods at the introduction of this new faith and the presence of the alien teacher. As a result, Śāntarakṣita was advised by the king to go to Nepal. Later, he was invited back, but as resentment rose again against him, he advised the king to invite the Tantric teacher Yogi Padmasambhava, who was one of the celebrated teachers of the University of Nālandā. He was deeply versed in the Buddhist Tantras. He subdued all the evil spirits and local gods of Tibet by means of his *siddhi* power and Buddhism prospered. With him an era of great literary activity started in Tibet. He organized the *saṃgha* and advised the king to send a body of monks to study the Buddhist texts in the original. A site for a monastery was selected and the Sam-ye monastery was built after the model of the famous Odantapūri Mahāvihāra of Magadha. It was consecrated by Ācārya Śāntarakṣita. According to Waddel, the top of the monastic temple was built in Chinese style, the middle part in Indian style and the lower part in Tibetan style. Ācārya Śāntarakṣita was appointed the head of the new monastery. It had a number of fine Shrines and a good collection of Sanskrit works. Buddhism made steady progress. A controversy over the interpretation of the Buddhist teachings arose between the followers of Śāntarakṣita and the followers of the Chinese Ho-Shang. King Khri-srong-Ide-btsan invited Kamalaśīla from India to defend Śāntarakśita's interpretation. The latter won and the followers of the Chinese sect were ordered out of Tibet. Later Kamalaśīla was murdered by the Chinese sent by Hva-sang. Towards the end of the eighth century A. C., Padmasambhava procured a number of munuscripts of Buddhist texts from Kashmir and these were translated into Tibetan. During this period, there was much literary acivity and both Śāntarakśita and Padmasambhava collaborated in expounding the teachings of Buddhism. At their request many *Sarvāstivāda* monks came to Tibet to translate all Buddhist texts to Tibetan.

The period of King Ral-pa-chan (817-836 A. C.), who was a grandson of King Khri-srong-btsan and a champion of the cause of Buddhism, was an important period for Buddhism. He was so devoted to Buddhism that he made his youngest son a Buddhist monk. He gave the monks a number of privileges and administrative authority. He built a number of temples of which one went up to nine floors. As a result of his dedicated commitment to the cause of Buddhism, several Indian scholars came to Tibet. Prominent among these were Jinamitra, Śailendrabodhi, Surendrabodhi, Prajñāvarman, Dānaśīla and Bodhimitra. Jñānasena, Jayarakṣita, Mañśjuśrīvarman, Ratendraśīla and others worked under these as Tibetan translators. They were entrusted with the task of translating the scriptures and commentaries of Nāgarjuna, Āryadeva, Vasubandhu and others. According to Rockhill, at least half of the existing collections of Tanjur and Kanjur were done by these teachers and translators. The newly built nine-storeyed palace, On-chan-po, was a centre of this translation activity. It is also during the period of Ral-pa-chan that the history of Tibet came to be written for the first time. King Ral-pa-chan is held even today in high esteem by the Tibetans as he is regarded as the incarnation of Vajrapāṇi.[2] Till the ninth century Buddhism played an important role in the life of the Tibetan people.

However, the reign of Ral-pa-chan was also another era of set-backs to the continued progress of the religion. "Ral-pa-chan found that both Mahāyānist and Hinayānist books had been made in India, Li, Zahor, and other countries. Consequently there was a large influx of foreign words which Tibetans did not understand. And as the spelling lacked uniformity, it was difficult to study the religious books. He therefore revised the spelling and arranged for the compilation of a dictionary in which these foreign words were explained. He is said to have had the earlier translations revised according to the new spelling. He forbade the translation of works, except only those of the Sarvāstivādins, a Hinayānist sect, who tried to follow

1. Charles Bell uses the term *Pön* to describe this. According to him it rhymes with turn. *Religion of Tibet*, 8.
2. *Buddhism in Tibet*, M. Krishna Murti, 21.

the actual teaching of the Buddha himself, and eschewed subsequent incrustations. He prohibited the translation of works on mysticism. In fact, his object was evidently to purify the Buddhism that came to Tibet, to simplify it, and to render it intelligible to his people".[1]

This shift from the religion introduced by Yogi Padmasambhava naturally aroused the animosity of those who were used to the pro-pönist deities, miracles, ritual and ceremonies. It was only Tantrism which could naturally be of appeal to people of such a background. It eventually climaxed in the assasination of the king.

The assasination of Ral-pa-chan was followed by the suppression of Buddhist monks. "Some were made to marry, others were sent to hunt wild beasts with arrows, bows, drums, and tambourines - a magical implement among the Pönists-and those who refused were killed'. The doors of a temple would be walled up and plastered, and on the doors so plastered pictures of monks drinking wine would be painted. The work of translation was of course stopped. But the sacred books do not appear to have been destroyed. Pu-tön tells us that they 'were mostly hidden in the rocks of Lhasa'.[2]

After the assasination of Ral-pa-chan, his brother Lang Dar-ma who was opposed to the new religion was put on the throne, but his reign of cruelty to Buddhism did not last long, as he was murdered by a monk after a brief reign.

Lang Dar-ma's assasination was followed by the division of the kingdom into two by his two sons. Subdivisions followed and in due course the whole country was parcelled out among petty chiefs. The first steps towards the revival of Buddhism were taken in Am-do, a province in the north-east of Tibet on the border of China, far away from Lhasa, and spread gradually to the centre. The total period of suppression of Buddhism lasted about seventy years, but according to some, it lasted for about one hundred and eight years. With the revival, old monastic buildings were re-occupied, new ones were erected and disciples were enrolled. The work of translating Indian books too resumed. One of the first and most prolific of these translators was a Tibetan named Rin-chen Zang-po who was ordained a monk in the fifty-seventh year after the suppression of Buddhism, and is said to have lived to ninety-eight years of age.

The eleventh century saw the spread of Muhammadan influence in India. This was also the period when many Buddhist scholars went to Tibet. Among these, the one who exercised the greatest influence was Atisha.[3] He came from a royal family of Bengal. At an early age, he became proficient in the Vaiśeṣika system of Tantrism and defeated the most noted Buddhist logician of his time in philosophical debate. At the age of thirty-one he was fully ordained and given the Bodhisattva oaths by Ācārya Dharmarakṣita at Odantapuri. He took lessons in metaphysical aspects of Buddhism from the distinguished Buddhist teacher at Magadha. He travelled out of India, seeking further knowledge. King Nyānapāla heard of his great ability and encyclopaedic knowledge of Buddhism and invited him to become head of the Vikramaśilā monastery.

King Ye-sh' ed-'od of Tibet was a devout Buddhist who worked for the cause of Buddhism. It was at his invitation that Atisha came to Tibet in 1038 A. C. when he was sixty years old, and was received with great honour. He devoted himself to the preachings of Buddhism and strove to restore them to their prestine purity. He wrote a commentary on the *Kālacakra Tantra*. He introduced a new calender to Tibet. The famous Sas-kya monastery was built during his time. His main objective was to make every Tibetan an ideal Buddhist. Even to this day, he is regarded as a living spiritual guide in Tibet.[4]

Atiśa's great success into reverential acceptance and adoration by the Tibetans was largely due to his ability and dexterity with which he wove the Buddhist teaching into the belief and ritual structure which had been of appeal to the Tibetan mind. He was able to steer the growth of Buddhism into official as well as popular acceptance from the begining of its revival after the persecutions of the Ral-pa-chan period.

1. *Religion of Tibet*. Charles Bell. 43.
2. *Religion of Tibet*. Charles Bell. 47.
3. According to Murthy his full name is. Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Srījñāṇa. *Buddhism in Tibet*. 47 f.
4. *Buddism in Tibet*. M. Krishna Murthy. 47f; *Religion of Tibet*. Charles Bell. 53f.

With Atiśa's reformation started the *Kadam-pa* sect, the first sect in Tibetan Buddhism, based on his interpretations of the Buddha's teaching. It was expanded by Hbrom ston-pa, one of his renowned disciples. His disciples built the Rwa-sgren monastery at Hdam-pa for the propagation of Buddhism. They put more emphasis on the quality of the adherents rather than on the numbers. "The doctrine of the *Kadam-pa* sect is based mainly on the well-known works, such as the *Mdo-sdehi-rgyan-pa (Sūtrālankāra) Siksāsamuccaya, Byan-chub-sems-dhahi-spyod-pa (Bodhisattvācaryavatāra), Skyes-pahi-rabs-kyi-rgyud (Jātakamālā)* and *Ched-dur-brjod-pahi-tshoms (Udānavarga).* These works are known as the 'Six Basic Texts of the bka '-gdams-pas'. The adherents of the *Kadam-pa* assert that their doctrine is the confluence of the teachings of the *Kadam-pa* and *Mahāmudrā.* The *Kadam-pa* sect is divided into three sub-sects, viz., (1) The Canon sub-sect, (2) the Instruction sub-sect and (3) the Discipline sub-sect".[1] Its distinctive feature was its elaborate ritual and the propitiation of the deities. "The full importance of the Kadam-pa lies partly in the fact that it was the first sect to be divided off from the main body of Tibetan Buddhism, and partly that it was the parent of the Ge-luk-pa or 'virtuous way', which, founded three hundred years later, is now the leading sect.[2]

The tradition of Tibetan Buddhism established by Guru Padmasambhava in the eight century A. C., during the reign of king Khri-sron-Ide-btsan, came to be known as the *Nying-ma-pa.* As we have already noted, it was Padmasambhava's great skill with which he adapted elements of the traditional Pönist religion which won his teaching acceptance among the Tibetan people who were for ages used to the religion of the Pönist deities and ritual. This sect claims to have preserved fully the teachings of Padmasambhava and pays special worship to him, "in a variety of forms, both divine and demonical, expressive of his different moods at different times". The creed of this sect, therefore, contains traces of the primitive religion of Tibet. The followers of the sect are said to have preserved the necromancy of the Pönist religion. They adhere strictly to the ancient rites and ceremonies in the manner probably taught by the earliest Chinese priests and contain certain symbolical words which have been incorporated into the Kanjur and the Tanjur texts. It is known also as the 'Red Cap' sect because of the peculiar red cap worn by their Lāmās. It is also known as the old 'translation' sect as its fundamental teachings are selected from the texts translated by Guru Padmasambhava, Ācarya Śāntarakṣita, Mahāpaṇḍita, Vimalamitra of Kashmir and others. It is divided into several sub-sects 'based on the adoption of different revelations'. Prominent among these are, Dorje-tak-pa, Nin-dol-lin-pa, Kar-tok-pa and Na-dak-pa. The Dorje-tak-pa takes its name from the Dorje-tak monastery, the Min-dol-lin-pa after the Mindol-lin its pricipal monastery, the Kar-tok-pa after Lama Kar-tok and the Na-dak-pa after Nah-dag, its founder. The Nying-ma-pa sect divides the entire Buddha *dhamma* from *sūtra* to the Tantra into nine *Yānas*: the three *Hetulakṣaṇayānas*, the *yānas* of (*Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna,* and the *Bodhisattvayāna*); and the six *Pahalvajrayānas*, the *Vajrayāna* of result (the three outer Tantras, *Kriyāyoga, Caryāyoga,* and *Yogatantra* and the three inner Tantras, *Mahāyoga, Anuyoga* and *Atiyoga*).[3]

The *Kar-gyud-pa* is another important sect of Tibetan Buddhism. It is called a 'School of successive Order' or 'Oral Traditionalism'. Its followers believe that their precepts have been handed down through a galaxy of teachers starting from marpa who was a native of Lho-brag and lived in the eleventh century A.C. This sect was founded by him on the basis of the teachings of his teacher Naropa, the great Indian *Siddhācārya.* It has two main schools, Shangs-pa bk-brgyud-pa and Dvags-pa bka-brgyud-pa, and a number of subsidiary sects.[4]

The Sakyapa sect was founded by Khom Konchok Gyalpo. The predecessors of Khom were noted followers of the Nyingma-pa sect. It derives its name 'Grey Earth' from the colour of the soil where its first monastery was built in 1071 A. C. on the site of the present Sa-skya. Greatly devoted to learning, they proved to be excellent proselytizers when they came into contact with the Mongol emperors in the thirteenth century A. C. One of the Sa-skya hierarchs called Ḥphags-pa, became the spiritual teacher of Prince Khubilai of Mongolia, who, on coming to the throne as the first Mongol emperor of China, conferred the

1. *Buddhism in Tibet*, Krishna Murthy, 31f.
2. *Religion of Tibet*, Charles Bell, 59.
3. *Buddhism in Tibet*, M. Krisha Murthy, 26 f.
4. *op. cit.* 32 f.

sovereignty of central Tibet upon the High Priest of Sa-skya (1270 A. C.). This was the beginning of a new era of theocratic rule in Tibet. The Sa-skya-pa produced many eminent Tibetan scholars, among whom the famous Bu-ston (1290-1364 A. C.) ranka high.[1]

The Gelukpa sect traces its origin to Tsong-kha-pa, born in the province of Amdo in eastern Tibet in 1358. With his striking powers of organization and intelligence, he set himself to the task of removing all deviations and superstious beliefs and establishing a strong order of Buddist monks based on discipline and celibacy. The school came to be recognized as the 'School of the Virtuous' (Ge-lugs-pa) and popularly described as the Yellow Hats. In 1048 he founded the Ganden monastery, not far from Lhasa. The other two monasteries, Depung and Sera, near Lhasa, and Tashi-lhumpo, in the Tsang province share between them the highest religious power and prestige. They were all founded by the disciples of Tsong-kha-pa, within the next fifty years. The work of religious propagation in Mongolia and Siberia were continued by these centres of learning with such enthusiasm and vigour that after the influence of the pioneering Sa-skya-pas had dwindled due to internal rivalries, the Dge-lugs-pas came to be favoured by the powerful Mongol chiefs as spiritual leaders and later as temporal rulers of Tibet.

It was from the time of their third hierarch, Bsod-nams-rgya-mtso (1546-1587) that all hierarchs of the sect came to be regarded as Dalai Lamas of whom the most distinguished was the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (1615-1680 A. C.) upon whom the sovereignty of the whole country was conferred by the Mongolian chief Gusri Khan. After the preceding period of about seventy years during which the hierarchs of the Sa-skya sect reigned as rulers over a small part of Tibet, the recognition of the full and divine sovereignty of the Dalai Lama over the whole of Tibet was a turning point in Tibetan history.[2]

The teachings of the Zhiched-pa sect founded by Padmapa Sengje from south India were based on the *Prajñapāramitā Sūtra*. Of these, the *Nying-ma-pa*, the *Kar-gyud-pa*, the *Sakya-pa* and the *Geluk-pa* togethr with the pre-Buddhist Pön have survived to the present day. While the first three are the Red Hat sects, the Geluk-pa is the Yellow Hat sect. All temples and monasteries of the different sects are regarded by the Tibetans with equal respect and regard.

As in the case of the Buddhist missionaries who went to China, the most important aspect of the missionary labours of the Buddhist missionaries who went to Tibet was the translation of Scripture. All Tibetan texts are written in elegant and accurate Tibetan language. "Many monks came to India from Tibet to study the Buddhist texts with the distinguished teachers of Nalanda and Vikramaśila Universities. They acquired proficiency in Sanskrit literature under these teachers. On their return to Tibet they devised a system of vocabulary for translating Sanskrit techinical terms perfectly into Tibetan".[3] While in China, the translators paraphrased the meanings with some freedom, in Tibet a free paraphrase would have been regarded as a crime. To this day the Tibetans regard the printed word in works of history, medicine or of whatever subject as inherently sacred.

The Canon is known as Kan-gyur, i.e. 'the translated commandments' and the commentaries as Ten-gyur i.e. 'the translated explanations'. According to Pu-ton,[4] one of Tibet's most voluminous writers, the former contains one hundred volumes in one version, and one hundred and eight in another. The latter numbers no less than one hundred and twenty-five, embracing treatises on grammar, poetry, painting, biographies of saints, etc. 'The faithful accuracy of these Tibetan translations-an accuracy that shines forth wherever the Sanskrit originals are available for comparison-endows them with a great value at the present day".[5]

The pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet was known as Pön,[6] which appears to have been a form of Shamanism or Nature worship. Accoridng to accounts found in the official Chinese histories of the fifth and sixth centuries, when the Ponist religion was in full power, the religious rites of these Tibetans had included even human sacrifice.

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1. *2500 years of Buddhism*, 80 f.
2. *2500 years of Buddhism*, 81f.; *Tibetan Buddhism*, M. Krishna Murthy, 37.
3. *Buddhism in Tibet*, M. Krishna Murthy, 23.
4. Written as Bu-ston by Krishna Murthy (22) and Gokhale (in *2500 years of Buddhism*, 81).
5. Religion of Tibet, Charles Bell, 46.
6. According to Bell *Pön* rhymes with *urn*, while Murthy calls it *Bon* (*Buddhism in Tibet*, 2).

With the gradual spread of Buddhism in Tibet, Ponism lost its popularity and influence among the people. In its endeavour to make it strong and meaningful, many Buddhist sects were transformed as Ponism. Books dealig with meditational practices, rituals and philosophy came to be written which were nothing but wholesale plagiarisms of Buddhist canonical works. They founded monasteries and went in for philosophy, mysticism and a new fashioned magic. Religious festivals and processions too were incorporated.[1]

Growing suspicion regarding the genuineness of the Ponist scriptures developed into resentment against them. The king, as the royal protector of Buddhism, ordered that Ponist teachers be punished severely for their conversion of the sublime teachings of Buddhism into the Ponist scriptures. Although the Ponist teachers did not yield, and the transformation of the scriptures continued secretly, Ponism definitely was on the decline. But, it was on its recovery barely a half century after its persecution and the declaration of Buddhism as the State religion of Tibet. This recovery eventually led to the assasination of the Buddhist king Ral-pa-Chan and the persecution of the Buddhists in turn during the reign of Lang Dar-ma. As we have already noted, he too was murdered by a Buddhist monk after which Buddhism had its next phase of recovery.

Thus, once when Santaraksita was teaching Buddhism in Tibet during the reign of King Khri-srong-led-btsan, opposition to Buddhism was aroused by the Ponists when an epidemic broke out. It gave them an excuse to incite the people alleging that the calamity was due to the wrath of the gods at the introduction of the new faith and the presence of this alien teacher in Tibet. Padmasambhava who was invited by the king on the advice of Santaraksita was able to subdue all the evil spirits and the local gods by means of his *siddhi* powers. It was Padmasambhava who in fact found the correct technique to present Buddhism to the Tibetans in the language and the ritualistic symbolism of their Ponist religion. His great success in propagating Buddhism reduced the Ponists merely to imitating the Buddhist practices and the supporting religious institutions for survival.

Next, it was during the reign of Ral-pa-chan[2] in the ninth century that the Ponists were able to muster sufficient opposition to Buddhism as Ral-pa-chan favoured a serious deviation from the Buddism propagated by Padmasambhava. The resulting persecution of the Buddhsits had devastating repercussions on the progress of Buddhism and took some time for recovery. Revival as we have seen, started from an outlying region and gradually spread to the centre. It was the monumental work of Atisa who came to Tibet in 1038 A.C., at the invitation of king Ye-sh'ed -od that brought lasting stability to Buddhism, culminating in the recognition of the full and divine sovereignty of the Dalai Lama over the whole of Tibet later on.

What must be noted here is the important fact that it was the Tantric form of the Mahāyāna Buddhism that was able to survive in Tibet. The fact that even the native Ponist faith could survive only through wholesale adoption of the Tantric forms of religious practice as well as their supporting institutions goes to show the extent of the Buddhist influence on the total Tibetan religious culture.

Tantrayāna: By the seventh century A. C. when the first news of Buddhism reached Tibet, it was mainly the Toatric form of Buddism that prevailed in India. Tantrayana, "is an occult Buddhism which arose in the second century A. C., made its literary appearance from the sixth century onwards, and in the eighth century found its way into the Buddist universities as a subject on their curriculum. Only some of its sacred books, which are probably the oldest, survive in Sanskrit, but most of them are extant in Tibetan translations. The Tantra literature is still largely unexplored".[3] Tantric texts, were written in a peculiar idiom, a language of symbols and secret conventions, which in Sanskrit was called *Sandhyābhāṣa* (literally 'twilight language', because of the double meaning which underlay its words). This symbolic language was not only a protection against intellectual curiosity and misuse of yogic practices by the ignorant or the uninitiated, but had its origin mainly in the fact that the oridinary language is not able to express the highest experiences of the mind. The indescribable, which is experienced by the *Sadhaka*, the true devotee, can only be hinted at by similes and paradoxes'.[4]

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1. "They used to chant the famous formula. *'Om Matri Muye Sale du'* in place of the sacred Avalokiteśvara formula of the Lamas. *'Om Mani Padme hum"*. (Buddhism in Tibet, M. Krishana Murthy, 8).
2. Written by Murthy as *Ral-pa-can (Buddhism in Tibet*, 21).
3. *Buddhism*, H.W. Schumann, 157.
4. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 361

Tantrayāna developed into four separate schools as Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna which form the vertical division of the Tantrayāna. They are horizontally divided into four layers of realization.

Mantrayāna: The Mantrayānic conception of the essential identity of all beings with the absolute is interpreted as cosmic interrelatedness in popular Mantrayāna. While the Mahāyānists interpreted this identity nexus as present only in the sphere of the essential, the Mantrayāna believed this as present also in the sphere of the illusory. As a result, they came up with the deduction that it is possible to bring about any result by way of *mantra*, which in this context were understood as spells. This is explained as a misreading of the true meaning of Mantrayāna.

Correctly understood, *mantras* are syllables or sentences which a preceptor imparts to trusted pupils (*sādhaka*). They constitute the key with which they can unlock in themselves the way to the Absolute and thereby to liberation. *Mantras* in this sense are not the spells of a liberation magic. "A second instrument of the Mantrayāna are ritual gestures of the hands fingers (*mudrā*), which amplify the efficacy of *mantras*. For as any emotion expresses itself in a specific bodily reaction, so, in reverse, the assumption of a certain body or hand posture can produce the corresponding psychical state."[1]

Vajrayāna: It takes its name from the ritual sceptre of the Vajrayānic monk. As the world unfolds itself anew to each individual human being from the Absolute, he mistakes this to be two separate things whereas in reality there is only one, the Absolute. Each individual's essential identity with the Absolute is expressible in a secret seed *mantra* (*bījamantra*). An initiate who knows the *bījamantra* of a Transcendent Buddha or *Bodhisattva* can, by concentrated repetition call him out of Emptiness into spiritual existence. Thus, the supramundane figures of the Vajrayāna are not objective realities, but subjective experiences of the Absolute.[2]

The most important Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* have thus been canonised and fixed as five Buddhas who are the personifications of *Dharmakāya* and placed in the centre of the *maṇḍala*. Occasionally it is Akṣobhya, more often it is Vairocana, but usually Vajrasattva on whom the top position is conferred. From the tenth century onwards the term Ādi-Buddha is used to denote the personification of *Dharmakāya*.

Once the respective positions of the different salvation helpers had been established, the next step was to depict their positions in the transcendental world which have been expressed in terms of diagrams and maps. In the maps of the transcedental world, the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and subordinate deities were distributed to the four cardinal points of the compass and their paradises. The primeval Buddha, as the personified Absolute, is placed in the centre. These *maṇḍalas* served as aids for meditation in Tibetan monasteries.[3]

Sahajayāna: It developed in the eighth century A. C. and shows resemblance to Zen. Buddhism which had in that century followers in Tibet. Its most important text is *Dohākośa* of Saraha (pāda) which is a collection of 280 stanzas which are extant in Tibetan and (fragmentary) in Apabhramsa. "It is wrong to regard sorrowful existence and liberation as essentially different. *Saṃsāra* and Nirvāṇa are the same. They are *sahaja* 'twinned' (lit. 'born -together'), and do not exist side by side, but within each other. Not quite itself and not quite something other, the Twinned is neither existent nor non-existent. All diversities are thought-constructions; in reality *Dharma* is the same as non-*Dharma*, for all things are one; everything isBuddha. With regard to formal morality, the *Sahajayāna* way to liberation is characterised by unconstraint".[4]

The inner discipline of the *Sahajayāna*, according to Schumann, "can be summarised in the formula:know the mind, know your own thought. All diversity, *Saṃsāra* as well as Nirvāṇa, springs forth from mind. Only he who has realised the twinship (*sahaja* of *Saṃsāra* and Nirvāṇa) can acquire the absolute truth. The *yogin* has to hold fast to the (realisation of the) twinship, and regard all things as (essentially) alike. The world is enslaved by thought; only when the mind has ceased to be mind, does the true nature of the Twinned shine forth....".[5]

1. *Buddhism*, H. W. Schumann, 158.
2. *op. cit.* 160
3. *op. cit.* 163
4. *ibid.* 164
5. *op. cit.* 165

Kālacakrayāna: In the *Kālacakrayāna* man is conceived as an analogue to the cosmos; his physical and mental processes run parallel to the cosmic processes. The knowledge of the secret inner relation between man and the cosmos leads the initiate to liberation. The word *kālacakra* seems to have denoted the circle of the zodiac originally. *Kālacakrayāna* understands the term as the proper name of the Primeval Buddha who supervises the course of heavenly and earthly destiny. The primeval Buddha Kālacakra is the spiritual centre of the system and forms the hub of numerous *maṇḍalas*. Mystical identification with him reveals to the follower all the knowledge he needs for achieving his goal.[1]

Through all four schools of the Tantrayāna run the four horizontal levels of realisation which starts with *Kriyātantra*. It is ritual practice and is followed by those who consider cult as decisive. Second comes *Caryātantra*, the 'practice of conduct' of those who regulate their daily life according to the *Tantrayāna*, but have only a faint idea of its deeper meaning. Third comes *Yogatantra* in which the adept strives for the spiritual contents of the *Tantra*. The crown of the system is the fourth stage, the *Anuttarayogatantra*, the practice of supreme union in which the adept realises the full meaning of the *Tantrayāna* and experiences the Absolute.

As we have already seen in our survey of Tibetan Buddhism, it was the famous Indian Tantric teachers who were drawn mostly from the staff of the Buddhist universities who contributed in large measure to the stabilization of Buddhism in Tibet. It has also become clear from these discussions that it was only the Tantric form of Buddhism with its magic and spells to control the spirits of evil and destruction, that was best able to survive in the religious environment of the traditional Pönist faith.

In the preceding pages, we saw the extent of the transformation that the original teachings of the historical Buddha Gotama had gone through under the hands of the Mahāyāna teachers. Not only did they introduce new interpretations to the original teachings of the Buddha, in the process they transformed the historical Buddha Gotama to an apparitional body of a Universal Buddha who makes timely manifestations into the world as required.

The dissident monks who broke away from the main group after the Second Buddhist Council called their Council the Mahāsangiti as they had the bigger following than their opponents. They thus came to be known as the Mahāsaṃghikas, who as we have already noted, were the forerunners of the Mahāyāna. As we have completed our survey of the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism both in India and outside India, it is relevant to see how it relates itself to the original teachings of the Buddha as recorded in the texts of the Pali canon.

The Pali canonical texts are quite clear that the Buddha was a human teacher like any of the other contemporary religious teachers of the sixth century B. C. Gangetic regions of India.[2] This historical human teacher becomes transformed into a *nirmānakāya* of a Universal Transcendent Buddha in the Mahāyāna. As the Buddhas are Transcendent they cannot be seen, or heard by human beings. They can manifest in the world of the humans only through the illusory *Nirmānakāya* and through this the Buddha seemingly follows the ways of the world, undergoing birth, decay, and even death of which he in fact has always been, beyond.

Together with this transformation, the position of the Buddha changes from that of the human teacher to an object of worship and prayer. He becomes thereby endowed with the power to provide relief as prayed for and help as requested by the faithful, bringing him closely on par with the principal deity of theistic religions in most respects.

The term Bodhisatta according to the Pali canonical texts describes the being aspiring to attain *Bodhi* (enlightenment) and is used almost exclusively to describe the period of life of Prince Siddhattha up to his Enlightenment. In the later texts, it has been extended to cover the period from his conception to Enlightenment and also in the same sense to describe the period of the lay lives of all previous Buddhas.[3]

According to the Mahāyāna there are two types of *Bodhisattvas*, the earthly and the Transcendent. The first are those beings who have made their resolve to become *Bodhisattvas* and are on their way to its attainment while the second are those who have attained perfection in the *pāramitās* and thereby attained *prajñā*.

1. *Buddhism*, H. W. Schumann, 166.
2. *D.* 1.47, 70. The names and teachings of six of such teachers: *Gods in Early Buddhism*, M. M. J. Marasinghe, 3974, 33.
3. *D.* 11.1, The *Mahapadāna Sutta*.

They have refused to enter into *Nirvāna* in order to be of service to beings and are visible to the spiritual eye only. Through the concept of the *Bodhisattvas*, the Mahāyāna has introduced the two new concepts of saving or salvation through external power, and the transfer of merit (*puṇya parināmanā*). The *Bodhisattvas* willingly take over the burden of suffering of all beings in order to lead them to liberation.

The path to the attainment of Nibbāna according to the Pali canoical texts is the path of gradual training, gradual conduct and gradual practice[1] and requires individual effort. Although the followers of Mahāyāna accept that *Nibbāna* is attainable through the Noble Eightfold Path, they do not accept it as suitable for and within the capabilities of all. Faithful confidence in the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas is potent enough according to the Mahāyāna to take one to the Buddha Paradise wherein one matures to wisdom (*prajñā*) and Nirvāna. *Śraddhā* produces unimaginable (*acintya*) merit which is much superior to merit produced by *śīla*. *Śraddhā* can be given expression to by veneration and worship through stipulated ritual. Thus, the Mahāyāna introduced the two paths of *Śraddhā* and *pūjā*, obviating thereby the need to follow the path of spiritual development taught in the Pali canonical texts which required individual exertion.

The Mahāyānists claim that the Theravāda Nirvāna constitutes only partial emancipation and not the attainment of complete emancipation. They claim that the Theravādins attain only liberation from obstructing defilements, *Kleśāvaraṇa vimukti* and not liberation from those which obstruct wisdom, *Jñeyāvaraṇa vimukti*. This of course, is not accepted by the Theravādins. They argue that the moment one liberates oneself from the defilements, wisdom or *bodhi* dawns on him. Since this final attainment is the end product of a systematic process of training which matures the individual through to *bodhi*, it is far more realistic than the Mahāyānic claims of attaining liberation through the intervention of the Buddhas and the *Bodhisattvas*.

The Pali canonical traditions are quite clear that the Buddha taught the way to the attainment of enlightenment. The disciples who attained this final goal of religious endeavour as enunciated by the Buddha are described as *arahants* in these texts. In the Mahāvagga account of the early history of the *sāsana*, it is said that with the *Pañcavaggiya* ascetics attaining liberation, the number of *arahants* in the world became six (*"tena kho pana samayena cha loke arahanto honti"*).[2] The six according to this, comprised the five (*pañcavaggiya*) monks and the Buddha. When the number of disciples who had attained enlightenment increased to sixty, the Buddha addressing them declares, "I am freed from all snares both divine and human, you too are freed from all snares both divine and human".[3] As there is no distinction indicated between the attainment of liberation of the Buddha and that of the *arahants*, it is not possible to argue according to these early texts that the enlightenment of the *arahants* is inferior to the enlightenment of the Buddha or that the enlightenment of the Buddha is superior to that of the *arahants* as far as the purpose of enlightenment is concerned. The terms '*arahanta*' and '*Buddha*' in these texts describe the individual who has attained enlightenment. The Buddha, throughout the Pali texts, never calls himself the '*Buddha*' when referring to himself. Instead, he always uses the term '*Tathāgata*'.[4] He was referred to as the Buddha by his followers.[5] However, the Mahāyānist claim that the attainment of *arahanthood* is inferior to the attainment of Buddhahood is an ingenious misreading into the original textual position and one that is not substantiated by textual evidence. It is the Theravādins who later on got themselves caught in the Mahāyānic misreading and accepted that liberation can be attained through one of three *bodhis*, the *arahantabodhi*, *paccekabodhi* or the *sammāsambodhi*, thereby confirming the Mahāyānic interpretation.

The two conceptions of Nirvāna of the Mahāyānists are similar in certain respects to the Theravada concepts of *Sopādisesa parinibbāna* and *Anupādisesa parinibbāna*.[6] According to the Mahāyānists, when

1. *M.* 111.2: *"Anupubbasikkhā, anupubbacariyā anupubbapaṭipadā"*.
2. *Vin.* 1.14
3. *"Mutto'haṃ bhikkhave sabbapāsehi ye dibbā yeca mānusā. Tumhepi bhikkave muttā sabbapāsehi ye dibbā ye ca mānusā"*. *Vin.* 1.20.
4. *Gods in Early Buddhism*, M. M. J. Marasinghe, 20.
5. *Tenasamayena buddho bhagavā Uruvelāyaṃ Viharati" Vin.* 1.1 etc.
6. *D.* III. 135; *Vin.* II. 239.

the liberated attains *Apratiṣṭhita Nirvāṇa* he lives on without becoming extinguished by death in order to work for the liberation of all beings. This is similar to the Pali canonical idea of the liberated sages working for the spiritual welfare of the worldings *Pratiṣṭhita Nirvāṇa* is attained when the liberated individual loses all identity and becomes untraceable. This is similar to the *Anupādisesa parinibbāna* of the Pali texts.

Our survey of the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the story of its spread into countries outside India brings several important issues into focus. The missionary entry of Buddhism into any of these countries was not a single isolated historical event. It was in fact, only the beginning of a long and continuous line of live cultural contacts between the mother country and the recipient country.

While this continuous interaction provided much needed assistance by supplying resource persons as well as new scriptural material during its period of consolidation on new ground, it laid the foundation for the rise of different schools of Buddhism later on. While China and Tibet always looked up to India for such new inspiration, Japan always sought for such assistance from China, its principal benefactor.

Not only did Buddhism spread far out from the land of its birth, it has also been able to weave itself into the religio-ritualistic fabric of each country. It became not only an important element of the 'national spiritual culture' of each country, but became its principal religion as well. This meant that apart from its success in introducing its new spiritual culture into the new environment, each form of Buddhism also gathered a local identity because of which it became identifiable as the 'national religion' of each country, while at the same time conforming to a regional identity and also to a broader indentity between the two principal schools of Buddhism, the Theravāda and the Mahāyāna, all accepting the same teacher and the same fundamental teachings.

M. M. J. Marasinghe

MAHĀYĀNASAṄGRAHA
See MAHĀYĀNASAMPARIGRAHA ŚĀSTRA

MAHĀYĀNASAMPARIGRAHA ŚĀSTRA / MAHĀYĀNA SAMGRAHA is a Buddhist Sanskrit philosophical treatise of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Sanskrit original is lost, but it is preserved as a Chinese translation. There are three Chinese translations recorded. Nanjio's catalogue provides the following information of the Chinese Translations.

1183 ***Mahāyānasamparigraha śastra sho-ta-shan-lun***
.....Handbook, p. 686. Composed by Bodhisatva Asanga. Translated by Paramartha H. DDD. 563 of the Khan dynasty A. C. 337-589, 3 fasciculi.

1184 ***Sho-ta-shan-lun***
Translated by Buddhaśānta A. C. 531 of the Nothern Wei dynasty A. C. 386-534, 2 Fasciculi.

The above (two) works which agree with the Tibetan Nos. 1183 and 1184 are similar translations *k'yuen* Fascicle 9, fol. 1B SEQ Nanjio 261

1247 ***Mahāyāna Śamparigraha Sāstramūla Sho-ta-shan-lun-pan***
Composed by Bodhisatva Asanga. Translated by Hhuen-Kwan (Miouem-thang) A. C. 648-649 of the Than dynasty 3 Fasciculi 11 divisions.
This is a later translation of 1183 and 1184. *K-yuen-Lu* F. 9. Fol. 26.

There appears a certain discrepancy as regards the correct title of this treatise. Nanjio does not use the term *Mahāyānasamgraha* at all. A treatise bearing *Mahāyānasamgraha* is not found in the said catalogue. As quoted above Nanjio uses the term *Mahāyānasamparigraha śāstra*. Similary Mc. Goven (208-9) too had used the term *Mahāyānasamparigraha Śāstra*. Suzuki (p. 354) has used the term *Mahāyānasamgraha Śāstra*. Rahula (*Buddhist Encyclopaedia* Vol. II p. 133 ff) has repeatedly used the term *Mahāyāna Saṃgraha*. According to Winternitz (vol. II p. 340) Bu-ston in his "History of Religion" has ascribed *Mahāyāna Samgraha* to Asaṅga along with two other works *Pañcabhūmi* and *Abhidharma Samuccaya*. However the introduction to *Śrāvakabhūmi* of Asaṅga, edited by Prof. Anantalal Thakur in the *Tibetan Sanskrit Series* appears to solve the problem when it reports that the *"Mahāyana Samgraha"* is another name given to it (*Mahāyāna Samparigraha Śastra*), *vide* pp. 39-40; Bu-Ston, II. 140 (Obermiller's translation) Foot note-Introduction p. IXXV.

As regards its authorship there is no controversy. The authorship is accepted as that of the famous Yogācāra philosopher Asaṅga (circa 5th century A. C.).

The treatise contains a discussion regarding the chief doctrines and the religious stand point of Mahāyāna and its contrast with Hinayāna. It also contains a summary treatment of the essentials of *Yogacarabhumi Śāstra*. It is translated into Tibetan by Silendrabodhi Jinamitra and it is available in Tibetan. Catalogued by F.T. Suzuki in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka catalogue under the entry no. 5549. According to Bu-ston, the Tibetan Historian, this treatise had been constantly consulted by Tibetan writers on Buddhism in substantiating important doctrinal tenets (*A jewellery of Sāriputras* translated by E. Obermiller p. 38). Bu-ston himself quotes it several times. A commentary called *Mahāyānasamgraha Upanibanddhana* by an author named Aśvaghosa is also mentioned by Bu-ston (*op. cit.* p. 123).

In Japan there was a Buddhist Sect named the Shoron Sect based on the *Mahāyāna Samparigraha Śāstra*, which was subsequently absorbed by the Kegon Sect. (Mc. Goven 208-9). It has been translated into French under the Title *"Le somme du granaet Vehicul ed* 'Asaṅga-Loavain 1938 by E. Lamotte.

It is one of the most important treatises of Yogācāra of mahāyāna Buddhism. It contains a summary treatment of the essentials of *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra*. Moreover the treatise contains a discussion regarding the chief doctrinal and religious standpoints of Mahāyāna and its contrast with Hinayāna. Nagarjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika System of Buddhist philosophy declares "there is no difference between *Nirvāna* and *Saṃsāra* (*na nirvānasya saṃsārāt asti....*) in his *Mādhyamikakārikā*. In the *Mahāyāna samparigraha śāstra* Asaṅga goes a step further and boldly declares that all Buddha dharma of which *Nirvāna* or *Dharmakāya* forms the foundation, are characterized with passion, errors, sins of vulgar minds.

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MAHĀYĀNAŚRADDHOTPĀDAŚĀSTRA, "Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna" is a philosophical treatise of *Mahāyānā* Buddhism. Its Original Sanskirt text is lost but has survived among the Chinese translations. There are two Chinese translation available, one by Paramārtha (*Circa* 553 A. C.) and the other by Siksānanda (*Circa* 700 A. C.).

The Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of Buddhist Tripiṭaka by Bunyin Nanjio (Oxford, 1883) gives the details of the two Chinese translations as follows:

"1249 *Ta-Shan-Khi-Sin-Lun-Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda* composed by Bodhisattva Aśvaghosa, translated by Śikshananda between 695-700 A. C. of the *Than* Dynasty (502 - 557 A. C.)"

"1250 *Ta-Shan-Khi-Sin-Lun* Translated by Paramārtha in 553 A. C. of the *Lian* Dynasty (502-667)" - Nanjio p. 274.

The Catalogue further records: "The above two works are similar translations and they are wanting in the Tibetan *K'yuenla* Fasc. 9, Fol. 8B. Towards the end of the *Śastra*, Asvaghosa quotes a *sūtra* (probably *Amitāyus Sūtra* or *Sukhāvatī Vyūha*) on Buddha Amitāyus and his Buddhaksetra." p. 274. It is said that the treatise represents an advanced stage of *Mahāyāna* Philosophy of the 4th or the 5th century A. C. The doctrine which the treatise incorporates is *Vijñānavāda*, as taught by Asangha, and the teaching of *Tathāgata Garbha* and the *Tathatā* which occurs in the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. It is seen that the work attempts to synthesise the teachings of *Mādhyamika* and *Vijñānavāda* schools of Buddhism. Even at the present day the work is much studied in the schools and monasteries of Japan, and it is a favourite book of reference of *Mahāyāna* philosophy. However it is conspicuous that the Sanskrit Original is entirely unknown and is not quoted by the great masters of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism or their commentators.

The authorship of the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra* is generally attributed to the poet Aśvaghosa, the author of the *Buddhacarita*. Aśvaghosa the poet is sup-

posed to have been associated with the Royal Court of the Indo-Scythian Buddhist king Kanishka whose reign is generally fixed for the 2nd century A. C. But there is no consensus among the scholars as regards attributing the authorship to Aśvaghosa. As an advanced stage of *Mahāyāna* philosophy which was seen in the 4th and 5th centuries, is well reflected in the treatise. Winternitz doubts the authorship of Aśvaghosa. He conjectures whether the authorship has been attributed to the great poet with a view to secure a greater reputation for the book. If at all the author was non other than an Aśvaghosa, he prefers to call him Aśvaghosa II, a philosopher more than a poet, who may have lived in the 5th century A. C. Suzuki, assuming Aśvaghosa as the fonder of *Mahāyāna*, attributes *Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra* to Aśvaghosa. Professor Takakusu who holds that the authorship of the poet Aśvaghosa as out of question, says that the older Catalogue of Chinese texts does not contain the name of Aśvaghosa as the author (Winternitz, Vol. II. p. 348). In the biography of Hsuan Tsang the authorship is attributed to Aśvaghosa.

It is also said that Hsuan Tsang translated *Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra* from Chinese to Sanskrit and propagated it throughout in the five empires of India. Few Japanese scholars, especially Senshoi Murakami, also holds the view that the original *Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra* was in Chinese and was later translated to Sanskrit (Winternitz II, p. 349).

The French scholar Sylvain Levi discovered *Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra* in Japan when it was till then unknown in Europe. Under the guidance of eminent Buddhist priests of Japan, he studied it comparing it with the two Chinese versions and prepared a French Translation which he had no apportunity to print. Meanwhile Tecitara translated it into English after the second Chinese version under the title *Aśhvaghosa's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* (Chicago 1900). It is also, translated into English after Paramartha's Chinese Version by Timothy Richards, *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism.*

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MAHĀYĀNASŪTRĀLAṄKĀRA is a Buddhist Sanskrit philosophical treatise of Mahāyāna Buddhsim. Its Sanskrit original as well as the Chinese translation is extant. Nanjio's *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* records the details of the Chinese translation as follows:

> No. 1190 *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra Sūtra Śāstra Sūtralaṅkara Tikā*
> *Ta-Shan-Kwan-yen-kin-Lun*
> *k-yuen-Lu,* FASC. 9, Fol 16; Conc. 591. Composed by Bodhisattva Asanga. Translated by Prabhakara Mitra. A. C. 630-633 of theThan Dynasty A. C. 618-907. 13 Fascicule 24 chapters. It agrees with Tibetan *K-yuen-Lu-Sv.* Page 262.

The French Scholar Sylvain Levi discovered the Sanskrit original and edited it with a French translation (Paris 1907). His familiarity with Chinese and Tibetan enabled him to deal with the text much more efficiently than an authority acquainted with Sanskrit alone. The Text and the translation is described as a magnificent illustration of French scholarship (Nariman p. 314).

Mahāyāna Sūtralankara has been translated into Chinese by the Hindu Prabhakara Mitra in 630-633 A. C. The Tibetan translation was done by an Indian called Sakyasimha assisted by Tibetan *Lotsavas* or interpreters.

According to tradition *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra* was revealed by the future Buddha Maitreya to Asanga,

in the Tusita Heaven. The entire Sanskrit original is composed in memorial verses or *Kārikas*. The text describes tenets of Mahāyāna such as *Bhūmis* - the stages in the career of a Bodhisatta, the *trikāya* - three bodies of the Buddha, *Ālayaviññāna* - Store House of consciousness. As regards the authorship, the scholars hold different views. According to Sylvain Levi, the author of *Mahāyāna Sūtrālankāra* is Asanga. Futher he attributes its commentary also to Asanga. But Winternitz (p. 341) attributes its authorship to Maitreyanatha, the teacher of Asanga. Winternitz points out that the name of Asanga is not mentioned in the text as the author, but he is described as being "Proclaimed by the Bodhisatta Vyavadātāsamaya (Purifier of the doctrine). This might be an epithet of Asanga as well as of Maitreyanatha. Tibetan historian Buston attributes the commentary of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* also to Vasubandhu.

Hakuju-ui says "It is still a question whether the authorship of the commentary on *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* belongs to Asaṅga or to Vasubandhu" (Lanman Studies p. 99). G. Tucci has attributed six works including *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* to Maithreyanatha. He is of opinion that Maithreyanatha wrote the verses (*kārikās*) of all the six works and his chief pupil Asanga wrote the commentaries.

Apart from *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* another book named "*Sūtrālankāra*" is extant. The Sanskrit original is lost and the Chinese translation is available. Nanjio's "*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of Buddhist Tripiṭaka*" provides its details thus:

> No. 1182 *Sūtrālaṅkāra Sāstra*
> *Ta-k-van-yen-kin-lun*
> *K'-yuen-lu*, FASC. 9, Fol. 2a, Conc. 656 composed by Bodhisattva Asvaghosa. Translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva about A. C. 405 of The *Tshin* Dynasty A. C. 384 - 407, 15 Fasciculi. Some extracts from No. 1182, are given by Beal in his *Buddhist Literature in China*. Pp. 31, 101, 105.

The original Sanskrit text is lost. French scholar Edouard Huber identified the Chinese translation and edited it in French (1908 Paris). Fragments of *Sutrālaṅkāra* have been found in Turkestan, Central Asia.

Sūtrālanakara or *sutra Ornament* is a collection of pious legends after the model of the *Jātakas* and *Avadānas* which are narrated in prose and verse in the style of Indian poetic art. It comprises of a series of Buddhistic sermons in the guise of anecdotes transmitting morals inculcated by the Buddha.

The authorship is attributed to the great poet Asvaghosa the author of *Buddhacarita*, who is supposed to have been associated with King Kaniska, circa 2nd century A. C. As the *Buddhacarita* is quoted several times in the *Sūtralaṅkāra* it is clear that the *Buddhacarita* was composed prior to the *Sūtralaṅkara* by Asvaghosa.

(When referring to *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* of Asanga, sometimes scholars refer to it as *Sutrālaṅkāra* without the prefix *Mahāyāna*. This leads the reader to a difficult situation in distinguishing it from *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Asvaghosa, unless the author's name is given).

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K. Arunasiri

MAHINDA, the arahant *thera* who introduced Buddhism to Sri Lanka in the 3rd century B. C. According to the historical writings of Sri Lanka, the conversion of Asoka (q. v.) to Buddhism was effected by a venerable monk named Moggaliputta Tissa Thera. That he was a historical figure is proved by the discovery of an inscribed casket in Stupa No. 2 at Sanchi. This *thera* with the help of Asoka, held a Council and expelled many undesirables from the Order of monks. This Council also settled what the true doctrines of Buddhism were. The Pali canon as it exists today is said to have been redacted at this Council which was the third to be held after the Passing away of the Buddha. An important decision taken at this Council was to send missionaries to preach Buddhism in the outlying provinces of the Mauryan Empire and in lands beyond. Special importance appears to have been attached to the mission intended for Sri Lanka. It was

headed by Mahinda Thera who, according to the Theravāda tradition, was a son of Emperor Asoka. According to the Northern Buddhist tradition he was a uterine brother of Asoka and not his son. The tradition prevailing in Sri Lanka is that, Mahinda Thera was a son of Asoka by the daughter of a merchant of Vidisā (modern Bhilsa). The Theri Saṁghamittā, according to Sri Lankan writings, was the daughter of Asoka and sister of Mahinda Thera. Asoka permitted both his children to adopt the religious life so that he may become a kinsman of the Buddha's religion.

An inscription of about the 1st Cent. A. C. at Mihintale refers to the images of Mahinda Thera and three of his companions. Mahinda Thera arrived in Sri Lanka with four other theras i.e. Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla. These missionaries to Sri Lanka did not arrive immediately after the Third Council but tarried for some time at Vedisagiri (probably modern Sanchi) until the time was propitious. When Tissa, the second son of Muṭasīva (367-307 B. C.), ascended the throne of Sri Lanka (307-267 B. C.), Mahinda Thera and his four companions arrived at Mihintale. It is said that Tissa had been a friend of Asoka, even though the two had never seen each other. The new king Tissa, soon after his accession sent an embassy to Asoka, bearing costly presents. These envoys returned to Sri Lanka, also carrying rich presents. In addition, the envoys were asked to convey to Tissa, the following exhortation from Asoka. "I have taken refuge in the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*. I have declared myself a lay disciple in the religion of the Sakya son. Seek then thou, O' best of men, converting thy mind with believing heart, refuge in these best of gems". To the envoys returning home he said, "Consecrate my friend, yet again as king". Tissa had already assumed kingship and at the behest of Asoka he was consecrated a second time. Mahinda Thera would have learnt of these developments in Sri Lanka and realising that the time was opportune for the fulfilment of his mission, he arrived in Sri Lanka with his companions.

It is said that Vedisagiri-vihāra in the Avanti country was the starting point of Mahinda Thera's journey to Sri Lanka. This was the part of India to which his mother belonged. The tradition current in Sri Lanka is that the first meeting between Mahinda Thera and Tissa, the king of Sri Lanka took place at Mihintale on the full moon day of the month of Jeṭṭha (May-June; Sinhala. *poson*) in the 18th year of Asoka's reign i.e. two hundred and thirty six years after the Passing Away of the Buddha. The king was at Mihintale on a hunting expedition when he met the missionaries. A conversation ensued between them and the king was soon convinced that these developments were connected with his friend Asoka's message to him. Thereafter the *thera* delivered a serman the *Cūlahatthipadopama sutta*, to him and to his retinue who had then joined him. Soon after his meeting with the king, Mahinda Thera and his companions who formed a chapter according to *Vinaya* rules, performed at Mihintale the first *saṁghakamma* (Act of the Order) in Sri Lanka, by conferring ordination on a lay disciple named Bhaṇḍuka who had accompanied them. They remained at Mihintale that night. They were invited to come to the city the next day. The first sermon was preached in a pavilion specially built for the purpose. The next sermon was delivered at the Elephant Stables where larger crowds gathered to hear it. As the crowds who flocked to hear the sermons became larger the next congregation was held in the spacious grounds of the Nandana Park outside the city. The king offered the Mahāmegha garden to the south of the city, to be used as the abode of the missionaries. This was later donated to the community of monks of the Four Quarters. There was also a request from the ladies of the royal household to be permitted to enter the order as nuns but Mahinda Thera informed the king that it was not possible for him to admit women to the Order and that it could be effected if his sister, the *theri* Saṁghamittā (q. v) was invited to Sri Lanka. Accordingly it was decided to send a mission to Asoka to send the required number of nuns as well as a branch of the Sacred Bodhi Three to be planted at Anurādhapura. During the next three days sermons were preached to numerous congregations that had assembled at Nandana park.

The king inquired from Mahinda Thera whether Buddhism had got established in Sri Lanka but the latter replied that for that to be achieved, it was necessary to establish the consecrated boundaries so as to include the whole city within them. This was executed the very next day, the king himself having ploughed a furrow marking the boundaries of the consecrated area. In the days that followed, edifices necessary for the *Saṅgha* began to come up in the Mahāmegha garden. The institution named Mahāvihāra which in course of time became a great monastic establishment had its beginnings in this wise. About a month was spent in delivering discourses to people who had come from various parts of Sri Lanka. During the *vassa* period (retreat during the rainy season) Mahinda Thera went

to Mihintale to spend the retreat there. The king followed him and took steps to prepare dwellings for the monks. Thereafter Mihintale became a second monastery.

Steps were next taken to build a *stūpa* enclosing the corporeal relics of the Buddha. These were obtained by sending an envoy to Asoka, who handed them over. They were received by the king and the people of Sri Lanka with great rejoicing and ceremonial. As decided earlier, another mission was sent to Asoka to send the Theri Saṁghamittā and also a branch of the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Buddha Gayā. This request too was readily granted. Different classes of artisans to perform the various services necessary for the Bo Tree also accompanied the sacred object. The *Theri* Saṁghamittā and other nuns together with the Bo Tree arrived at Jambukola and they were received with great honour. In course of time the Bo Tree arrived at Anurādhapura and was planted on the terrace prepared for it.

When King Devānāmpiya Tissa had completed his religious activities, he is said to have asked Mahinda Thera whether Buddhism had been well established in his land. To this the *thera* replied that it had been well planted but had not taken root. He was told that the religion will take root only when a person born of Sri Lankan parents, studies the *Vinaya* rules and expounds it. The king's nephew Ariṭṭha who had already joined the Order and acquired spiritual attainments was chosen for the purpose and at an assembly of *bhikkhus*, he expounded the *Vinaya*. Thereupon the king was convinced that Buddhism had been very well established in his country.

King Devānāmpiya Tissa reigned for forty years and during the whole of this period, Mahinda Thera and Saṁghamittā Theri lived in Sri Lanka. They were occupied in the propagation of the Buddhist faith. The King died in the year 267 B. C. and was succeeded by his brother Uttiya who is said to have reigned from 267-257 B. C. The *Mahāvaṁsa* records that the passing away of Mahinda Thera took place in the eighth year of Uttiya (i.e. 259 B. C.). The obsequies were carried out with great solemnity. His corporeal relics were enshrined in a number of stupas including the one built at Mihintale. *Samantapāsadikā*, the commentary to the *Vinaya*, in its introduction, deals with the history of Buddhism up to the Passing Away of Mahinda Thera. See. MIHINTALE.

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Nandasena Mudiyanse

MAHIṂSĀSAKA, Var. **MAHĪSĀSAKA, (Skt. MAHISĀSAKA)**, One of the eighteen schools (*aṭṭhārasa ācariyavāda*) of Buddhism. These schools are sometimes referred to as *nikāya* or *ācariyakula*. At the second Buddhist Council, held a century after the demise of the Buddha the Vajjiputtaka monks who promulgated the ten theses (*dasavatthūni*) broke away from the original body of the *saṅgha* and named themselves Mahāsāṅghika sect (*Mahāsāṅghika ācariyakula*), the rest being left to appropriate for themselves the name Theravāda meaning "The Orthodox Clergy". The Pali commentaries and chronicles record that in the second century after the demise of the Buddha two other schools emerged from the Theravāda:- (1) Mahiṃsāsakas and (II) Vajjiputtakas. According to this tradition the Mahiṃsāsakas were the first to secede from the Theravāda. The Mahiṃsāsakas gave rise to two other schools: I. Sabbathivādins and II. Dhammaguttikas. The Sabbattivādins in turn gave rise to Kas'yapīyas who split later into two schools: Saṅkantikas and Suttavādins. Thus from the Mahimsāsaka school five other offshoots arose in course of time.

From the Vajjiputtakas four other seceding schools arose, to wit, (1) Dhammuttariyas, (II) Bhadrayānikas (III) Channāgārikas and (IV) Sammitīyas. Thus during the second century after the demise of the Buddha, from the Theravāda as the parent body, these eleven seceding schools arose, making twelve in all (*Paramatthadīpani*, *SHB*. Vol. XXXVIII pt. 1 pp. 80-83; *Dīpavamsa*, V. 30-54).

Vasumitra and Bhavya give a slightly variant version of the emergence of sub schools of this group. According to Vasumitra Sarvāstivāda branched off first from the Sthaviravāda (Theravāda) and from the latter appeared the Mahīsāsakas, Kas'yapīyas and Saṃkrāntivādins each from the other. Out of the Mahīsāsakas developed the Dharmaguptakas.

According to the Pali tradition Sarvāstivāda branched off from the Mahiṃsāsakas. Vasumitra takes Saṃkrāntivādins as an alternate name for Sautrāntikas. Thus according to Vasumitra the Saṅkantikas and the Suttavādins of the Pali tradition represent one and the same school called by him the Saṃkrāntivādins.

Some modern scholars believe in the emergence of two schools by the name of Mahiṃsāsaka, one earlier and the other later. According to this view the earlier Mahiṃsāsaka school goes back to the time of the first Buddhist Council. This makes the origin of this sect even prior to the secession of the Mahāsāṅghikas. The evidence for this view is said to be found in the Pali *Cullavagga*, in the episode of Elder Pūraṇa of Dakkhiṇagiri who was not a party to the First Council and who wished to have the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* as he had heard from the Buddha himself. In course of time that group of monks, who held Pūraṇa in high esteem formed the Mahīsāsaka School by accepting his seven rules which were not included by Mahākassapa in his *vinaya* code. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that in the Mahīsīsaka Vinaya, the second place of seniority is awarded to Pūrana, the first being given to Kaundinya. The Mahīsāsakas say that after the deliberations of the first Council were once more recited for the approval of Pūrana, who accepted the same after adding his seven rules (Prof. Przylusky, *Le Concile de Rajagrha*, as quoted in N. Dutt, *Buddhist sects in India*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 130). The Mahiṃsāsakas have much in common with the Theravādins and the Sabbatthivādins. They appear to represent a compromise. When they differed from Theravāda they borrowed from Sabbatthivāda or from some other school. This has made some scholars to think that the earlier Mahiṃsāsakas were with the Theravāda while the later Mahiṃsāsakas agreed with the Sabbatthivāda (Dutt. *op. cit.* p. 134).

The origin of the Mahiṃsāsaka school as seen above is not clear. Mrs. Rhys Davids renders the term Mahiṃsāsaka into English as "Earth Propagandas" (*Points of Controversy* p. XVII). This school is said to have held the view that the earth lasts for aeons. It is unlikely that a Buddhist school came to be recognised because of this view. It is very likely that most of the schools of Buddhism go back to the communities of monks which owed their rise to the missions sent out at the end of the Third Buddhist Council at the time of Emperor Asoka. The Mahiṃsāsakas may be connected to the mission of Mahādeva Thera. The *Samantapāsadikā* records that Elder Mahādeva was sent to a place called Mahisamaṇḍala to spread Buddhism in that country (*VinA*.Vol.1). The Mahisamaṇḍala referred to in the Pali sources had been generally identified with modern Mysore. Although the original seat of this school has not been located with certainty, it is possible that the distinctive name by which this school came to be recognised as a separate sect is derivative with some dialectical variation indicating their origin in the Mahisamaṇḍala, just as the use of the term Andhaka in Pali to designate a class of monks in the Andra country. This identification is fortified by the fact that the home of most of the subsects of the Theravāda school is to be found in the ancient mission territory. The name of a famous teacher in the group, or the name of the place where the group carried on their missionary activity, or a particular view to which they all subscribed supplied the distinguishing name for the school. In course of time in its development and spread the Mahiṃsāsaka school became the parent body of five other sub-sects (see above) and it drifted to the south as well as to the east of the centre of its origin. Thus we read of the Mahiṃsāsaka School as co-existing with the Mahāvihāra in Sri Lanka in the 5th century A. C. The pali commentaries, excepting the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, and the Pali Chronicles do not refer to the existence of this sect in Sri Lanka. However in a verse in the prologue to the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (*J*.1.p.1.v.9), the commentator mentions that Buddhadeva - a monk of the Mahiṃsāsaka sect, requested him to compose the commentary to the *Jātka* in Pali. Fa-hsion mentions that he found a copy of the Mahiṃsāsaka Vinaya in Sri Lanka which he copied and took along to China with his collection of books (*Kao Seng Fa-hsien Chuan* T 2080, p. 865). These facts establish that the Mahiṃsasakas were a recognised and a well established school in Sri Lanka and that there was no apparent hostility between the monks of this sect and the Theravāda monks of the Mahāvihara. They may have lived in harmony with the monks of the Mahāvihāra who enjoyed royal patronage and may have finally lost their identity as a separate school of monks by being absorbed into the Theravāda fraternity. Although the Mahiṃsāsaka Vinaya was found to exist in Sri Lanka at the time of Fa-hsien's visit, it now exists only in Chinese translation (Franwallnes, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist literature, SOR,* VIII, 1956, p. 2).

The records kept by the two Chinese pilgrims, Hsuan Tsang and I-Ching mention that they met the monks of the Mahīsāsaka sect in Uddiyana and in East-

ern-Turkestan. According to the biography of the translator Buddhajiva, the Mahiṃsāsaka Vinaya was commonly found in Kasmir. It is also a well known fact that Asaṅga of Purusapura in North-west India was at first a follower of the Mahisāsaka school, but was later converted to the Yogācāra school by his brother Vasubandhu. Thus it has been observed that 'much that is usually attributed to Yogācāra is either Sauttrantika or Mahisāsaka doctrine with a slight Mahāyāna slant. The Mahisāsakas had a monastery to the south of Takkasilā,(*Epigraphia Indica*, I, 1892, p. 238) and another monastery at Nagarjunikoṇḍa on the banks of the Krsna (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, 1929-30 p. 24). Although the original sect of the Mahiṃsāsakas still remains a matter of conjecture, available facts strongly suggest that the Mahiṃsāsaka sect had connections with the Mahisamaṇḍala of the Pali tradition which has been located in Northern Deccan and identified with modern Mysore. From Chinese testimony it is clear that the Mahiṃsāsaka was a school with distinct doctrines and with a literature of its own. The *KathāvatthuAṭṭhakathā* quotes and ascribes certain doctrinal views to this school. In the list of texts brought home by Hsuan-Tsang from India twenty two works of the Mahiṃsāsaka school are included (Franwallnus *op. cit.* p. 9). What was lost of the school in India and in Sri Lanka is preserved in Chinese translations. The history of Buddhism in China shows that the Mahiṃsāsakas constituted one of the main and influential schools in China. Their *Vinaya* remained the basis of a monastic discipline in that country. In the Salt Range, in Western Vahika, there appear to have been Mahisāsaka establishment. The *Kathāvatthu* does not refer to the Mahimsāsaka school by name though it refutes the unorthodox views held by this school. The author of the *Paramatthadīpani*, the commentary to the *Kathāvatthu*, mentions this school by name and says that the Mahiṃsāsakas held that the Noble Eight Fold Path was five fold (*Maggakathā Kvu.* XX. 5; *Paramatthadipani. SHB.* Vol. XXXVIII. p. 203; *Points of Controversy, PTS.* London, 1915, p. 347). With the Andhakas they held that there are two kinds of cessation (*Nirodhakathā*, *Kvu.* II, 11; Points of Controversy p. 136; *Paramatthadīpani*, *SHB*. Vol. XXXVIII p. 136). With some Andhakas they held that transition from one *jhāna* stage to another is immediate (*Jhanasaṅkantikathā Kvu.* XVIII, 6; *Points of Controversy, p. 328; Paramatthadipani* p. 194). With the Pubbaseliyas they held that the *nidānas* (links in the chain of Causal Genesis) were unconditioned (*Kvu.* VI. 2; *Points of Conroversy* p. 186; *Paramatthadīpani* p. 140). With the Uttarapatakas that space is unconditioned (*ākāsakathā*, *Kvu.* VI, 6; *Points of Controversy* p. 192; *Paramatthadīpani* p. 142), and with Sammitiyas that the acts of self-expression (*viññatti*) are *karma* and hence morally qualifiable (*Kvu.*. XVI, 7; *Points of Controversy* p. 221, *Paramatthadipani*, p. 170).

With the Sammitiyas and Mahāsanghikas they held that three factors of the Eightfold Path are material and not mental (*Kvu.* X, 2) and that the path was five-fold (*Kvu.* XX, 5; Points of Controversy p. 24). With the Hetuvādins they held that the spiritual faculties are not for those in worldly life (*Kvu.* XIX, 8; *Points of Controversy* p. 342; *Paramatthadīpani*, p. 200).

M. Karaluvinna

MAHISAMAṆḌALA, Var. Mahisakamaṇḍala, Mahinsakamaṇḍala, (raṭṭham) Mahisaṃ (*VinA* I. p. 63, 66), name of a country converted by Elder Mahādeva, one of the missionaries sent during Emperor Asoka's reign after the third Buddhist Council. The *Samantapāsādikā* mentions that elder Mahādeva went to the principality of Mahisamaṇḍala, and to convert the people, he preached the sermon named 'Divine Messengers' (*Devadūta-sutta*, M. *III*. pp. 178-87). At the conclusion of the discourse, forty thousand beings gained insight into the *dhamma*, and a further forty thousand beings entered the Order. The *Mahāvamsa* and the *Dīpavamsa* corroborate this statement (*Mhv.* XII, v. 4, 29; *Dpv.* viii. 5. p. 60). The subsequent history of Buddhism in this country is obscure and Buddhism did not get deep rooted in the soil of Mahisamaṇḍala, as it did in Sri Lanka.

Mahisamaṇḍala is generally taken as the modern Mysore (See. Smith. *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 3rd ed. 1958; p. 122). But other scholars like Fleet contend that this identification is hardly correct. He postulates Mahisamaṇḍala as "territory of the Mahisha" of which the capital was Mahishmatī. Fleet agrees with Pargitar in placing the capital of Mahisha on the island of the Narbadā river, now known as Mandhāta (Fleet, *JRAS.* 1910, pp. 425-47). Geiger also says that Mahisamaṇḍala is a district south of the Vindhyan mountains, (Geiger, *Trsl. Mhv.* p. 84. n 5).

M. Karaluvinna

MAHIYAṆGANA THŪPA is an ancient *Thūpa* in Sri Lanka, situated on the banks of the river Mahaveli (*Mahāvālukā Nadī*) in the Uva Province, about 20 miles from Badulla, the provincial capital city. According to the *Eluattanagaluvaṃsa* (1392 A. C.), the Sinhala translation of the Pali *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa* (Dambadeniya Period 1231-1271 A. C.), the area was known in the olden days as Minibe (modern Minipe), so called due to the presence of a variety of gems (*Eluattanagaluvaṃsa*, ed. M. Piyaratana, Colombo 1953 p. 4-5). Reckoned by the ancient tradition as built on the spot sanctified by the Buddha by way of sitting on the spot, and also due to its recognition by the same tradition as the first ever *thūpa* to be built in the island, Mahiyaṅgana thūpa is regarded as the oldest Buddhist shrine in Sri Lanka. In the enumeration of the 16 places sanctified by the Buddha in the Island, Mahiyangana occupies the first place:

Mahiyaṅganaṃ Nāgadīpaṃ
Kalyānaṃ pādalañcanaṃ
Divāguhaṃ Dīghavāpi
Cetiyañca Mutiṅganaṃ
Tissamahāvihārañca
Bodhiṃ Māricavaṭṭiyaṃ
Soṇṇamāli mahā cetiyaṃ
Thūpārāma' bhayāgiriṃ
Jetavanaṃ Selacetiyaṃ
Tathā Kācaragāmakaṃ
Ete solasa ṭhānāni
Ahaṃ wandāmi sabbadā

According to popular tradition the Buddha paid three visits to the island out of which it was Mahiyaṅgana he visited first. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. I verse 19-36) describes the first visit of the Buddha to the island (*Mahiyaṅgana*) and the establishment of the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa and its history up to the reign of king Duṭṭhagamini (q.v.).

As narrated in the *Mahāvaṃsa* the Buddha foresaw Sri Lanka as the place where the *Sāsana* would be finally established (in the future) and for the purpose of removing the Yakkhas who were residing there to facilitate the establishment of the *sāsana*, he visited the island on the Full Moon Day of the month *Phussa* (December - January), nine months after the enlightenment. On the day, as the story runs, there was a great assembly of Yakkhas in the Mahānāga Park, which was three *yojanas* in length and one *yojana* in width, on the banks of the river Mahāvālukā. The Buddha came to Mahiyaṅgana and appeared in the sky over the assembly of Yakkhas above the spot where the Mahiyaṅgana thūpa was to be established and frightened the yakkhas with rain, storm and darkness.

Mahiyaṅganathūpassa ṭhāne Vehāsayaṃ ṭhito
Vuṭṭhivātandhakārādiṃ tesaṃ saṃvejanamakā
(Mhv. Ch. I. *v.* 24)

The *yakkhas* were frightened and begged mercy of the Buddha. The Buddha replied, "I will surely take away your suffering and the fear, give me a place to sit, with the consent of all" (*Mhv.* Ch.I. *v.* 26). The Buddha thereafter dispelled their fear, removed the cold and the darkness and sat spreading the *cammakaṇḍa* (the hide used for sitting) and extended it further to emanate heat. The *yakkhas* afflicted with heat and fear stood around. The Buddha made them to embark on a beautiful island called Giridīpa, which was brought there for the purpose and launched it back to where it was, after the *yakkhas* stepped on to it.

Thereafter the Buddha preached the *Dhamma* to the *Devas* who had assembled there and many of them realised the *Dhamma*. When the Buddha was about to leave, Mahāsumana Devinda of Sumanakūṭa who attained the state of *Sotāpanna* (stream entry) begged of the Buddha to provide him with an object of worship. The Buddha gave him a hand-full of hair from his head. Mahāsumana Devinda received the hair in a golden container and enshrined it in a *thūpa* of blue sapphire seven cubits high, erected on the spot where the Buddha was seated. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* (*MhvA.* I 98) commenting on it, provides additional information in giving the circumference of this *Thūpa* as 120 cubits.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* proceeds further to say that when the Buddha attained *Parinibbāna*, a monk named Sarabhu, a pupil of Sāriputta Thera, extracted the collar bone of the Buddha from the funeral pyre through his psychic powers (*iddhi*), proceeded to Sri Lanka accompanied by *bhikkhus*, deposited the collar bone in the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa itself and covered it (original *thūpa*) with a *thūpa* 12 cubits in height built with golden coloured stones (*Medavaṇṇapāsāna*). The *Vamsattappakāsini* (*ibid*) provides further information to say that the *Medavaṇṇapāsāna* stones were brought from the realm of Nāgas (Nāgabhavana) by two powerful novices Sumana and Sīvali.

However it is to be noted that the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (q.v.) that describes the Buddha's *Parinibbāna* and the cremation of his body does not say anything

about a *bhikkhu* named Sarabhu extracting the collar-bone from the Buddha's funeral pyre and no mention of Sarabhu is found anywhere else.

Though the *Dīpavaṃsa* records the arrival of the Buddha and the subduing of *yakkhas* conspicuously does not mention the establishment of the Mahiyangana Thūpa. But says that the Buddha stood on the spot where Subaṅgana Thupa was built (later) (*Dipavaṃsa* Ch. I. *v.* 52). Therefore it is possible that the Mahiyangana Thūpa site was earlier known, as Subaṅgana or it might have been another name for the same site. The *Mahāvaṃsa* speaks of the immediate building of the *thūpa* while the *Dīpavaṃsa* has identified the site only. Apparently the *Dīpavaṃsa* names the site where the *thūpa* would be built in the future. The absence of the establishment of the Mahiyaṅgana thūpa in the *Dīpavamsa* needs examination by students of history. Further the *Mahāvaṃsa* does not attribute the establishment of the *Thūpa* to human beings. It attributes the establishment of the *thupa* on earth to non human beings, namely Mahasumana Devinda of SumanaKūṭa. Has the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* tried to pre date the establishment of the Mahiyangana Thūpa? i.e. connect it's founding with the Buddha's first visit to Sri Lanka.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* does not conclude the story of the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa at the point of Bhikkhu Sarabhu's enlargement of the Thūpa and leaps to the reign of Devānampiyatissa, three centuries forward and says that a prince named Uddha Cūlabhaya, a Brother of Devānampiyatissa, enlarged the cetiya and made it thirty cubits high.

> *Devanampiyatissarañño bhātu kumārako*
> *Uddha Culābhayo nāma taṃ cetiyaṃ abbhutaṃ*
> *Taṃ chādetva kāresi tiṃsahatthuccacetiyaṃ* (*Mhv.* I. *v.* 40-41)

We are hearing of this brother of Devānampiyatissa for the first time and no mention of him is found elsewhere. Malalasekara (*DPPN.* Vol. I, p. 384) mentions him as a nephew of Devānampiyatissa, perhaps by an over sight. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* (*MhvA.* Vol. I) describes him as a son of Muṭasiva and adds that Uddhacūlabhaya having seen the *stūpa* being worshipped by Arahants, *devas*, *nāgas* and *gandabbas* proceeded to improve it. According to the *Saddharmālaṅkara* (late 13th century A. C.) the Sinhala translation of the Pali *Rasavāhini* (early 13th century) it was Devanampiyatissa who got the *cetiya* raised to 30 cubits through his brother Cūlābhaya (*Saddharmālaṅkāraya* ed. M. Piyaratana, Colombo 1971. p. 404).

From the reign of Devanampiyatissa the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* takes the reader direct to the period of Duṭṭhagāmini. Accordingly it is said that Duṭṭhagāmini while subduing Tamils, staying at Mahiyangana raised the *cetiya* to a height of eighty cubits (from the 30 cubits raised by Uddha Cūlābhaya).

> *Maddantō Damile Rājā Tatraṭṭho Duṭṭhagāmini*
> *asītihatthaṃ kāresi tassa Kañcuka Cetiyaṃ*
> *Mahiyaṅganathūpo'yaṃ eso evam patiṭṭhito* (*Mhv.* Ch. I. 40-42)

When we peruse the relevant chapters discussing the Duṭṭhagamini episode, it is seen that his raising the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa is absent, though his fighting with Tamils at Mahiyaṅgana is described (*Mhv.* Ch. XXV. *v.* 7). However it is highly unrealistic that a king while engaged in a fierce battle with a powerful enemy devoting his time, energy and materials to put up a *thūpa* on the way no sooner he commenced his campaign.

The *Mahāvāṃsa* account on the founding and the history of the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa in the first chapter, almost at the beginning (*vv* 33-43) appear out of place. The *Mahāvaṃsa* author at this point is discussing the Buddha's first visit to the island, which the Buddha is said to have undertaken nine months after attaining Enlightenment. He had yet to deal with the other two visits of the Buddha to the island, the Buddha's *parinibbāna*, three Buddhist Councils, the introduction of Buddhism to the island etc. His accommodation of the Mahiyaṅgana story while discussing an event that is said to have happened when the Buddhasāsana was only nine months old, add to the inference that he was making an effort to predate the founding of the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa which happened on a subsequent date in history. Yet, it is pre mature to discard the *Mahāvaṃsa* record of the founding of the Mahiyanganacetiya, which is definitely not less than 1500 years old, till archaeological or literary evidence to the contrary is encountered.

Whatever may be the case, the Mahiyaṅgana- thūpa should be one of the earliest *thupas* in the island. The Sinhala *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, the translation of the Pali *Mahabodhivaṃsa* of Upatissa (circa 11th century A. C.) which itself is based on the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā*-

Bodhivaṃsa of the Anuradhapura period, enumerates it as one of the places where the thirty two seedlings of light fruits of the *Srīmahābodhi* (*Itaresaṃ catunnaṃ phalānaṃ bījehi jāte dvattīnsa taruṇa Mahabodhīpādape-Mahābodhivaṃsa* p. 162) were planted (*Sinhala Bodhivaṃsaya* ed. Samaranayake, D.P.R., Colombo 1970. p. 329). The Mahiyaṅgana cetiya is mentioned in the *Kuṇḍisaṅghassavatthu* in the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*, a Pali treatise, thought to have been written during the Anuradhapura period (ed. Buddhadatta, Colombo, 1959. p. 69).

The appearance of the Bodhi concerned extant upto date at Mahiyaṅgana testify to the age of the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa, which should be calculated as several thousands of years.

Improvements and renovations effected by various kings to the Mahiyangana Cetiya are recorded in the Chronicles. Voharakatissa (209-231 A. C.) erected a parasol over the Mahiyaṅgana Stūpa (*Mhv. xxxvi V* 34). The native place of three Lambhakaṇṇa princes Sanghatissa, Sanghabodhi and Goṭābhaya was Mahiyaṅgana (*Mhv. xxxvi V* 58-59). According to the *Eluattanagaluvaṃsaya* (1392 A. C.) the Sinhala translation of the Pali *Hatthavanagallavaṃsa* (Dambadeniya Period 1236-1271 A. C.). Prince Sanghabodhi was entrusted to his uncle Nanda Thera by his father Khattiya Selābhaya at the Mahiyaṅgana Temple. (*Eluattanagalu Vaṃsaya* ed. M. Piyaratna, Colombo, 1953. p. 7).

Sena IV (853-887 A. C.) gave a village for the maintenance of the Mahiyaṅgana Cetiya (*Mhv.* Ch. LI *v.* 74). Similarly Kassapa IV gave a village for its maintenance (*Mhv.* Ch. LII *v* 14). Mahiyangana is one of many shrines found dilapidated and repaired by Vijayabāhu I (1059-1114 A. C. (*Mhv.* LX *v.* verse 59). Parakramabahu VI (1410-1468 A. C.) too is said to have effected some repairs to it (*Mhv.* XCI. *v.* 29).

Though the Mahiyangana thūpa was dilapidated due to ravage of time it was not abandoned completely and it was a popular destination for pilgrimages even during the Kandyan period. Several Kandyan kings had visited it on pilgrimage. King Virawickrama of Senkadagala (circa 1541 A. C.) is said to have gone to Mahiyaṅgana Cetiya on foot from his capital covering a distance of seven *gāvutas* and held a great festival in honour of the *Thūpa* (*Mhv.* Ch. XCII). King Narendrasinghe (1707-39 A. C.) is said to have visited the Thūpa thrice (*Mhv.* Ch. XCVIII. *v.* 27 ff); King Vijayarājasinghe (1739-1747 A. C.) held a magnificent festival in it's honour; King Kirti Sri Rajasinghe (1747-1782 A. C.) made a pilgrimage to the spot and also facilitated pilgrims from Siam to visit the shrine and to hold celebrations there (*Mhv.* Ch. C *v.* 125 f). Rajasinghe II was born at Mahiyaṅgana while his parents were staying there for protection.

It is significant that the Mahiyaṅgana Temple is mentioned in the Badulla Pillar inscription, which Paranavithana assigns to the reign of Udaya IV (946-54 A. C. (*Epigraphia Zelanica*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 176-95). The inscription concerned was meant to regulate trade and avoid malpractices. It was established, as a result of inhabitants complaining to the king who visited the shrine, about corrupt practises prevailing at the time. The edict in the incription prescribes that a fine in the form of a certain quantity of oil to be imposed on the traders who engaged in trade on religious days, i.e. on *Poya* days, and the oil to be used for lighting lamps at the Mahiyangana Thūpa. Though Mahiyangana was a favourite destination of pilgrims continuously, it was in a dilapidated state by the tern of the 19th century. There is no record of major repairs after the repair of Vijayabahu I (1059-1114 A. C.). It was almost a heap of fallen bricks. The repairing of the Minipe irrigation scheme by the Government brought the surrounding areas under plough in the nineteen thirties. Soon the area became a flourishing agricultural area producing an abundance of rice, the staple food. The attention of the Buddhists in the area as well as those outside at this juncture was directed towards repairing of the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa. Mahiyaṅgana Restoration Society was formed and the foundation stone was laid in 1949 for the restoration of the *Thūpa*.

Though not covered by section 19 of the Antiquities Ordinance on account of its location out side crown land, the Dept. of Archaeological Survey of Ceylon undertook the excavation on a request made by the Chief High Priest of the Mahiyaṅgana temple. The main purpose of the work was to ascertain the various stages of the history of the monument and the platform on which it was built, with a view to furnish data for the preparation of designs for restoration work. The debris formed by the collapse of successive restoration was cleared in order to expose the original brickwork. In the course of clearing they came across a relic chamber dating from the 11th century A. C. that is very significant historically. The relic chamber was opened on January 3, 1951 in the presence of the

Mahanayaka of Asgiriya and other distinguished persons. To the astonishment of everyone, it was found that the inner walls of the relic chamber were painted. Although the *Mahavamsa* (*Mhv.* Ch. XXX) records the painting of the inner walls of the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa no specimen of it had been discovered. This is the first occasion a relic chamber with paintings inside was discovered. Therefore it is a very significant discovery.

The removal of the covering slab of the relic chamber had revealed that the painted plaster of the inner walls of the Relic Chamber had, mostly, peeled down due to dampness. All the fragments were carefully collected, chemically treated and put together in the laboratory. The largest preserved fragment 1 ft. 4 inches by 1 ft. 71/2 inches depicts the Buddha seated under the Bodhi Tree with a sage looking bearded personage, probably a denizen of one of the lower Brahma worlds. The main scene represented in the paintings appears to have been the Enlightenment of the Buddha, on which occasion, the gods and Brahmas and other superhuman beings of the three worlds are said to have come to pay homage to the Great Sage. It is interesting to find among those divine personal, Viśnu holding a tray of flowers in two of his four hands, and Śiva with his trident. Apart from the gods are Brahmas; there are a number of figures with shaven heads draped in the garb of monks. If the scene represented is the Enlightenment, these figures cannot represent the disciples of the Buddha. They may be identified as the denizens of the upper Brahma worlds - those of the Pure Abodes. Above the head of one of these superior Brahmas, is seen a flying figure armed with swords and shields who may represent Māra, the Evil One retreating from the scene after his discomfiture (*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Administrative Report,* 1951, p. 16-18).

Paranavitana is of the view that this Relic Chamber belongs to the reign of Vijayabahu I (1058-1114 A. C.) who repaired the *Thūpa* for the last time, after the destruction of the *Thupa* at the hands of Cholas during the first half of the eleventh century (*ibid.* p. 17). After removing the debris of the collapsed, successive enlargements, restoration work commenced covering the inner brick *thūpa*, which they identified to be the original brick *thūpa*. The repairs were successfully completed. The enshrinement in the new Relic Chamber took place on September 19, 1956 and the Garbhanidhāna and the opening of the pinnacle took place on 12th October 1961 at an auspicious moment.

What is unfortunate in this restoration work is that all ancient features of the *Thūpa* have been erased in the course of these repairs and the *Thupa* looks entirely a modern *Thūpa* today. The shrine belongs to the Asgiriya Chapter of the Siamese Sect and it is under the Administration of the Chief High Priest of the Mahiyaṅgana Vihāra. See PLATES LI, LII, and LIII.

K. Arunasiri

MAITREYA See **METTEYYA**

MAITRĪ See METTĀ, BRAHMAVIHĀRA

MAJJHIMADESA, *var.* **Majjhimapadesa** (*DA.* I. p. 173), **Majjhadesa** (*Mhbv.* p. 12), Skt. **Madhyadeśa**, a territorial division, and generally refers to the central Region of Buddhist India where the Buddha was born and his early missionary activities flourished. There was an ancient division of India (about 650-325 B. C.) into five zones, namely Madhyadesa (The Middle Country), Pūrvadesa or Pracya (the East), Dakṣinapatha (The South), Aaparanta or Pracitya (The West) and Uttarapatha or Udicya (the North). The most central of these divisions is Madhyadesa, and the terms Dakṣinapatha, Uttarapatha, *etc.*, came into vogue only in regard to Madhyadesa (See Bhandarkar, *Ancient History of India*; Calcutta, 1919, pp. 42-46; S. K. Chatterji, *The Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. I, p. 46). There are several passages in the Buddhist literatures that give the boundaries of the Majjhimadesa. It was bounded to the East by the town of Kajangala, beyond which was Mahāsāla, to the South-east by the river Salalavati (*var.* Sallavati, Skt. Saravati), to the South by the town of Setakannika, to the west by the Brahmin village called Thuna, to the North by the mountain called Usiradhaja (*puratthimāya disāya Kajaṅgalam nāma nigamo, tassa parena Mahāsālā, tato parā paccantima janapado, puratthimadakkhiṇāya disāya Sallavatī nāma nadī.... dakkhiṇāya disāya Setakaṇṇikaṃ nāma nigamo.... pacchimāya disāya Thuṇaṃ nāma brāhmaṇagāmo.... Uttarāya disāya Usiraddhajo nāma pabbato. Vin.* I. p. 197; *DA.* I, 173; *AA.* I. pp. 98-99; II. pp. 36-37; *Mhbv.* p. 12). These boundaries mentioned in the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* as marking the limits of Majjhimadesa in the time of the Buddha, appear to be authentic and reliable. Subsequent literary works, such as the *Jātakas, Mahābodhivaṃsa, Sumaṅgalavilāsini* and *Manorathapūraṇī* also have this stock description of the boundaries of Majjhimadesa.

The *Divyāvadāna* extends the boundary to the east to include the town called Puṇḍawardhana also, which writers identify with North Bengal. According to the *Divyāvadāna* the boundaries were as follows: to the east was the town called Puṇḍawardhana and to the east of that the mountain called Puṇḍakaksa; to the south was the town called Sāravati and to the east of that the river called Sāravati; to the west were the two brahmin villages Sthūna and Upasthūnaka and, to the north was mount Usira. "This" observes, Rhys Davids, "is evidently an echo of the old *Vinaya* passage. But the writer cannot have had the Pali before him. For the east and southeast have been confused, the south point (as given in the Pali) is omitted and both the names and the phraseology differ slightly throughout" (*JRAS*. 1904. p. 87). According to the *Manusmṛti*, Madhyadesa denotes the land between the Himalayas in the north, the Vindhya in the south, Prayāga or Allahabad in the east and Vināsana or the place where the Sarasvati disappears in the West. This shows that in Manu's time the easternmost point of Madhyadesa was Prayāga whereas that mentioned in the Buddhist work is far to the east of it (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*). Thus from time to time the eastern boundary of Majjhimadesaa underwent a change; but it included India, i. e. fourteen of the sixteen Mahajanapadas, Gandhāra and Kamboja being excluded as they belonged to the Uttarapatha. The *Manorathapūraṇi* tacitly refers to these Mahajanapadas when it employs majjhimesu janapadesu "in the Middle countries" (*AA*. II, p. 36). It is curious to note that in the same text Buddhaghosa has described Majjhimadesa as extended to include the whole of Jambudipa, the other continents being contiguous regions (*Sakalo pi hi Jambudīpo Majjhimadeso nāma, Sesadipā paccantima janapadā*).

Buddhaghosa in the *Sumaṅgalāvilasini*, gives the extent of the Buddhist Majjhimadesa as three hundred *yojanas* in length, two hundred and fifty *yojanas* in breadth, and nine hundred *yojanas* in circumference (*āyamato tiyojanasate, vitthārato, aḍḍhatiyā yojanasate parikkhepato navayojanasate. DA*. I. 173). Fleet agrees with the boundaries given of Majjhimadesa in the *Mahāvagga* and according to him "The details about the length, breadth and perimeter, added in *Sumangalavilasini* and the commentary on the *Nidānakathā*, are plainly imaginative and preposterious.... the inventor of these details had a fairly good idea of the general shape of India". According to Fleet, "still more extravagant than the above are the measures reported by I-tsing namely 300 *yojanas* from east to west, 400 *yojanas* from north to south (*JRAS*. 1907, p. 653, n. 3; see also *JRAS*. 1910 p. 427).

Modern writers are of opinion that the Buddhist Madhyadesa "extended from Kuruksetra in the west to the town of Kajangala (Kankjol in Santal Paraganas) and the river Salilavati (the Salai of Chota Nagpur) in the east and from the Himalayas to the river Narmada". It has also been observed that Patanjali (Circa 170 B. C.) following ancient *Dharmasūtras*, fixed Kālakavana or the Black forest (of Santal Parganas) as the eastern limit of Madhyadesa. Later this boundary was shifted to Prayāga or to Varanasi, and Bihar was included in the east. Modern Nepolese, with whom *madhes* (middle country) and *Madhesia* (an inhabitant of the Middle Country) are still terms of daily use, include Bihar in the middle country. The western limit of Madhyadesa was, according to Patanjali and *Dharmasūtras* Vinasava or Adarsa, i.e. the place where the Sarasvati disappears in the desert which is 74⁰ 50 E. He further says that in terms of natural divisions, the Madhyadesa included the regions of the Hindustan and Avadh (and optionally Bihar) in the north India plain, along with the continuous regions to their south in the Central Belt (Chattergi, *op. cit.* pp. 46-47).

The Majjhimadesa was a holy place on earth and according to the Pali commentaries, it is always the birth place of all Buddhas, *paccekabuddhas*, the chief disciples, the great elders, the parents of the Buddhas, the universal monarch and all other well-to-do Brahmins and householders (*Ettake ṭhāne Buddha-paccekabuddhā mahāsāvakā, buddhūpaṭṭhākā, buddhamātā buddhapitā cakkavattirājā ti imesattā nibbattanti, AA*. II, 37). In the *Brahāchatta Jātaka*, it is mentioned that even ascetics feared to go to the Majjhimadesa as in that region lived wise men who pose one with questions, call upon one to return thanks and to repeat a form of blessing and reprove the incompetent (*J*. III, pp. 115-16). This was so, as philosophical discussions were very common in the Majjhimadesa.

The *Sammohavinodani* mentions that for the people of Majjhimadesa clay mixed with earthworms (*ganduppadā*) was loathsome. For them Peacock's flesh was a delicious dish (*ganduppadā... Majjhimadesavāsīnam atijegucchā. Tesañca moṇaramāṃsādini iṭṭhāni honti, VibhA*. p. 10). The *yakkha* Sātagira was born in Sātapabbata in the Majjhimadesa and his friend Hemavata considered Majjhimadesa as a region where marvellous things take

[illegible] On the day the Buddha preached his first sermon at Isipatana. Sātagira was present at the scene, but he did not hear the sermon as his mind was preoccupied with the idea of communicating with his friend who had wanted him to be informed of whenever glorious events take place at Majjhimadesa and it was glorious at Majjhimadesa when the Buddha preached his first sermon (*SnA*. Vol. I, pp. 197-98).

According to the *Nidānakathā*, there was a road from Ukkalā to Majjhimadesa via Uruvelā and the two merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka met the Buddha immediately after his attainment of Enlightenment, on their way to Majjhimadesa on business (*J. I.* p. 80). The *Indriya* and the *Sarabhanga Jātakas* mention that once the sage Nārada, younger brother of Kāladevala lived in a cave in Arañjaragiri in Majjhimapadesa (*J.* III, p. 463; V. 134).

M. Karaluvinna

MAJJHIMANIKĀYA is the second collection of discourses of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, which is one of the three principal divisions of the Pāli canon, the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* being the other two. Although it is commonly assumed that this collection is called the '*Majjhima Nikāya* because of the comparative length of its discourses, according to I. B. Horner, "The commentators appear to suggest (*VinA*. 26-27, *DA*. 23) that 'length; *pamāṇa* refers to the length as well as to the number of the Discourses assigned to each of the five Nikāyas. For they speak of the 'Suttas of long length', *dīghappamaṇānaṃ suttānaṃ*, as numbering thirty-four, the 'middle length Suttas', *majjhimappamāṇāni suttāni*, as numbering 152, while there are 7,762 Suttas in the *Saṃyutta* and 9,557 in the *Aṅguttara*. Thus the *Suttas*, of 'middle length; while being shorter than those of 'long length', although more numerous, are longer than the *Suttas* in the two remaining chief *Nikāyas*, but not so numerous. Therefore on both counts, their position is a 'middle' one" (I. B. Horner, *Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, Introduction, X).

The 152 discourses of the *Majjhima Nikāya* have been brought under fifteen divisions called *Vaggas* of ten discourses each, the last *Vagga* being an exception, having twelve discourses, instead of the usual ten, and five of these divisions forming a group of fifty called *Paṇṇāsa*. The three *Paṇṇāsas* are designated the *Mūla Paṇṇāsa*, the *Majjhima Paṇṇāsa* and the *Upari Paṇṇāsa*. The names assigned to these divisions are often derived solely from the titles of their opening *sutta* (or, in some cases, pair of *suttas*) and thus are scarcely indicative of the material found within the divisions themselves. A partial exception is the Middle Fifty, where the division titles usually refer to the principal type of interlocutor or key figure in each of the *suttas* they contain. Even then the connection between the title and the contents is sometimes tenuous. The entire system of classification appears to have been devised more for the purpose of convenience than because of any essential homogeniety of subject matter in the *suttas* comprised under a single division" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, 1995, 19).

While the fifteen divisions have each been titled, the individual discourses too have their own titles. The pattern which has been followed in titling the individual discourses ranges between the name, the doctrinal theme discussed, the principal interlocutor, the place where the discourse was expounded and the simile used in illustration. The number of the discourses coming under the first category is the highest in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (i.e. 63), those coming under the second being next (i.e. 53), those coming under the third being much less (i.e. 20) and those coming under the fourth being smallest in number. (i.e. 16).

Of the fifteen divisions five are titled after the title of the opening discourse of the division (e.g. 1,2,11,12,13). Another five are titled after the category of persons to whom the majority of the discourses in the division are directed. For example, those discourses which are addressed to householders are brought under the *Gahapati Vagga*, and those which are addressed to male disciples under the *Bhikkhu Vagga*, etc. The other divisions coming under this category are the eighth, ninth and the tenth. Two divisions, the fourteenth and the fifteenth are titled as the *Salāyatana* and the *Vibhaṅga Vaggas* on the basis of the subject matter discussed in the discourses included in the two divisions. The fourth and the fifth divisions are titled, the *Mahā-Yamaka* and the *Cūḷa-Yamaka Vaggas* on the basis of the twin-*suttas* these contain. The third division containing several discourses on parables is titled the *Tatiya Vagga* and not *Opamma Vagga*.

Although the authorship of the discourses in the *Nikāyas* is normally ascribed to the Buddha, "it is not the Buddha alone who appears in the *Majjhima* in the role of teacher. The work also introduces us to the accomplished disciples he produced who carried on

the transmission of his teaching. Of the 152 suttas in the collection, nine are spoken by the venerable Sāriputta, the General of the Dhamma: three of these (*M.* 9, *M.* 28, *M.* 141) have become basic texts for the study of Buddhist doctrine in monastic shools throughout the Theravāda Buddhist world. The venerable Ānanda, the Buddha's personal attendant during the last twenty-five years of his life, delivers seven *suttas* and participates in many more. Four *suttas* are spoken by venerable Mahā Kaccāna, who excelled in elaborating upon the brief but enigmatic sayings of the Master, and two by the second chief disciple, the venerable Mahā Moggallāna, one of which (*M.* 15) has been recommended for a monk's daily reflections. A dialogue between venerable Sāriputta and venerable Puṇna Mantāṇiputta (*M.* 24) explores a scheme of seven stages of purification that was to form the outline for Ācariya Buddhaghosa's great treatise on the Buddhist path, the *Visuddhimagga*. Another dialogue (*M.* 44) introduces the *bhikkhuṇī* Dhammadinnā, whose replies to a series of probing questions were so adroit that the Buddha sealed them for posterity with the words "I would have explained it to you in the same way" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 21).

The discourses of the *Majjhima Nikāya* are different from the discourses of the other three *Nikāyas* not only in the richness of their variety, but also in containing the largest number of discourses giving detailed expositions on the central teachings of the Buddha. This may perhaps have been due to the fact that the majority of the discourses of this collection are those which are either directly addressed to the ordained disciples of the Buddha, or are otherwise intended for them. The *Majjhima Nikāya* discourses comprise a rich variety of dialogues, sermons and *Ākhyāna*. Winternity says: "But in this collection also each Sutta is complete in itself and they are as different in their value as in their nature. But even by reason of the large number of the Suttas, their contents are much more variegated than those of the *Dīghanikāya*. Here we find discussions on almost all points of religion of the Buddha, on the four noble truths, on the Karman, on the futility of the desires, on the reprehensibility of the belief in the soul, on the Nirvāṇa, on the various kinds of meditation, etc. These discussions are often only uninteresting sermons, often, however, they also have the so popular and charming form of dialogues with a longer or shorter introduction or frame-work narrative (*Itihāsa*-dialogues). General popularity is enjoyed by the teachings through allegories, whether an allegory is maintained through the whole speech or a chain of allegories passes through the whole speech in order to din one and the same teaching again and again. Also myths and legends, are narrated, in order to associate with them some teaching or the other as in no. 37 where the visit of Moggallāna, the famous disciple of the Buddha to the heaven of Indra is described..." (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I. 44-45). Thus, a careful study of the discourses of this collection, is bound to be a highly rewarding exercise in getting introduced to the profoundest teachings of the Buddha.

The overall picture of the Buddha which emerges from the *Majjhima Nikāya* is one that depicts him in his role as the teacher of the disciples who elected to lead the higher life to attain the goal which the Buddha advocated, was within the reach of those who were ready to put forth effort for the purpose. He was also readily accessible to all those who desired his association. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* we see the Buddha often finding time to visit other ascetic groups whenever they were known to be resident in the areas he was visiting. It becomes clear from these accounts that the Buddha and his disciples were held in high esteem by these non-Buddhist ascetic communities. It is in the *Majjhima Nikāya* that we come across the earliest biographical details of the Buddha which stand in striking contrast to the later developed post-canonical and even canonical accounts of the same.

Thus, according to the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* (*M.* 26), the *Bodhisatta* left the household life and donned yellow robes at a very tender age, 'while yet a boy, a black-haired lad in the prime of youth, in the first stage of life' whilst his unwilling mother and father wept with tear-stained faces. He had his initial training first under Āḷāra Kālāma and then under Uddakarāmaputta. Finding that their training did not take him to the desired goal, the *Bodhisatta* proceeded to work alone on his spiritual quest. According to the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta* (*M.* 12) and the *Mahāsaccaka Sutta* (*M.* 36) he experimented with a wide variety of exacting ascetic practices and finding that he was thereby getting further and further away from his goal and also getting almost physically exhausted, decided to give up these severe austerities, nursed his emaciated body by taking solid food. Having regained his lost strength, he decided to experiment by pursuing the path of the First *Jhāna* which he entered into whilst he was still a young lad when his father was ploughing the paddy fields. This path ultimately led to the attainment of Buddhahood.

... attainment of Buddhahood is found described ... apariyesana (*M*. 26) and the *Mahāsaccaka* ... Suttas. Both relate in lean and unembellished ... attainment of enlightenment, which they view ... different angles, while *M* 26 takes us past the ... enment to the decision to teach and the instruc- ... his first disciples. From that point on connected ... graphy breaks off in the *Majjhima* and can only be ... constructed partially and hypothetically. Again, despite the absence of any systematic account, the *Majjhima* offers a sufficient number of cameo portraits of the Buddha for us to obtain, with the aid of information provided by other sources, a fairly satisfactory picture of his daily activities and annual routine during the forty-five years of his ministry. A commentarial text shows the Buddha's daily schedule as having been divided between periods of instructing the *bhikkus*, giving discourses to the laity, and secluded meditation, during which he usually dwelt either in the 'obode of voidness' (*M*. 121. 3, *M*. 122.6) or in the attainment of great compassion. The day's single meal was always taken in the forenoon, either received by invitation or collected on alms-round, and his sleep was restricted to a few hours per night, except in the summer, when he rested briefly during the middle of the day (*M*. 36.46). The annaul routine was determined by the Indian climate, which divided the year into three seasons - a cold season from November through February, a hot season from March through June, and a rainy season from July through October. As was customary among the ascetics of ancient India, the Buddha and his monastic community would remain at a fixed residence during the rainy season, when torrential rains and swollen rivers made travel almost impossible. During the rest of the year he would wander through the Ganges Valley expounding his teachings to all who were prepared to listen" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 22f.).

Even after his decision to take solid food, it does not appear that the *Bodhisatta* ever had a well-built body. According to a description found in the *Sutta Nipāta*. the Buddha is described as:

> "*Eṇijaṅghaṃ kisaṃ dhīraṃ appāhāraṃ alolupaṃ muniṃ vanasmiṃ jhāyantaṃ ehi passāma Gotamaṃ*" (*Sn.* 165).
>
> "Lean. vigorous. limbed like a deer,
> Naught coveting. the frugal one:
> Come. let us now seek Gotama,
> Still sage who museth in the glade". (Hare, *Woven Cadences*. 165).

This early description of the Buddha is well supported by the *Majjhima Nikāya*. These show that the Buddha did not possess either an unusually or an extra-ordinarily different appearance when compared with other *bhikkhus* or ascetics. According to the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta* (*M*. 140), the venerable Pukkusāti did not see any distinguishing characteristics either in the Buddha's personality or behaviour. Pukkusāti, who had arrived first at the potter's workshop and settled down for the night, would not have known that the other *bhikkhu* who sought his permission to spend the night there was in fact the Buddha, under whose teaching he had undertaken to live the higher life, if the Buddha did not tell him. Also, the Potter, Bhaggava, when asked by the Buddha whether he could spend the night in his workshop, did not know that it was the Buddha who was making that inquiry. Also, *Cūḷagosiṅga Sutta* (*M*. 31) and *Upakkilesa Sutta* (*M*. 128) record two instances where the park-keeper stopped the Buddha when he was entering the park to inquire how the *bhikkhus* whom he knew had gone there to meditate, were faring. On both these occasions, it was the venerable Anuruddha who heard the conversation between the Buddha and the park-keeper and recognizing the Buddha, requested the park-keeper to allow the Buddha in.

Thus the picture of the Buddha which can be constructed from the *Majjhima Nikāya* accounts, supplemented by other early canonical sources is totally in contract with the innumerable depictions of the Buddha, whether in sculpture, art or literature, all of which belong to post-canonical times and are quite in agreement with the later developed Buddhological details.

Thus, it is in the *Majjhima Nikāya* that we meet with the human teacher, the founder of the Order of disciples who came to be known as Sakyaputtiya Samaṇas (*Samaṇā sakyaputtiyā*, *A*. IV. 202; etc.) and guided them to their spiritual maturity along the path which he himself discovered. His disciples held him in very high esteem and admiration. To them, he was their teacher incomparable. He was the *Tathāgata*, the one who came in the long line of similar teachers of the past. It is significant that the Buddha is referred to as the *Tathāgata* throughout the canonical texts.

The majority of the discourses of the *Majjhima Nikāya* are recorded as having been delivered at Sāvatthi, in the state of Kosala. Here, the Buddha usually stayed at Jetavana, in the monastery built for the Order by Anāthapiṇḍika. At Sāvatthi, the Buddha oc-

casionally stayed at Pubbārāma, in the monastery built for the Order by Visākhā. It was also known as Migāramātupāsāda. Seventy *Majjhima* discourses recorded to have been delivered at Jetavana while six are recorded to have had their origins at Pubbārāma. In Rājagaha the Buddha often stayed at Veḷuvaṇa which was offered to the Order by King Śreniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha. The Buddha would also stay at the Vulture Peak (Gijjhakūṭa), Isigilipabbata, and Jivaka's mango grove. A total of twenty-three discourses are recorded as having been delivered in Magadhan territory. Eight *Majjhima* discourses are recorded to have been delivered in the Sākyan country, where the Buddha usually stayed at Nigrodhārāma in Kapilavatthu where several discourses are recorded to have originated while Devadaha, Sāmagāma and Medhalumpā are recorded as the other places where *Majjhima* discourses have been delivered. Eight discourses are recorded to have been delivered in the Vajjian country. Whenever the Buddha was in Vesāli, he usually stayed at the Kūṭāgārasālā in Mahāvana.

Thus, as one hundred and fifteen discourses are recorded to have been delivered in the above places, it is the remaining thity-seven discourses which are spread over a wide area which extended, "from the Aṅgan country (close to modern West Bengal) to the Himalayan foot-hills and the Kuru country (modern Delhi)" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 23). These details go to show that the Buddha's principal areas of activity were the Kosalan and the Magadhan kingdoms, visits out of these areas being quite rare and occasional, perhaps motivated by special needs only.

Not only does the *Majjhima Nikāya* contain detailed expositions on all important teachings of the Buddha, it also contains detailed expositions on the process of spiritual training the disciple passes through in his passage to the realization of ultimate emancipation or Nibbāna. The attainment of nibbāna, it is clearly shown, results from spiritual maturity attained through the process of systematic training supported by the disciplining of the senses.

The *Majjhima Nikāya* also contains many discourses which details the conduct of the disciples of the Buddha to prepare them to embark on this process of spiritual maturity. As the approaches to this training could be as varied as the number of individuals who undertake the training, the *Majjhima Nikāya* records the rich variety of the approaches which the Buddha adopted in guiding his followers through to their realization of arahantship. It was after such realization that they declared themselves as, "one with taints destroyed, who has lived the holy life, done what had to be done, laid down the burden, reached the true goal, destroyed the fetters of being and is completely liberated through knowledge (*khīṇāsavo vusitavā katakaraṇīyo ohitabhāro anuppattasadattho parikkhīṇa-bhavasaṃyojano sammadaññā vimutto" M.* 1.6; etc.)".

This process of training starts with *Sīla* (disciplining of the senses). It is usually explained as, *"Idha ariyasāvako sīlavā hoti, pātimokkha saṃvara-saṃvuto viharati, ācāragocara-sampanno anumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī samādaya sikkhati sikkhāpadesu...." (M.* 1. 355; etc.). "Here a noble disciple is virtuous, he dwells restrained with the restraint of the Pātimokkha, he is perfect in conduct and resort, and seeing fear in the slightest fault, he trains by undertaking the training precepts" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 461). The rules of discipline which were promulgated for the disciples were aimed at endowing them and thereby insulating them, with the individual conduct and the institutional discipline required for preparing them for the next step in the upward movement to *nibbāna* which is *samādhi* (concentration). A disciple becomes ready to embark on this second step only when he is firmly grounded in the first step whereby he can without any difficulty be described as *sīlasampanno* (one endowed with virtue).

The commencement of the advance from *sīla* to *samādhi* is described in the following words, *"so iminā ca ariyena sīlakkhandhena samannāgato imināca ariyena indriyasaṃvarena samannāgato iminā ca ariyena satisampajaññena samannāgato vivittaṃ senāsanaṃ bhajati, araññaṃ rukkhamūlaṃ pabbataṃ kandaraṃ giriguhaṃ susānaṃ vanapatthaṃ abbhokāsaṃ palālapuñjaṃ." (M.* I. 346) - (Possessing this aggregate of noble virtue, and this noble restraint of the faculties, and possessing this noble mindfulness and full awareness, he resorts to a secluded resting place: the forest, the root of a tree, a mountain, a ravine, a hillside cave, a charnel ground, a jungle thicket, an open space, heap of straw" - Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 450).

Having thus set himself up in a suitable place to his liking, he selects his time to start his meditation, *"So pacchābhattaṃ piṇḍapātapaṭikkanto nisīdati pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā, ujuṃ, kāyaṃ paṇidhāya, parimukhaṃ, satiṃ upaṭṭhapetvā" (M.* I. 346), "On

returning from his almsround, after his meal he sits down folding his legs crosswise, setting his body erect, and establishing mindfulness before him" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 451). Now, he frees himself of the five mental hindrances which weaken wisdom, *"So abhijjhaṃ. loke pahāya vigatābhijjhena cetasā viharati, abhijjhāya cittaṃ parisodheti; byāpādapadosaṃ pahāya abyāpannacitto viharati, sabbapāṇabhūtahitānukampī viharati.... vicikicchāya cittaṃ parisodheti" (M.* 1. 347). "Abandoning covetousness for the world, he abides with a mind free from covetousness; he purifies his mind from covetousness. Abandoning ill-will, compassionate for the welfare of all living beings; he purifies his mind from ill-will and hatred. Abandoning sloth and torpor, he abides free from sloth and torpor, percipient of light, mindful and fully aware; he purifies his mind from sloth and torpor. Abandoning restlessness and remorse, he abides unagitated with a mind inwardly peaceful; he purifies his mind from restlessness and remorse. Abandoning doubt, he abides having gone beyond doubt, unperplexed about wholesome states; he purifies his mind from doubt" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 451).

Thus, the disciple cleanses his mind of all mental hindrances and cultivates the opposite positive qualities making himself deliberate and alert, unagitated and peaceful, devoid of doubt and perplexity. Now, it is important to note here that the text just goes on to explain the mental condition of the disciple in the First *Jhāna*. *"So ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalikaraṇe vivicc'eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ pītisukhaṃ paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati" (M.* I. 347). "Having thus abandoned these five hindrances, imperfections of the mind that weaken wisdom, quite secluded from sensual pleasures, secluded from unwholesome states, he enters upon and abides in the first *jhāna*, which is accompanied by applied and sustained thought, with rapture and pleasure born of seclusion" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 451).

The *Majjhima suttas* are quite clear regarding what the disciple has to do in order to train himself in the preliminary step of *Sīla* (virtue). But how does he proceed from *Sīla* onwards in his up-ward training. How does he cleanse his mind of the five hindrances? How does he overcome the imperfections of the mind that weaken wisdom? Even if it is granted that these achievements are attainable when one has entered the meditative path by selecting a suitable site, adopting the correct posture for meditation, etc., the text is silent on how the disciple should set about his meditation. Even if it is accepted that specific instructions regarding the selection of a suitable subject for meditation, which must depend on the psychological make-up of the disciple, and how he should proceed from there onwards, cannot form part of the body of general discourses, either on the scheme of spiritual training or on the achievements on such path of training, such discourses cannot be deemed complete without at least a mere mention that the disciple has either to make a selection of the appropriate meditative teachnique by himself or receive individual instruction from his teacher on the meditative technique he has to adopt, in order to proceed on his course of spiritual advancement.

In the Buddhist scheme of spiritual training each and every move has to be deliberate and purposive. This means that transition from one state of spiritual attainment to the next has to be by deliberate and purposive action, specifically directed for the purpose. This is quite clearly spelt out in the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* where in the course of explaining the process of spiritual training, the Buddha emphasises that the extinction of one state and the arising of the next takes place by training specifically directed for the purpose (*"Evaṃ pi sikkhā ekā saññā uppajjanti, sikkhā ekā saññā nirujjhanti"* (*D.* 1. 182). But, it is this *sikkhā* (training) that is found missing from all accounts of the scheme of spiritual training in the *Majjhima Nikāya*.

Thus, essential and therefore vital details regarding what actually constitutes the training required to enter the first stage of *samādhi* after having attained fulfillment in the *Sīla*, and what precise action constitutes the subsequent training to enable the disciple to move beyond this first stage and what action takes him to the second stage and so on, up to the stage of arahantship are missing from all accounts of the Jhanic process.

But, the accounts contained in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, it must be emphasized, are by far the most comprehensive canonical descriptions of the states of spiritual attainment from the first *Jhāna* onwards. These are contained in no less than twenty *Majjhima Nikāya* discourses (*M.* 4, 27, 30, 39, 52, 53, 59, 64, 65, 66, 76, 77, 79, 107, 111, 112, 119, 125, 128 and 138).

Of the three stages in the scheme of spiritual training, the first significant achievement in the second

samādhi stage is the attainment of the first *Jhāna*. Although there are no details in the *Majjhima* discourses regarding the selection or allocation of subjects for meditation and the basis or criteria on which such selection or allocation has to be made, these discourses contain details of the preparatory action which has to be taken by the disciple in order to make him ready for the development of *samādhi*. Details are given, as we have already seen above, of the mental defilements which has to be got rid of for this purpose.

When the process of development which is thus set in motion, through the meditative process reaches the first *Jhāna* level of development, it is identified as the first *Jhāna* state of development when it fits the following description, "Having abandoned these five hindrances, imperfections of the mind that weaken wisdom, quite secluded from sensual pleasures, secluded from unwholesome states, he enters upon and abides in the first *Jhāna* which is accompanied by applied and sustained thought, with rapture and pleasure born of seclusion. He makes the rapture and pleasure born of seclusion drench, steep, fill and pervade his body, so that there is no part of his whole body unpervaded by the rapture and pleasure born of seclusion. Just as a skilled bathman or bathman's apprentice heaps bath powder in a metal basin and, sprinkling it gradually with water, kneads it until the moisture wets his ball of bath powder, soaks it, pervades it inside and out, yet the ball itself does not ooze; so too, a bhikkhu makes the rapture and pleasure born of seclusion drench, steep, fill and pervade his body, so that there is no part of his whole body unpervaded by the rapture and pleasure born of seclusion", (Bhikkhu Bodhi *op. cit.* 367). *"So ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaraṇe vivicc' eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ pītisukhaṃ paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati. So imaṃ-eva kāyaṃ vivekajena pītisukhena abhisandeti parisandeti paripūreti parippharati, nāssa kiñci sabbāvato kāyassa vivekajena pītisukhena apphutaṃ hoti....."* (*M.* 1. 276).

The next significant attainment in the scheme of spirtual development is the second *Jhāna* which is identified as such when it qualifies to be described as follows: "Again, bhikkhus, with the stilling of applied and sustained thought, a bhikkhu enters upon and abides in the second Jhāna, which has self-confidence and singleness of mind without applied and sustained thought, with rapture and pleasure born of concentration. He makes the rapture and pleasure born of concentration drench, steep, fill, and pervade this body, so that there is no part of his whole body unpervaded by the rapture and pleasure born of concentration. Just as though there were a lake whose waters welled up from below and it had no inflow from east, west, north, or south, and would not be replenished from time to time by showers of rain, then the cool fount of water welling up in the lake would make the cool water drench, steep, fill, and pervade the lake, so that there would be no part of the whole lake unpervaded by cool water; so too, a bhikkhu makes the rapture and pleasure born of concentration drench, steep, fill, and pervade this body, so that there is no part of his whole body unpervaded by the rapture and pleasure born of concentraion" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 368). (*"Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamā ajjhattaṃ sampasādanaṃ cetaso ekodibhāvaṃ avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ samādhijaṃ pītisukhaṃ dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati. So imam-eva kāyaṃ samādhijena pītisukhena abhisandeti parisandeti paripūreti parippharati, nāssa kiñci sabbāvato kāyassa samādhijena pītisukhena apphutaṃ hoti.. M.*1. 276).

The two passages quoted above make it quite clear that the jhānic process is not an excercise at achieving mere concentration of mind. It is a harmonizing and covergence of the totality of the psycho-physical activities of the human personality that is envisaged. Therefore, when the jhanic level is reached there is almost total harmony achieved between the activities of the mind and the body, which position makes it possible for the disciple to direct his total strength for the realization of his spiritual goal.

The accounts of the remaining steps in the scheme of spiritual training are similar to the accounts given above. The attainment of the fourth *Jhāna* marks an important stage in this scheme of spiritual training. The *Laṭukikopama Sutta* (*M* 66) describes the attainment of the fourth *jhāna* as the attainment of imperturbability which means that after the disciple attains the fourth *jhāna* he is stable and steady on his path of spiritual training with no threat of vascillaction (*"Idaṃ kho ahaṃ Udāyi aniñjitasmiṃ vadāmi" M.* 1. 455, Now this, I say, belongs to the imperturbable", Bhikkhu Bodhi *op. cit.* 557). The fourth *jhāna* also marks an important mile-post in his upward movement as he can, after the fourth *jhāna*, select to set himself to attain the three higher knowledges or set himself to attain the four formless *jhānas (arūpajjhānas)*. While the

three higher knowledges are, *Pubbenivāsānussati ñāṇa* (knowledge of the recollection of past lives), *Cutūpapāta ñāṇa* (knowledge of the passing away and re-appearance of beings) and *Āsavānaṃ khayañāṇa* (knowledge of the destruction of taints), the four formless *jhānas* are, *Ākāsānañcāyatana* (Base of infinite space), *Viññāṇañcā yatana* (Base of infinite consciousness), *Ākiñcaññāyatana* (Base of nothingness) and *Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* (Base of neither perception nor non-perception).

It is important to note here that the *Chabbisodhana Sutta* (*M.* 112) shows a variation to the first option for selection. In this *sutta*, it is said that the disciple can, after the fourth *jhāna* proceed straight to develop the *Āsavānaṃ khayañāṇa* and attain liberation thereby. This *sutta* does not make the realization of the three higher knowledges a requisite condition for the realization of the knowledge of the destruction of taints, (*M.* 111. 36). There are two options available to the one who selects the *arūpajjhāna* path. According to the *Aṭṭhakanāgara* (*M.* 52) and the *Mahāmālúnkya* (*M* 64) *Suttas*, he can, after attaining the *Ākiñcaññāyatana jhāna* (Base of nothingness) attain *Āsavānaṃ khayañāṇā* (Eradication of taints) and attain nibbāna or as according to the *Cūḷasāropama* (*M.* 30) and the *Anupada* (*M.* 111) *Suttas*, attain the *Saññāvedayitanirodha* (Cessation of perception and feeling) after the fourth formless *jhāna* (i.e. *Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*) and thereafter, "*Paññaya c'assa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti* (his taints are destroyed by seeing with wisdom" (*M.* 1. 204, Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 297), attain nibbānic realization.

Out of twenty *Majjhima* discourses which discuss the scheme of spiritual training, eleven discourses (viz. *M.* 4, 27, 39, 53, 65, 76, 77, 79, 112, 119 and 125) explain the scheme according to the first option, while six discourses (viz. *M.* 30, 52, 54, 59, 66 and 111) explain it according to the second option. We have already noted the variations available to the disciple within these two main options. It may also be noted here that according to the *Sekha Sutta* (*M.* 53) the attainment of the first four *jhānas* constitutes the completion of *caraṇa* and the attainment of the three knowledges the completion of *vijjā*, hence the desciple comes to be described as, "*Ayaṃ vuccati...ariyasāvako vijjāsampanno itipi, caraṇasampanno itipi, vijjācaraṇasampanno itipi*" (*M.* I. 358).

Also according to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, it is after the attainment of the fourth *Jhāna* that the disciple becomes capable of mastering the various psychic powers, if he so desires ("*So evaṃ samāhitecitte Pariyodāte anāngane Vigatūpakkilese..... iddhividhāya cittaṃ abhinīharati abhininnāmeti. So anekavihitaṃ iddhi-vidhaṃ paccanubhoti...*". *D.* 1. 77 f.). But, it is emphasized in no uncertain terms that while accepting that the acquisition of such powers is within the disciple's reach, after the fourth *jhāna* that it is not for the acquisition of such powers that the disciple trains himself in the higher life. In reply to a question by Mahāli, the Licchavi, in the *Mahāli Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Buddha explains that it is not for the acquisition of such powers that the disciple leads the higher life under the Buddha's leaching. ("*Na Kho Mahāli etāsaṃ samādhi-bhāvanānaṃ sacchikiriyā-hetu bhikkhū mayi brahmacariyaṃ caranti*" *D.* 1. 155). There are other acquisitions which are higher and better for the sake of which they train themselves in the higher life ("*Atthi kho Mahāli aññe ca dhammā uttarītarā ca paṇītatarāca yesaṃ sacchikiriyā-hetu bhikkhū mayi brahmacariyaṃ carantīti*", *D.* 1. 156), while accepting the validity of such spiritual experience. Thus, there is common agreement in the early texts that the fourth *jhāna* provides the requisite pliability and the maneuverability to launch upon a variety of higher spiritual experiences. But, although it is laid down in the texts that such experiences are within the disciple's reach, these do not lay down what particular meditative method (s) or technique (s) or even alteration or change of such, he has to adopt from there (i.e. from the fourth *jhāna*) if he desires to reach these experiences.

This may be further clarified with reference to the information contained in the *Kevaḍḍha Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. In this account, the *bhikkhu* who desired an answer to his question, develops such a *samādhi* in which *samādhi* a path to reach the *devas* appeared before him ("*Atha kho so.... bhikkhu tathārūpaṃ samādhiṃ samāpajji yathā samāhite citte devayāniyo maggo pāturahosi*". *D.* 1. 215). Having completed his mission with the *devas*, he entered into such a *samādhi* in which *samādhi* a path to reach the *brahmas* appeared before him (*yathā samāhite citte brahmayāniyo maggo pāturahosi*". *D.* 1. 220). It is clear that it was *samādhi* which enabled the *bhikkhu* to complete his mission. When translated into practical reality, this action required the adoption of new techniques or methodologies for the purpose and this is what the text is silent on.

It is clear that not only are details of practical steps which should be taken or techniques which should be adopted, in order to attain the *jhānas* as well as the

other higher states of spiritual attainment absent from the *Majjhima* accounts of the scheme of spiritual training, they are absent from the other *Nikāya* accounts as well. This seems to point to the possibility that these practical details were not in the possession of the *theras* who brought down the textual traditions (*ganthadhura*) but were brought down in the practical traditions of the forest-dwellers (*vanavāsins*). It may also be pointed here that while the traditions brought down by the *ganthadhura theras* were written down in Sri Lanka in the first century B.C., there is no mention of such an act in connection with the traditions of the *vanavāsins*. It is in the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa that we see some of these being incorporated into the textual traditions. Commenting on this Bhikkhu Bodhi writes: "Strangely, the suttas do not explicitly prescribe specific meditation subjects as the means for attaining the *jhānas*, but the commentarial literature such as the *Visuddhimagga* enables us to make the connections", (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 39). But the important question is whether Buddhaghosa's records exhaust these traditions.

Although the technique which brings about *samādhi* is *bhāvanā*, the term *bhāvanā* is not found mentioned in the *Majjhima* discussions on the scheme of spiritual training. Also the two terms *Samatha* and *Vipassanā* are found only in a few textual contexts in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. These two are not two separate paths of meditation which the disciple has to make a selection from, but two steps in the scheme of spiritual training, (*Ime kho te Vaccha dve dhammā uttariṃ bhāvitā samatho ca vipassanā ca, anekadhātu-paṭivedhāya saṃvattissanti.* "In that case, Vaccha, develop further two things: serenity and insight. When these two things are developed further, they will lead to the penetration of many elements". *M.* 1. 494; Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 600).

Apart from the discourses which discuss the scheme of spiritual training, the *Majjhima Nikāya* has a number of discourses which explain meditative processes through which one can attain *aññā* (final knowledge). Of these, priority of place is taken by the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M.* 10). "The *sutta* sets forth a comprehensive system called *satipaṭṭhāna* designed to train the mind to see with microscopic precision the true nature of the body, feelings, states of mind, and mental objects. The system is sometimes taken to be the paradigm for the practice of 'bare insight' - the direct contemplation of mental and bodily phenomena without a prior foundation of *jhāna* and, while several exercises described in the *sutta* can also lead to the *jhānas*, the arousing of insight is clearly the intent of the method.

"Other *suttas* in the *Majjhima Nikāya* describe approaches to developing insight that either elaborate upon the *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplations or reach them from a different starting point. Thus *M.* 118 shows how the practice of mindfulness of breathing fulfils all four foundations of mindfulness, not the first alone as shown in *M* 10. Several *suttas* - *M.* 28, *M.* 62, *M.* 140 - present more detailed instructions on the contemplation of the elements. *M.* 37, *M.* 74 and *M.* 140 contain illuminating passages on the contemplation of feeling. In some *suttas* the Buddha uses the five aggregates as the groundwork for insight contemplation (i.e. *M.* 22, *M.* 109); in some, the six sense bases (i.e. *M.* 137, *M.* 148, *M.* 149); in some, the two combined (*M.* 147)..." (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 40).

As we have already seen above, the path of spiritual training in Buddhism, described as the path of gradual training, gradual practice and gradual progress (*"anupubba sikkhā, anupubba kiriyā, anupubba paṭipadā"*, *M.* 111.2), leads through *Sīla*, through *Samādhi* to *aññā*. This last and final state of maturity results from the realization of the four Noble Truths. According to *M.* 4, *M.* 27, *M.* 39, *M.* 53, *M.* 65, *M.* 76, *M.* 77, *M.* 79, *M.* 112, *M.* 119, and *M.* 125, the knowledge of the destruction of the taints (*āsavānaṃ khayañāṇa*) leads on to the realization of the four Noble Truths. "It is these four truths that the Buddha awakened to on the night of his enlightenment (*M.* 4.31, *M.* 36.42), made known to the world when he set rolling the matchless Wheel of the Dhamma at Benares (*M.* 141.2), and held aloft through the forty-five years of his ministry as the teaching special to the Buddhas' (*M.* 56.18). In the *Majjhima Nikāya* the Four Noble Truths are expounded concisely at 9.14-18 and in detail in *M.* 141, while in *M* 28 the venerable Sariputta develops an original exposition of the truths unique to that *sutta*. Yet, though they may be brought forth explicitly only on occasion, the Four Noble Truths structure the entire teaching of the Buddha, containing its many other principles just as the elephant's footprint contains the footprints of all other animals (*M.* 28.2), Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 25".

The central theme around which the Four Noble Truths are woven is that of *dukkha* usually translated as suffering or pain, but is best rendered as unsatisfactoriness. As Bhikkhu Bodhi explains, "The

Pali word originally meant simply pain and suffering, a meaning it retains in the texts when it is used as a quality of feeling: in these cases it has been rendered as 'pain' or 'painful'. As the first noble truth, however, *dukkha* has a far wider significance, reflective of a comprehensive philosophical vision. While it draws its affective colouring from its connection with pain and suffering and certainly includes these, it points beyond such restrictive meanings to the inherent unsatisfactoriness of everything conditioned. This unsatisfactoriness of the conditioned is due to its impermanence, its vulnerability to pain, and its inability to provide complete and lasting satisfaction", (Bhikkhu Bodhi *op. cit.* 25f.).

"The characteristic of impermanence that marks everything conditioned leads directly to the recognition of the universality of *dukkha* or suffering. The Buddha underscores this all pervasive aspect of *dukkha* when, in his explanation of the first noble truth, he says, In short, the five aggregates affected by clinging are suffering'. The five aggregates affected by clinging (*pañc'u pādānakkhandhā*) are a classificatory scheme that the Buddha had devised for demonstrating the composite nature of personality. The scheme comprises every possible type of conditioned state, which it distributes into five categories....," (Bhikkhu Bodhi, MLDB. 26 f.).

The third principle which is tied up with impermanence and unsatisfactoriness is that of non-self (*anattatā*) which describes the intrinsic characteristic of all phenomena of existence. The three together are called the three characteristics of existence (*tilakkhaṇa*). "The Buddha teaches, contrary to our most cherished beliefs, that our personality-the five aggregates-cannot be identified as self, an an enduring and substantial ground of personal identity. The notion of self has only a conventional validity, as a convenient short-hand device for denoting a comosite insubstantial situation. It does not signify any ultimate immutable entity subsisting at the core of our being. The bodily and mental factors are transitory phenomena, constantly arising and passing away, processes creating the appearance of selfhood through their causal continuity and interdependent functioning. Nor does the Buddha posit a self outside and beyond the five aggregates. The notion of selfhood, treated as an ultimate, he regards as a product of ignorance, and all the diverse attempts to substantiate this notion by identifying it with some aspect of the personality he describes as 'clinging to a doctrine of self" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 27f.). Thus, the analytical examination of current views of self and the clarification of the Buddhist position with reference to these becomes an important theme in several *Majjhima* discourses (e.g. *M.* 102, *M.* 2, *M.* 11, *M.* 22, *M.* 28, *M.* 35 and *M.* 148).

The second Noble Truth explains the origin or the cause of *dukkha* which is explained as *taṇhā* (craving). "The Buddha's discovery of the causal link between craving and suffering accounts for the apparent 'pessimistic' streak that emerges in several *suttas* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*: in *M.* 13 with its disquisition on the dangers in sensual pleasures, form and feeling; in *M* 10 and *M* 119 with their cemetery meditations; in *M.* 22, *M.* 54, and *M* 75 with their shocking similes for sensual pleasures. Such teachings are part of the Buddha's tactical approach to guiding his disciples to liberation. By its own inherent nature craving springs up and thrives wherever it finds something that appears pleasant and delightful" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 29).

The Buddha's discovery of the principle of conditionality or interdependence led to his discovery of the link between *dukkha* and its cause *taṇhā*. Therefore, dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) explaines both the origin as well as the cessation of *dukkha*. "In its fullest statement the doctrine spells out the origination and the cessation of suffering in terms of twelve factors connected together in eleven propositions. This formulation, laid down schematically, will be found at *M.* 38.17 in its order of arising and at *M* 38.20 in its order of ceasing. M. 115.11 includes both sequences together preceded by a statement of the general principle of conditionality that underlies the applied doctrine. A more elaborate version giving a factorial analysis of each term in the series is presented at *M.* 9.21-66, and a version exemplified in the course of an individual life at *M.* 38.26-40. Condensed versions are also found, notably at *M.* 1,171, *M.* 11.16, and *M.* 75.24-25. The venerable Sāriputta quotes the Buddha as saying that one who sees dependent origination sees the *Dhamma* and one who sees the *Dhamma* sees dependent origination (*M.* 28.28) (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 30).

The fourth Noble Truth which reveals the means to eliminate suffering constitutes the Noble Eight-fold Path. "Mentioned countless times throughout the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the Noble Eightfold Path is explained in detail in two full *suttas*. *M* 141gives a factorial analysis of the eight components of the path using the definitions that are standard in the Pali Canon.

M 117 expounds the path from a different angle under the rubric of 'noble right concentration with its supports and its requisites'. The Buddha there makes the important distinction between the mundane and supramundane stages of the path, defines first five factors for both stages, and shows how the path factors function in unison in the common task of providing an outlet from suffering. Other *suttas* explore in greater detail individual components of the path...." (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 33).

Rebirth and Kamma: All beings except the *arahants* are subject according to the teaching of the Buddha to continued renewal of being until the time they attain *nibbāna*. Buddhism teaches that *saṃsāric* continuity takes place without a transmigrating soul. What continues through the *saṃsāric* cycle of births is 'a process, a flux of becoming in which successive lives are linked together by causal transmission of influence rather than by substantial identity'. "The process of rebirth, the Buddha teaches, exhibits a definite lawfulness essentially ethical in character. This ethical character is established by the fundamental dynamism that determines the states into which beings are reborn and the circumstances they encounter in the course of their lives. That dynamism is *kamma*, volitional action of body, speech, and mind. Those beings who engage in bad actions-actions motivated by the three unwholesome roots of greed, hate, and delusion-generate unwholesome *kamma* that leads them to rebirth into lower states of existence and, if it ripens in the human world, brings them pain and misfortune. Those beings who engage in good actions-actions motivated by the three wholesome roots of non-greed, non-hate, and non-delusion - generate wholesome *kamma* that leads them to higher states of existence and ripens in the human world as pleasure and good fortune" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 45).

Kammic action is action which is deliberate or purposive as defined by the *Nibbedhikapariyāya Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* 111. 415). While volition (*cetanā*) determines whether an action is a *kammic* action or not, it also determines whether an action is a moral action or an immoral action. Those actions which are generated through wholesome volition (*cetanā*) are moral while those which are generated through unwholesome volition are immoral. According to the *Ambalaṭṭhikarāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.* 61), if an action generates results which are good to both the doer and the recipient, then that action is a moral action. If on the other hand, an action generates results which are harmful either to the doer, the recipient or both, then that action is an immoral action. Thus, for an action to be a moral action, it has to satisfy the *cetanā* as well as the *vipāka* criterion. But it must be noted here that all *Majjhima* discourses on *kamma* explain *kamma* with reference to its fruition (*vipāka*) from different viewpoints.

Nibbāna as the ultimate goal of the Buddhist religious endeavour, has formed the focal point in many discourses of the *Majjhima Nikāya* as the majority of its discourses are those addressed to the ordained disciples who had taken to the higher life to put forth effort for its realization. The attainment of *nibbāna* is the end result of the systematic training process which is designed to mature the total individual who follows it, to reach it. While it is not a state that could be attained without processing through the scheme of systematic training, it is also not possible to understand it through linguistic and other media at our disposal as all such terminology and symbolim are able to describe things within our grasp and reach, in our (spiritually) non-mature state of being. Therefore, the nearest that language can reach it is to describe it in negative terms, indicating thereby what it is not. According to the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* (*M.* 26) *Nibbāna* is the, "unborn (*ajātaṃ*), unageing (*ajaraṃ*), unailing (*abyādhiṃ*), deathless (*amataṃ*), sorrowless (*asokaṃ*), undefiled (*asankiliṭṭhaṃ*), supreme security from bondage (*anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ*). "The Buddha does not devote many words to a philosophical definition of *Nibbana*. One reason is that *Nibbāna*, being unconditioned, transcendent and supramundane, does not easily lend itself to definition in terms of concepts that are inescapably tied to the conditioned, mainfest, and mundane. Another is that the Buddha's objective is the practical one of leading beings to release from suffering, and thus his principal approach to the characterisation of *Nibbāna* is to inspire the incentive to attain it and to show what must be done to accomplish this. To show *Nibbāna as* desirable, as the aim of striving, he describes it as the highest bliss, as the supreme state of sublime peace, as the ageless, ... To show what must be done to attain *Nibbāna*, to indicate that the goal implies a definite task, he describes it as the stilling of all formations, the relinquishing of all attachments, the destruction of craving, dispassion (*M.* 26.19). Above all, *Nibbāna* is the cessation of suffering, and for those who seek an end to suffering such a designation is enough to beckon them towards the path" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 32).

In the *Sandaka Sutta* (*M.* 76), venerable Ananda is questioned by the wandering ascetic Sandaka regarding those who have attained emancipation under the Buddha's teaching (How many imancipated ones are there in this Dhamma and Vinaya? *Kīva bahukā pana bho Ānanda imasmiṃ dhammavinaye niyyātāro ti*) which brings the interesting answer, "There are not only one hundred, two hundred, three hundred, four hundred or five hundred, but far more imancipated ones in this *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, (*"Na kho Sandaka ekaṃ yeva sataṃ na dve satāni na tiṇi satāni na cattāri satāni na pañca satāni, athakho bhiyyo va ye imasmiṃ dhammavinaye niyyātāro ti* (*M.* 1. 523). Similarly, in the *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta* (*M.* 77) the Buddha declares that many are the disciples who live having attained the consummation and perfection of direct knowledge (*abiññāvosānapāramippattā, M.* 11. 22).

The Buddha was the discoverer of the path to deliverance from the eternal bondage of *saṃsāra*. All those disciples who followed the path shown by him and attained emancipation are known as 'arahants'. The *arahant* therefore becomes the ideal figure not of the *Majjhima Nikāya* but of the entire Pali Canon as such. The disciple who can, after he has attained the completion of his training in the *anupubbasikkhā, anupubba kiriyā, anupubbapaṭipadā,* declare that he has destroyed the taints (*khīṇāsavo*), lived the holy life (*vusitavā*), done what had to be done (*katakaraṇīyo*), laid down the burden (*ohitabhāro*), reached the true goal (*anuppattasadattho*), destroyed the fetters of being (*parikkhīṇabhavasaṃyojano*), and is completely liberated through knowledge (*sammadaññāvimutto*) is the *arahant*.

The *Kiṭāgiri Sutta* (*M.* 70) lists seven types of disciples, *"Satt'ime bhikkhave puggalā santo saṃvijjamānā lokasmiṃ, katame satta: ubhatobhāgavimutto paññāvimutto...."* (*M.* 1. 477). Of these seven only the *Ubhatobhāgavimutta* and the *Paññāvimutta* are *arahants*. Explaining the first, the text, *"Idha bhikkhave ekacco puggalo ye te santā vimokhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā te kāyena phassitvā viharati, paññāya c'assa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave puggalo ubhatobhāgavimutto,* Here some person contacts with the body and abides in those liberations that are peaceful and immaterial, transcending forms, and his taints are destroyed by his seeing with wisdom, this kind of person is called one liberated-in-both-ways" (*M.* 1. 477, Bhikkhu Bodhi *op. cit.* 580), explains that he has mastered the immaterial states (*arupajjhānas*). The second is explained as follows: *"Idha bhikkhave ekacco puggalo ye te santā vimokhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā te na kāyena phassitvā viharati, paññāyac' assa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave puggalo paññāvimutto,* Here some person does not contact with the body and abide in those liberations that are peaceful and immaterial, transcending forms, but his taints are destroyed by his seeing with wisdom. This kind of person is called one liberated-by-wisdom". (*M.* 1. 477, Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 581). The second type of disciples have thus attained *arahantship* without mastering the immaterial states (*arūpajjhānas*).

These two types came to be explained as the attainments through the *Samatha* and the *Vipassanā* methods of meditation in the post-canonical traditions, obviously taking these two to be two separate and distinct paths of meditation and not as two integral steps in the same identical path, which actually they are. Another confusion seems to have arisen out of the failure to understand that both types of aspirants of *arahantship* follow the *Sīlas*, reach *Samādhi*, attain the first four *jhānas* and from there onwards take one of two different paths. The aspirant of the *Ubhatobhāgavimutti* path follows the formless *jhānas* and attains *arahantship*, while the aspirant of the *Paññāvimutti* path attains the three higher knowledges (viz. *Pubbenivāsānussati, Cutūpapāta* and *Āsavānaṃ khaya*) and attains *arahantship*.

Nathan Katz has a long and detailed discussion on the *Ubhatobhāgavimutta* and the *Paññāvimutta*. He has taken these two to be identical with what he calls the *Cetovimutti* and *Paññāvimutti*, obviously taking the latter as referring to two separate liberations (Nathan Katz, *Buddhist Images of Human Perfection*. 1982. 78f). It is relevant to note in this connection that all *Nikāya* contexts which describe the disciple's attainment of the final knowledge of the destruction of the influxes (*āsavānaṃ khaya*) read as follows:" *āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭhevadhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati*- He enters upon and abides in the deliverance of mind and deliverance by wisdom which are taintless with the destruction of the taints", *M.* 1. 496, 76, 266; etc., Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 601, etc.). It is clear from these passages that the disciple who attains the destruction of the *āsavas* has attained both *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti*, without which his liberation is not complete. Continuing his discussion, Katz remarks further, "In the context of our earlier distinction of *samatha* or calming medita-

tion, and *vipassanā* or insight meditation, the Pali commentarial tradition has distinguished the *ceto*-or *ubhatobhāgavimutti* thus: the former follows the *samatha* practices, most especially the *jhāna*, while the latter follows the *vipassana* practices. One implication of this distinction is that the *cetovimutti* has attained the five *abhiññā*, including the *iddhividha*, while the *paññāvimutti* has not. This is borne out in a *sutta* where Susīma the wanderer asks those members of the *sańgha* who had expressed *aññā*, which is to say, those who were arahants, whether or not that expression entailed the various knowledges of psychic powers (*iddhividhā*). The arahants tell him that it did not, since they had been freed by *paññā*: *paññāvimuttā kho mayaṃ āruso Susīmāti*" (Nathan Katz *op. cit*, 81).

It must be noted here that the questions raised by the wanderer Susima were regarding whether the attaiment of *arahantship* also meant that they had attained the psychic powers. Apart from answering the inquiry made, the *sutta* cannot be taken as evidence to prove that these *arahants* had attained *arahantship* through the *vipassanā* method. It has been clarified earlier that while the attainment of the three higher knowledges forms part of the process of attainment of *arahantship* of those who select that path after the fourth *jhāna*, the attainment of the psychic powers does not form part of the process of spiritual training. We have already seen that the attainment of the psychic powers was a special achievement which the disciple becomes capable of, if he so desired, after the fourth *jhāna*.

Another important factor that must be noted in this connection is that there is a difference between the three higher knowledges and the five psychic powers. While the three higher knowledges are part of the process of spiritual training taught by the Buddha, the attainment of the five psychic powers is not, part of this process and therefore not an essential element of the path as we have already seen. Therefore, there is no reason to get confused with a post-canonical division into *samatha* and *vipassanā* to explain the two types of *arahants* as the former has attained *arahantship* through the mastery of the immaterial states, while the latter has attained the same through the mastery of the three higher knowledges.

The Socio-Religious Background of Buddhism:

The Gangetic regions of India known in the Buddhist literature as the Middle Country (*Majjhimadesa*) comprising the area of the Kosalan and the Magadhan kingdoms and the domains of the yet independent tribal groups was the main area of religio-philosophical activity which we witness from the early texts of the Pali Canon.

While there were two distinct cultural streams, the *Śramaṇa* and the *Brāhmaṇa*, the Buddha belonged to the *Śramaṇa* cultural stream. During the early days of his ministry, his disciples who gave up the lay life and took up the higher life after him, did not differ very much from the other contemporary *Śramana* ascetics and were known as *samaṇa sakyaputtiyā*. When the *samaṇā sakyaputtiya* grew in numbers with the wide popularity gained by Buddhism, they came to be known as the *bhikkhusaṃgha*, with a distinct dress, rules of conduct and even residential accommodation for the rainy seasons. We are also aware, how the latter came to be permanent dwelling places for the *bhikkhusaṃgha* later on.

The Madhyadesa witnessed almost an outburst of *Śramaṇa* religious activity during this period. Not only were there independent mendicants and mendicant groups who had given up the lay life, known to us from the Buddhist texts as the *paribbājakas*, there were several *Śramaṇa* teachers who had attained popularity and acceptance in that society by the time of the Buddha. Thus, the Buddha was the youngest of the *Śramaṇa* teachers of the period. The names of six prominent teachers are known to us from the Pāli texts. The *Majjhima Nikāya* has several discourses which contain discussions on therir teachings. In the *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta* (*M.* 77) the six teachers are described as, "heads of orders, heads of groups, teachers of groups, well-known and famous founders of sects regarded by many as saints, *saṃghino, gaṇino gaṇācariyā ñātā yasassino titthakarā sādhusammatā bahujanassa*", (*M.* 11.2; Bhikkhu Bodhi *op. cit.* 630). The *Apaṇṇaka Sutta* (*M.* 60) and the *Sandaka Sutta* (*M.* 76) contain discussions on the teachings of five of the six teachers without reference to their names. Pūraṇa Kassapa's doctrine of inaction (*akiriyavāda*), the fatalism (*niyativāda*) of Makkhali Gōsala, the nihilism (*natthikavāda*) of Ajita Kesakambalin (*M.* 60, *M.* 76), the atomism of Pakudha Kaccāyana and the scepticism (*amarāvikkhepikavāda*) of Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta (*M.* 76) are subjected to close scrutiny as wrong and harmful views which negate the purpose of the higher life.

The teachings of the sixth teacher, Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta, the Jain *tirthankara*, are found discussed in several *suttas* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. (*M.* 14, *M.*

56, *M.* 101, *M.* 36; etc.). It may be noted here that the *Majjhima* accounts of the Jain teachings are much more helpful than the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* account for understanding the Jaina teachings. Bhikkhu Bodhi, commenting on the six teachers, "Whereas the Pali *suttas* are generally cordial but critical towards the brahmins, they are trenchant in their rejection of the rival doctrines of the *samaṇas*. In one *sutta* (*M.* 60) the Buddha contends that the firm adoption of any of the first three doctrines (and by implication the fourth) entails a chain of unwholesome states generating evil *kamma* strong enough to bring a descent into the lower realms. Similarly the venerable Ānanda describes these views as four 'negations of the holy life' (*M.* 76). The scepticism of Sañjaya, while not regarded as so pernicious, is taken as an indication of its proponent's dullness and confusion; it is described as 'eel-wriggling' (*amarāvikkhepa*) because of its evasiveness and classified among the types of holy life that are without consolation (*M.* 76.30-31). The Jain doctrine, though sharing certain similarities with the Buddha's teaching, was held to be sufficiently mistaken in basic assumptions as to call for refutation, which the Buddha undertook on several occasions (*M.* 14, *M.* 56, *M.* 101). The repudiation of these erroneous views was seen, from the Buddhist perspective, to be a necessary measure not only to sound a clear warning against tenets that were spiritually detrimental, but also to cut away the obstacles against the acceptance of right view, which as the forerunner of the Buddha's path (*M.* 117.4) was a prerequisite to progress along the road to final deliverance" (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 51).

Besides the six teachers and their disciples, the presence of independent *Paribbājaka* groups was a common sight in the areas of Buddhist activity. Many are the instances recorded in the *Majjhima* of either the Buddha or one of his prominent disciples calling at their *ārāmas* where they were resident at the time (e.g. *M.* 13, *M.* 71, *M.* 76, *M.* 77, *M.* 79; etc.), pointing to cordial relations with them. But, neither the Buddha nor any of his disciples are recorded to have visited any of the six *Śramaṇa* teachers. According to the Upali Sutta (*M.* 56) Nigaṇtha Nāthaputta sent his ardent follower Upāli to engage the Buddha in debate, which resulted in Upāli becoming a follower of the Buddha. Nigaṇtha Nāthaputta is recorded to have been deeply shaken by this incident and vomitted blood when he found for himself that the information was correct.

There were many sects or groups among the *Paribbājakas*. "Among these sects and parties there seems to have existed in primitive times a good deal of mutual intercourse. In the course of their constant peregrinations they frequently met together at rest-houses and also at meeting-places specially built for them, one of which is named significantly a Debating Hall (*Samayappavādakasālā*). The effects of these meetings and debates must have been considerable: they are evident at any rate in the early history of Jainism in the rules of one sect being borrowed by another and new sects growing by fission. Jacobi and Hoernle h. /e traced in Jainism borrowings from the Acelakas and the Ājivakas, and similar borrowings may no doubt be discovered in Buddhism also. Instances occur of the members of one sect going over to another or of a secessionist party founding a new sect, as the Jaṭilas become Buddhists, the followers of Sañjaya accept the Buddha as their *Satthā*; (S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, 1960.35).

The brahmins who constituted the priestly class of the Brahmanic cultural stream was held in equally high esteem by the society, as his counterpart, the *Samaṇa*. Thus, in the Buddhist texts we find the two terms always used together. "The compound, *Śramaṇa-Brāhmaṇa* is of frequent occurence in Buddhist and Jaina canonical literature; it occurs also in the edicts of Asoka with the component words reversed" (S. Duut, *Op. cit.* 50). According to *Majjhima Nikāya* evidence, the Buddha and his disciples had quite cordial relations with the brahmins. In fact, the Buddha's two chief disciples, besides many others came from the ranks of the brahmins. The brahmins accepted the authority of the Vedas and it was only the brahmins who could officiate at the Vedic sacrifices, the performance of which was incumbent at each and every important event in an individual's life. Thus, they upheld the authority of the *Vedas*, the validity of sacrifice and the caste system.

It must be remembered that the traditional brahmins regarded the Gangetic regions, the area east of the confluence of the Ganges and Yamunā rivers, being far away from the *āryāvarta*, as an area unsuitable for brahmin habitation (Marasinghe, M. M. J., *Gods in Early Buddhism*, 1974.10). It becomes clear from the evidence in the Pāli texts that by the time of the Buddha there were brahmins of high esteem like Pokkharasadi, Sonadaṇḍa, Kūṭadanta, Lohicca, etc., in these regions who had been given lavish royal grants (Marasinghe, *op. cit.* 31). It is also clear from the Pāli texts that these brahmins had large retinues of brahmins with them to assist them in the sacrifices.

The Buddha did not accept the brahmin claims to supremacy made on the basis of caste. In *suttas* like the *Madhura* (*M.* 84) and *Assalāyana* (*M.* 93) brahmin claims to supremacy and purity are taken up and shown that such claims cannot justifiably be maintained. Not only did the Buddha reject the brahmin division of society into the four castes, he set an example by establishing his castless society of, "the *bhikkhusaṅgha*". When one becomes a member of the *bhikkhusaṅgha* he discardas his lay distinctions such as name, caste, professional status, etc., and comes to be known as *samaṇā sakyaputiyā* as great rivers like Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhū, Mahī, shed their previous names when they come to the great ocean and come to be known as the great ocean itself (*A.* IV. 202). "The Buddha even stripped the term 'brahmin' of its hereditary accretions, and hearkening back to its original connotation of holy man, he defined the true brahmin as the arahant (*M.* 98). Those among the brahmins who were not yet hampered by class prejudice responded appreciatively to the Buddha's teaching. Some of the most eminent brahmins of the time, in whom there still burned the ancient *Vedic* yearning for light, knowledge, and truth, recognised in the Buddha the All-Enlightened One for whom they longed and declared themselves his disciples (see especially *M* 91.34). Several even renounced their class privileges and with their retinues entered the *Sangha* (*M.* 7.22, *M.* 92.15-24). (Bhikkhu Bodhi, *op. cit.* 50).

Thus, it is clear from our discussions so far that the *Majjhima Nikāya* becomes by far the most resourceful collection of the "Dhamma" for a clear grasp of the teachings of the Buddha, and also for an understanding of the socio-religious milieu in which Buddhism sprang up to become the most influential teaching of the sixth century B. C."

M. M. J. Marasinghe

MAJJHIMĀ PAṬIPADĀ See **MADDHYAMA PRATIPAD**

MAKARA resembles a dolphin or a crocodile. The snout ends in a trunk like an elephant's but shorter and often curled up so as to be inconspicuous. The body and tail are bird-like, but the early Indian forms as at Besnagar (3rd Cent. B. C.) had a distinctly fishy tail. In Indian astrology, *makara* is the sign of capricorn, the 10th house of the zodiac. It has also been described as a sea-monster or a swordfish. It is a mythical animal of a composite character. It is also one of the 108 *magul-lakuṇu* (auspicious symbols). *Makara* is the banner of the Indian god of Love (cupid). As it was initially associated with water, it had a fish tail (as at Besnagar) or the features of a crocodile (as at Kimas Rishi cave, Bihar, 3rd Cent. B. C.). In a carving from Bharhut, the tongue is shown to project from crocodile like jaws. Later the lotus rhizome, complete with flowers and leaves, was depicted emerging from the mouth.

In a *śilpaśāstra* work named *Rūpāvaliya*, in *v.* 148, *makara* has been described as follows:

Makarasya rūpaṃ: Gajendra-hastaṃ krtapāda siṃhaṃ
Varāhakarṇṇaṃ hṛda matsya dehaṃ
Harāla-dantaṃ Hanumanta netraṃ
Vicitrapatraṃ Makarasvabhāvaṃ

(Translation) "The *makara* has the trunk of an elephant, the feet of a lion, the ears of a pig, the body of a fish living in water, the teeth turned upwards, eyes like Hanuman's and a splendid tail".

This concept of the *makara* developed in Sri Lanka in the wingstones (*korawak-gal*) of the steps leading to shrines in Anuradhapura, where the projecting tongue, curved gracefully down to curl upward, at the bottom, with sprouts of foliage embellishing it. However, the tongues of the *makaras* in the *makara thoraṇa* differ from this arrangement and curve up, carrying animals such as swans, lions, *serapendiyā* and even human lovers.

This symbol has been used as an ornamental device in several ways. There is an example of an ivory casket where a *makara toraṇa* with four gods is shown. Twin *makaras* have been shown in an ivory necklace. The bronze elephant lamp (*ät-pahana*) from Koṭa Vehera, Dedigama demonstrates the use of twin *makaras* supporting an arch with a *ginisilu* (flame design) above the superior edge. According to *Gaṇadevi-sähälla*, in Ganesa's palace, there are pictures of *makaras* painted on its walls. *Makara-kuṇḍala* are ear-ornaments which are shown as worn by Hindu deities and Bodhisattvas. In Sinhala Buddhist art, *makara-toraṇa* forms the entrance to the inner sanctum where the image of the Buddha is placed. In Hindu art, Nadarājah is set in a niche and is surrounded by a flaming circle, which proceeds out of the twin *makaras*. At Beligala, there is a well-preserved moonstone and

its design is an adaptation from the *makara torana*. At Kelani vihāra, there are paintings of *makaras* as well as *makara toranas*. At the entrance to Lankātilaka-vihāra (Kandy), there is a *makara-torana*. It is also to be seen above the main seated image of the Buddha in the sanctum.

Makara-torana is an ornamental arch springing from two profile *makaras* facing each other and with a *kibihi* face in the position of the keystone. *Kibihi* is the face of an awe-inspiring open-mouthed monster. In a stone pillar at *Mädagoda-devāle*, there is a very good example of a *kibihi* face. A prototype of these curious ornamental arches (*makara-toranas*) are found in the chaitya-windows of the early Buddhist cave temples in India. *Makara-torana* shrines for figures of the Buddha were sometimes made of wood, carved in high relief, as in the example from Dänagirigala-vihāra. There is also a small example in the Colombo Museum.

One type of extant *makara* sculpture has the *kibihi* face replaced by two *makara* heads turned away from each other. In Buddhist architecture there is a popular belief that in mid ocean there is a large and fearsome *makara* to whose *makarakata* or jaws is drawn everything in its vicinity. In the Colombo National Museum there are 2 granite specimens of large looking fish tailed *makaras*. In course of time, the fish tail of the makara was replaced by the flowery-feathered tail of a bird. When fully evolved, the *makara* consisted of a trunk of an elephant, the paws of a lion, the ears of a boar, the body of a fish, teeth turned outwards projecting from the jaws of a crocodile, the eyes of a monkey (like Hanuman's) and the quasimythical tail of a bird. Thus this state of evolution is in conformity with what is enumerated in the *śilpaśāstra* work named *Rūpāvaliya*.

Kuvera's nine treasures include the lotus, *makara* and conch. Varuna, god of waters and goddesses including Gangā, have the *makara* or fish tailed animals as vehicles. *Makara-dhvaja* is the emblem of Kāmadeva, the Indian Cupid. The *makara* has been the emblem of the Bharatas of India. In course of time, architectural specifications for the *makara-torana* came to be stipulated. The height of the structure should be divided into 10, 9 or 8 equal parts of which the 3 on top should be occupied by the spanning structure and the rest by the two supporting pillars (*Rupam*, No. 26, April 1926). The breadth of the arch could be half its size or 4-6 *dandas*. A crescent shaped arch decorated with leaves is called a *patra-torana*. That which has a central ornament flanked by two alligator heads with open jaws whose tongues terminate in those of the *makara*, at each end of the arch, with decorative adjuncts such as goblins celestial figures, animals, swans, and pearl wreaths is called *citra-torana*. That with five curves (*pañca-vanka*) and two *makara* figures is called a *makara-torana*. *Kāśyapa-samhithā* also stipulates that the *makara-torana* must have the two fish like animals at the extremities. The central space filling spiral or festoon is called the *purima*.

After the 12th Cent. A. C., the space above the arch, on either side of the *kibihi*, were decorated with figures of Brahmanical gods or guardian deities (*lokapālas*). There are instances where these intermediate spaces have been variously treated. In course of time, the number of gods increased to eight, as at Danagirigala and Vattārama shrines. At the Lankātilaka-vihāra (Kandy), there is a magnificent *kibihi* face above the *serene samādhi* statue. At the entrance to the sanctum where the image of the recumbent Buddha has been placed at Kelani-vihāra, there is the classical example of the *makara-torana*.

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Nandasena Mudiyanse

MAKKHA-PALĀSA. *Makkha* (Skt. *Mrakṣa*) conveys the meaning of 'hyprocrisy'. It usually occurs in texts coupled with *Palāsa*. In the *Niddesa*, *Makkha* is explained as hardness or mercilessness (*makkhāyanā makkhāyitattaṃ nitthuriya-kammaṃ-Nd.* 484). It is explained as the smearing of another person's good qualities (*paragunānaṃ makkhana lakkhano makkho-DhpA*. IV. 181).

Likewise, *Palāsa* conveys the meaning of 'unmercifulness', 'malice' or 'spite'. Its nearest synonym is '*Yuga-ggāha*'. (*Vbh*. 357). *Palāsa* has the characteristic of domineering or dominance. Hence it is a synonym for *Yugaggaha* (*yugaggāha lakkhano palāso-VvA*. 71). Further the *Vibhanga* describes *palāsa* as

"*Yo palāso palāsāyana palāsāyitattaṃ palasāhāro vivādaṭṭhanaṃ yugaggāho appaṭinissaggo ayaṃ vuccati palāso*" (*Vbh.* 357). *Palāsa* is often combined with *macchera* or avarice (*Vv.* 15) and *makkha* (*Miln.* 289).

The commentary to the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives a description of *makkha* and *palasa* as follows:

"*Agāriyassa va anagāriyassa vā sukaṭakāraṇavinaso makkho. Agāriyo pi hi kenaci anukampakena daliddo samāno ucce ṭhane ṭhapito, aparena samayena, kiṃ tayā mayhaṃ kataṃ it tassa sukaṭakāraṇaṃ vinaseti. Anagāriyo pi sāmaṇerakālato pabhuti ācariyena vā upajjhāyena vā catuhi paccayehi, uddesaparipucchāhi ca anuggahetvā dhammakathānaya-pakaraṇakosallādīni sikkhāpito, aparena samayena rājarājamahāmattādīhi sakkato garukato ācariyupajjhāyesu acittikato caramāno, ayaṃ amhehi daharakale evaṃ anuggahito saṃvaḍḍhito ca, atha ca nisneho jāto ti vuccamāno, kiṃ mayhaṃ tumhehi kataṃ ti tesaṃ sukaṭakāraṇaṃ vināseti. Tass' eso sukaṭakāraṇavināsano makkho uppajjitnā cittaṃ dūseti, obhasituṃ na deti, tasmā cittassa upakkilosoti vuccati. Yatha cāyaṃ, evaṃ bahussute pi puggale ajjhotharitva, īdisassa ce bahussutassa aniyatā gati, tava vā mama vā ko viseso ti ādinā nayena uppajjamano yugaggāho palāso*" (*MA.* I. 169).

Hence, *makkha* may be described as the smearing of good qualities of a person by a layperson, (*agārika*) or a recluse (*pabbajita*). For instance, in the case of a layman who is poor, and another person sympathises with him and helps him to better his position; and later he erases the good deed saying: "What have you done for me?", may be described as *makkha*. Likewise an *anagāriya* (a recluse) who is well treated by his teachers and preceptors when he was a novice, with the four requisites and suitable instructions, well taught in the *Dhamma* and discipline by them, and later, when he is educated, learned, and honoured, respected by kings and ministers etc., he forgets what his teachers and preceptors have done for his walfare. When the teachers proclaim: "We have helped and brought him up from childhood but he does not have a good feeling towards us", he nullifies the good acts of the teachers and preceptors saying: "What have you done for me?". This quality is called *makkha*. The mental characteristic that arises in a person covering the good qualities of the learned, and when a student *bhikkhu* thinks that there is no difference between him and the teachers, preceptors etc. such an attitude may be called *palāsa*.

Makkha and *palasa* are mentioned as the 12th and 13th items of the list of 1500 *akusala dhammas* (*UdA.* p. 318).

D. Saddhasena

MAKKHALĪGOSĀLA, one of the six heretical teachers of India, generally treated as contemporaneous with the Buddha. Buddhist literature does not give a comprehensive account of the life and teachings of this religious teacher. His name is consistently mentioned as Makkhali-gosāla (Skt. Maśkarin Gosāliputra). Buddhaghosa comments that Makkhali was his personal name and he was also called Gosāla beacuse he was born in a cow-shed. (*Makkhalīti tassa nāmam, gosālāya jatattā Gosāloti dutiyam nāmam; DA.* I. p. 143). The commentator invents a curious story to explain the name and the life of Makkhali Gosāla. It is said that he was once employed as a servant; one day while he was carrying a pot of oil (*tela-ghaṭaṃ*) along a muddy path, he slipped his foot and fell through carelessness, although he was warned by his master "*Mā-khali*" meaning, "stumble not". This, according to Buddhaghosa gave his personal name. When he found that the pot of oil was broken, through fear he fled, and his master chased him, and caught him by his garment, but Makkhali cared not for the garment and ran along naked. Later people saw him naked and took him to be an ascetic worthy of honour and respect (*DA.* I. p. 142, 143-44).

In the Jaina records the name is given as Gosāla Maṅkaliputta-meaning Gosāla the son of Maṅkali. He was born at Saravana, a locality near Sāvatthi. His father was Maṅkhali and his mother was called Bhaddā. His father was a dealer in pictures-hence the name *Maṅkha*. Makkhali Gosāla himself followed his father's profession before he took to religious life (Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhist Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 298: Hoerule, ed. *Uvāsagadasao*, p. 1).

Barua says that "neither of these accounts (i.e. Buddhist and Jaina accounts given of Makkhali Gosāla) is historical". He points out that the true name of the philosopher seems to be Maskarin, the Jaina-prakrit form of which is Maṅkhali, and the Pali form Makkhali. The term *Maskarin* is explained by Pānini as meaning one who carries a bamboo-staff (*mascara*). A Maskarin is also known as Ekadaṇḍin. According to Patanjali's comments the name indicates a school of wanderers or sophists who were called Maskarins, not so much

because they carried a bamboo staff about them as because they denied the freedom of the will. Thus...... the Maskarins were fatalists or determinists (Barua. *op. cit.* pp. 298-99).

Barua points out on the authority of Hoerule's extracts from the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (Appendix to *Uvasagadasao*, pp. 2-4) that Makkhali Gosāla became a pupil of Mahāvīra in the second year of the latter's religious life, having Nālandā as their meeting place. They lived happily together for sixteen years at Paniyabhūmi, and afterwards separated owing to doctrinal difference. After sixteen years they met at Sāvatthi where Makkhali Gosāla had found a separate school of thought. But this chronology and the statement that make Makkhali Gosāla a disciple of Mahāvīra is disputable. The *Bhagavatī Sūtra* mentions that Makkhali Gosāla predeceased Mahāvīra by sixteen years, and was recognised as a teacher sometime before the latter. Gosāla's death was coincident with a great political event-the war "which king Kūniya (Ajātasattu) of Magadha waged with king Chedaga of Vesāli" (Barua. *op. cit.* p. 299). In Buddhist literature, Makkhali Gosāla's views are depicted in his reply to king Ajātasattu when the latter asked the former as to what the immediate advantage in the life of a recluse. From the account found in the *Sāmañña-phala Sutta* it appears that he expounded his theory of purification through transmigration (*samsāra-suddhi*). According to him there is no cause, either ultimate or remote, for the depravity of beings; they become depraved without reason and without cause. There is no cause, either proximate or remote, for the rectitude of beings; they become pure without reason and without cause (*"natthi hetu n'atthi paccayo sattānam samkilesāya, ahetu-apaccayā sattā saṃkilissanti. N'atthi hetu, n'atthi paccayo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā, ahetu-apaccayā sattā visujjhnti"; D.*i.p 53). The attainment of any given condition, of any character, does not depend either on one's own acts, or on the acts of another, or on human effort. There is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human vigour. All animals, all creatures (with one, two, or more senses), all beings (produced from eggs or in a womb), all souls (in plants) are without force and power and engergy of their own. They are bent this way and that by their fate, by the necessary conditions of the class to which they belong, by their individual nature and it is according to their position in one or the other of the six classes that they experience ease or pain - (*N'atthi attakāre.... parakāre....purisakare, n'atthi balaṃ.....viriyaṃ....purisa thāmo.....purisa parakkamo. Sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā....bhūtā...jīvā avasā abalā aviriyā nyati-saṅgati-bhāva-parinatā chassevābhijātisu sukha-dukkhaṃ paṭisaṃvedenti, Ibid.*). According to Makkhali Gosāla there are fourteen hundred thousands of principal sorts of births (*Yonipamukha*), and again six thousand others, and again six hundred. There are five hundred sorts of *kamma* and five-according to the five senses; and again three-according to act, word, and thought; and there is a whole *kamma* and a half kamma-the whole being a *kamma* of act or word, the half a *kamma* of thought.

Moreover he says that there are sixty-two paths (*paṭipadā*), sixty two periods (*antarakappā*), six classes or distinctions among men (*ābhijātiyo*), eight stages of a prophet's existence (*purisa-bhūmiyo*), forty nine hundred sorts of occupation (*ājīva*), same number of wandering mendicants (*paribbājaka*), forty nine hundred regions dwelt in by *nāgas*, two thousand faculties (*indriya*), three thousand purgatories (*niraya*), thirty six places where dust accumulates (*rajo dhātuyo*), seven sorts of animate and seven of inanimate production (*saññi....asaññigabbha*), and seven of production by grafting (*niganṭhigabbhā*), seven sorts of gods (*devā*) and of men (*manussā*) and of devil (*pisācā*) and of great lakes, and seven principal and again seven hundred minor sorts of *patuvas* of prepices and of dreams. According to Makkhali Gosāla, there are eighty four hundred thousand periods during which both fools and wise alike wandering in transmigration, shall at last make an end of pain (*bāle ca paṇḍite ca sandhāvitvā saṃsaritvā dukkhass' antaṃ karissanti; op. cit.* p. 54). Though the wise should hope; "By this virtue or this performance of duty, or this penance, or this righteousness will I make the *kamma* (I have inherited), that is not yet mature, mature-though the fool should hope, by the same means, to get gradually rid of *kamma* that has matured-neither of them can do it. The ease and pain, measured out, as it were, with a measure, cannot be altered in the course of transmigration; there can be neither increase nor decrease thereof, neither excess nor deficiency. Just as when a ball of string is cast forth it will spread out just as far, and no father than it can unwind, just so both fools and wise alike, wandering in transmigration exactly for the allotted term, shall then, and only then, make and end of pain".

Makkhali Gosāla denied *hetu-paccaya*, condition and cause; the efficacy of *kamma*. He is *an ahetu-vādo*-non-causationist. From the Buddhist point of view, Makkhaligosāla was the worst of the sophists.

In the *Makkhali Sutta* of the *Anguttara Nikāya*, the Buddha is mentioned to have said of this most dangerous heretical teacher as "I know not of any other single person fraught with such loss to many folk, such discomfort to many folk, with such loss, discomfort and sorrow to *devas* and mankind as Makkhali, that infatuated man". The Buddha thought that Makkhali Gosāla was born into the world, to be a man trap (*manussa-khipaṃ*) for the discomfort, suffering, distress and distruction of many beings. (*Nāham bhikkhave aññaṃ ekapuggalaṃ'pi samanupassāmi yo evaṃ bahujanāhitāya paṭipanno bahujanāsukhāya bahuno janassa anatthāyo ahitāya dukkhāya devmanussānam yathāyidam bhikkhave Makkhali moghapuriso... manussa-khipaṃ maññe.....A.*I. p. 33). At some other place, the Buddha denounced Makkhali Gosala's views as the meanest, "just as the hair blanket is reckoned the meanest and lowest of all woven garments whatsoever, even so of all theories put forward by recluses, that of Makkhali is the meanest. Makkhali....Infatuated man thus proclaims, hold this view: There is no moral act; there is no efficacy of moral acts; there is no role for human effort (*Makkhali....evamvādī evam diṭṭhi-natthi kammam, n'atthi kiriyam, n'atthi viriyan ti, A.*1.p. 86).

In the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* Buddhaghosa distinguishes between the moral effects of Makkhali Gosāla's doctrine on the one hand and that of the doctrines of Pūraṇakassapa and Ajitakesakambala on the other. Pūraṇa Kassapa by his theory of the passivity of the soul, denied action; Ajita Kesakambala, by his annihilationistic theory denied retribution, while Makkhali Gosāla by his doctrine fate or non-causation denied both action and its result (*DA*.I.p.166).

Makkhali Gosāla's philosophy as found in the Buddhist literature is vauge and ambiguous, and commentators also find their task, hopeless. Malalasekara comments that 'He (i.e. Makkhali) seems to have believed in infinite gradations of existence; in his view, each individual thing has eternal existence, if not individuality, at least in type. He evidently had definite conceptions of numerous grades of beings, celestial, infernal and mundane, as also of the infinity of time and the recurrent cycles of existence. He seems to have conceived the world as a system in which everything has a place and a function assigned to it, a system in which chance has no place and which admits of no other cause whatsoever, of the depravity or purity of things, but that which is implied in the word fate or destiny (*niyati*). All types of things and all species of beings, however, are individually capable of transformation, that is of elevation or degradation in type. His theory of purification through transmigration (*samsāra-suddhi*) probably meant perfection through transformation (*pariṇata*) - transformation which implies not only the process of constant change, but also the fixed orderly mode progression and retrogression. All things must, in course of time, attain perfection (*DPPN*).

All his followers are known as *Ājivakas*. (For a detailed discussion of his philosophy see *Barua, op. cit; Ency. Bsm.* ĀJIVAKAS; Basham, *History and Doctrine of the Ājivakas*, London, 1951).

M. Karaluvinna.

MALA, literally means rust or stain, as is *ayasā va malaṃ samuṭṭhitaṃ*, meaning 'as rust sprung from iron' (*Dhp. v,* 240). The term has been used figuratively as well, as in *itthi malaṃ brahmacariyassa,* meaning 'woman is a defilement to higher life' (*S.* I. 38, 43), and in *mulitthiyā duccaritaṃ*, meaning, 'misconduct is defilement in woman' (*Dhp.* v. 242). It has also been used as a technical term with reference to things which are defiled and which in turn defile the minds of sentient beings; in short, to the taints of mind (*Vism.* p. 587). In this latter sense, *mala* is a synonym for passions (*kilesa, kleśa: Vism.* 586; *Abhsy.* p. 44). All evil states of mind are referred to as taints or defilements (*malā va pāpakā dhammā: Dhp.* v. 242).

The texts give four different lists of taints; the most popular among them consists of the three basic passions, otherwise known as the roots of evil, namely lust (*rāga or lobha*), hatred (*dosa, dvesa*) and delusion (*moha: S. V.* 57; *Nd. I*, p. 15, II. p. 224; *Vbh.* 368; *Vism.* 587; *Abhsy.* 48). The *Mahāniddesa* in another instance (*Nd.* 1, p. 478) adds conceit (*māna*) and speculative views (*diṭṭhi*) to the above list of three; *kilesa* and *duccarita* in this list are apparently used as common names for those five taints. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* has a list of three, namely, the taint of immorality (*dussīlyamala*), taint of envy (*issāmala*) and the taint of jealousy (*maccheramala*: *A.*I, 105). The *Vibhaṅga* gives a list of nine as taints of man (*nava-purisa-mala*); they are anger (*kodha*), hypocrisy (*makkha*), jealousy (*issā*), avarice (*macchariya*), deceit (*māyā*), treachery (*sāṭheyya*), falsehood (*musāvāda*), evil desires (*pāpicchā*) and wrong views (*micchādiṭṭhi*: *Vbh.* 389). The *Dhammapada* (*v.* 243) describes delusion (*avijjā*, a synonym of *moha*) as the greatest taint.

The items given in these lists show that they include the three basic passions as well as some secondary passions like *māna, diṭṭhi, kodha, makkha, issā, macchariya, māyā* and *sāṭheyya*.

The items like *dussīlyamala* and *musāvāda* have to be considered on a different level, as they cover evil actions, rather than passions which give rise to [illegible] and sustain them. They may be taken as taints in the sense that they defile one's character.

The real taints, i.e., passions, are described as internal defilements, since they defile one's mind; as internal foes, since they work against one's spiritual progress and as internal executioners, as they kill one's good qualities (*Nd.* I, 15). They make people foolish and blind to the truth, and destroy their wisdom; they are therefore, harmful to the attainment of *Nibbāna* (*Nd.* I, 478-79). As rust, sprung from iron, eats itself away, even so one's own evils lead one to the states of woe (*Dhp. v.* 240).

The wise man must, therefore, remove his own taints as a smith removes dross from silver (*Dhp. v.* 239). The path to their removal is the Eightfold Noble Path (*S.* V. 57).

Of the three basic taints, the taint of hatred (*dosa-mala*) is destroyed by the knowledge that arises at the third stage of emancipation i.e. the knowledge of the path of the never-returner (*anāgāmi-magga-ñāṇa*); and the other two, the taint of lust (*rāga-mala*) and of delusion (*moha-mala*), are destroyed by the knowledge that flashes at the fourth and final stage of emancipation, i.e. the knowledge of the path to arahantship (*arahatta-maggañāṇa: Vism.* 589).

Those who have got rid of the taints in their entirety (*niddhantamala: Dhp. vv.* 236, 238) namely, the arahants, are therefore, called *Vimala* (*Sn. v.* 378) and *nimmala* (*Dhp. v.* 243), 'those without taints'. See KILESA.

Upali Karunaratne

MALALASEKERA, GUNAPALA PIYASENA (born GEORGE PEIRIS; sometimes referred to as GEORGE PERCIVAL): Sri Lankan scholar, educator, diplomat and international Buddhist leader. Prof. Malalasekera was born on November 8, 1899 at Panadure (17 miles to the south of Colombo) to Mr. M. S. Peiris Malalasekera and Mrs. Dona Selestina Kuruppu Jayawardhana. After his primary and secondary education at Saint John's College, Panadure, from 1906 to 1917, he was admitted to Ceylon Medical College (1917-1918). Discontinuing medical studies, he pursued a course of studies leading to the external degree of Bachelor of Arts of the University of London in Oriental Languages, which he obtained at the age of nineteen in 1919.

Educator: Inspired by the prevailing campaign for the national and religious revival through the promotion of Buddhist education, he joined the Island's premier Buddhist school, Ananda Vidyalaya, as a teacher in 1921. Elevated to the rank of Vice-Principal in the following year, he was oppointed its acting Principal in 1923. He resigned from Ananda Vidyalaya to proceed to England for tertiary education. He obtained simultaneously the degrees of MA and Ph.D. from the School of Oriental Studies of the University of London in 1925. His supervisor was Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids. He returned to the Island to continue his efforts in Buddhist education. He became the Principal of Nalanda College in 1926.



As the Ceylon University College, established as an affiliated College of the University of London in 1923, expanded young Malalasekera's excellent academic credentials were recognized. In 1927, he was appointed lecturer in Sinhala, Pali and Sanskrit. He was an instant success. His excellent command of both English and Sinhala, in which his oratorical skills were outstanding, contributed to his popularity both as an academic and a Buddhist leader.

He was elected Joint Secretary of the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress, the leading Buddhist organization which he served in many capacities for over thirty years: Vice-President from 1937 to 1939 and President from 1939 to 1957 and from 1967 to his death in 1973.

Scholar: As a lecturer at the University College, he concentrated on research and his major publications belong to this period. His Ph. D. Thesis on *The Pali Litererature of Ceylon* was published in the Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publications Series, London, 1928 (380 pages). He edited for the Government of Ceylon the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, the Pali commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa* and it was published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press, London in 1935 (Introduction 113 pages and text 700 pages). Continuing his scholarly analysis of Sri Lankan Pali Chronicles, he undertook for the Aluvihare Series of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) the edition of the unique version of the *Mahāvaṃsa* which has hitherto been found only in Thai and Cambodian Manuscripts outside Sri Lanka. Twice as long as the *Mahāvaṃsa* extant in Sri Lanka, this expanded version of the Chronicle showed how very important the study of Sri Lankan history was in Southeast Asia. Malalasekera's edition of this work was published as the *Extended Mahāvaṃsa* in Colombo in 1937 (Introduction 53 pages and text 380 pages). Simultaneously, he worked on his *magnum opus, the Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* in two volumes. It was published in London in 1937 by the Secretary of State for India in the *Indian Text Series*. (1163 + 1370 pages) The painstaking research, presented in lucid language in a form suitable for easy reference, provided an indispensable tool which was urgently needed by students of Buddhism and Pali literature. Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids speaks of Prof. Rhys David's unfulfilled plan to publish a similar dictionary of names. She says in 1937 "Then a keen and gifted student, once my pupil, consented to fill the breach. With Dr. Malalasekera, to undertake is to will to begin work there and then. And now, working as men-of-will work, in the leisure intervals of an educational appointment, with yet another large task on his shoulders ... the *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā*, published in 1935 .... unbaffled by a temporary breakdown through overwork, he has come as editor of the Names Dictionary to see land ahead." It was well received and on the strength of its excellent quality, the University of London awarded Dr. Malalasekara the degree of Doctor of Letters (D. Litt.) in 1938.

In 1939, he was promoted to the rank of Professor of Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhala of the Ceylon University College. With the creation of the University of Ceylon in 1942, he was appointed Professor of Pali and Buddhist Civilization and was elected Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies. Amidst his many academic and administrative duties in the new University, he concentrated on another major work: *English-Sinhalese Dictionary* (14 + 1066 pages), published in Colombo in 1948.

National and International Buddhist Leader: With the prestige gained through his academic positions and the leadership in the national Buddhist movements, Professor Malalasekera directed his attention to the international Buddhist community. Invitations which came from various academic institutions in the world took him to centres of Buddhist activity. Undaunted by the variety he saw in Buddhist traditions of the world, he was impressed by the unity of the basic doctrines and the opportunity for cooperative action. By 1950 he was convinced that a representative body of Buddhists of all traditions was ready to form a world forum under his direction and leadership. His invitation was accepted by 129 delegates from 26 countries and the World Fellowship of Buddhists was formed in Sri Lanka with him as the Founder-President. The strong foundation which Professor Malalasekara laid to this world body contributes to its continuing success as the premier international forum of Buddhists of all traditions. The Fellowship in its 50th year now enjoys consultative and operational status as a Non-Governmental Agency cooperating with the UNESCO (since 1952) and the United Nations (since 1995). Professor Malalasekera remained the President of the World Fellowship of Buddhists during the first two years until U Chan Htoon of Myanmar was elected to succeed him.

Professor Malalasekera played a key role in the preparations for and the celebration of the 2500 Buddha Jayanti. He was particularly active in the Tripiṭaka Translation Committee and the Committee on Religious Awakening. He was requested to prepare a concise book on *"The Buddha and His Teachings"*, which the Lanaka Bauddha Mandalaya published in 1957 (76 pages). On his proposal, a project was launched to compile a ten-volume *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*. He was invited to be its Editor-in-Chief. The groundwork for the *Encyclopaedia* was undertaken in 1954.

As the most widely acknowledged scholar, he was persuaded to seek election as vice-chancellor of the University of Ceylon. His failure in this bid proved to be a blessing to both scholarship and the cause of national development. He devoted his time and energy to the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* and through the worldwide network of scholars who held him in high esteem, many thousand articles were commissioned. Its office, set up in Colombo and moved to Peradeniya, was an international outfit representing all major traditions of Buddhism. He also took an active interest in the Peace initiative of the UNESCO. His book on *"Buddhism and the Race Question"* (co-authored with K. N. Jayatilleke) was published by the UNESCO in Paris in 1958 (72 pages).

Diplomat: The new government of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike found in Professor Malalasekera the ideal representative to the Eastern Bloc countries with which Sri Lanka was about to establish diplomatic relations. In 1957, he was appointed as Ambassador to USSR and was later given concurrent accreditation to Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. He was exceptionally successful as a diplomat and his international prestige was greatly enhanced.

From 1961 to 1963 he held concurrently the dual position of High Commissioner in Canada and the Permanent Representative to the United Nations. At the United Nations, he served as Chairman, Security Council; and member of the Fact-finding Mission to Saigon and of the Committee on Information from Non-self-governing Territories. His diplomatic career was crowned with his appointment as Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom from 1963 to 1967.

With the far-reaching reforms made in 1965 in the University system, Professor Malalasekera was invited to be the Chairman of the National Council of Higher Education.... a position he held until 1971 when the government decided to establish a single university with independent campuses.

Man of Action, Innovative and Versatile: Whether in Sri Lanka or abroad, Professor Malalasekera excelled as a man of action and creative planning, with matching power of oratory in Sinhala and English to win and motivate supporters for his projects. What he accomplished through the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress was incredible. Through it he became the national policy-maker in the field of Buddhism and his speech at the annual general meeting laid down guidelines for action. Education, social services, Buddhist temporalities, violence and drunkenness, and ethics received his in-depth attention. He was recognized as the most effective fighter for the rights of the Buddhists. He matched his words with action. He introduced a large-scale social service component to the programme of the Congress and set up orphanages, homes for the aged, and hospital and prison services. He also became an acknowledged mentor for many young activists. He was sought by the rising generation of artists, musicians, dancers and writers for advice and guidance. Hardly an association of theirs was organized without Professor Malalasekera as Patron. Colombo Art Association had him as its Secretary and the Colombo Art Gallery, where generations of budding national artists exhibited their maiden creations, owes its existence to his imaginative, persuasive and persevering efforts. He even organized the first Beauty Contest in Sri Lanka. The Government-sponsored Art Council of Ceylon had him as President.

Professor Malalasekera was closely connected with the development of radio broadcasting in Sri Lanka. The high quality of talks he could deliver *extempore* in both English and Sinhala brought him the distinction of being a frequent commentator of major events and the spokesman on various issues. He himself conducted a weekly Brains Trust (*Buddhimandalaya*) which discussed issues raised by the public. His Buddhist talks, especially in English, enabled the English-speaking elite to acquire an understanding and appreciation of their religion and national heritage.

Popular Touch: The more Professor Malalasekera extended his attention to public issues and the opportunities for direct communication with the people, the less was his concern with textual criticism and scholarly research. He was conscious of the general public to whom scholarly works were not readily accessible. He wrote for them popular articles specially on the history of Buddhism and Sri Lanka's spiritual and cultural relations with neighboring countries. Among the short articles which have been frequently reprinted and widely circulated all over the world are those on *"The Buddhist Doctrine of Anatta"*, *"Buddhism in Ceylon"*, *"2500 years of Buddhism"*, *"The God and Man in Buddhism"*, *"Buddhism and Problems of the Modern Age"*, *"Non-injury-a Fundamantal Buddhist Tenet"*, *"Buddhism - the Strongest Influence that Moulded Asia's Culture"*, *"Misconceptions about Nirvāna"* and *"Teaching of Peace and Happiness"*.

These appeared in popular journals and newspapers. He was the Editor of *"The Buddhist"* the organ of the Young Men's Buddhist Association of Colombo from 1945 to 1957. His editorials dealt with a variety of subjects and displayed his wide-ranging erudition as well as his deep commitment to the advancement of Buddhism.

Professor Malalasekera offered his voluntary services to a large number of associations which pursued religious and cultural activities and many were started by him. He was president or secretary. At the early stage, he acquired the nickname of *"Sakala Secredaris"*, meaning "secretary of all organizations". He was readily available as a public speaker and his audiences ranged from Sunday School Prize-giving in a remote village to sophisticated assemblies of international savants. He spoke eloquently and had a knack for being relevant and insightful. His sense of humour was excellent. As these speeches had been delivered without scripts or notes, a vast treasure of knowledge and wisdom remains to be gleaned from contemporary newspaper reports. It is a pity that most of his invaluable contributions of current thinking on social issues have to be reconstructed from memories of his contemporaries.

National and International Recognition and Honours: Professor Malalasekera was invited to serve on governmental advisory boards such as the Special Committee of Education (1942), Central Advisory Board for Education (of which he was President), Commission on Higher Education in Swabhasa (1954), Official Language Commission (1956), Committee on the Recorganization of the National Service of Radio Ceylon, and Editorial Committee of the *Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary.*

He was equally active overseas. He represented Sri Lanka at the Conference of Living Faiths Within the Empire (London, 1924); World Fellowship of Faiths (London, 1936); East-West Philosopher's Conference (Hawaii, 1949); Indian Philosophical Congress (India, on several occasions); International Congress of Orientalists (several times); All Indian Oriental Conference (India, several times); Pakistan Philosophical Congress (Karachi, 1955); Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (several symposia); Symposium on Buddhism's Contribution to Art, Letters and Philosophy (New Delhi, 1956); and Convocation of Religion for World Peace (San Francisco, 1965). He also functioned as President of Asian Archaeological Congress; Asian Cultural Organization; and Indian Philosophical Congress.

Professor Malalasekera was honoured with degrees and awards for his numerous achievements. Among them are the following: Hon. D. Phil (Moscow); Hon. D. Lit. (Ceylon); Hon. D. Lit. (Vidyodaya University of Ceylon 1960); Imperial Honour of the Officer of the British Empire (O.B.E.) 1953; *Chevalier de l'Order Nationale de Merite* (France); Commander of the Order of *Mani Saraphon* (Cambodia); *Buddhasāsanavepullahitadhara* (Myanmar); *Membre d'honneur de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.*

Conclusion: His death on 23 April 1973 was mourned as an irreparable loss to the nation. Academic and Buddhist circles throughout the world lamented his death with glowing obituaries which highlighted his leadership role as both a scholar and an activist. The most significant memorial for him is that the numerous organizations he established or inspired others to establish have continued to flourish and their beneficiaries express their gratitude to this remarkable man of vision and action.

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Ven. Dhammavihari), L. P. N. Perera, P. B. Sannasgala, Suddhamangala Karunaratne, Bogoda Premaratne, Ven. Piyadassi Nayaka Thera, Dr. (Mrs.) I. B. Horner, Christopher Reynolds, Howard Wriggins, Ven. Narada Mahathera, Lily de Silva, W. G. Weeraratne and Ananda W. P. Guruge).

Ananda W. P. Guruge

MALAYSIA Arrival of Buddhism in. South East Asia, Myanmar, Tailand, Cambodia and Vietnam have been Buddhist for over a thousand years. Fa-Hsien who visited Java about 414 observed that Buddhism was practiced, although it is an Indian monk called Gunavarnam who is credited with having really established Buddhism there. Later these sites were visited by I-Ching who travelled 671-695 A. C. The famous Sri Vijayan Kingdom in Sumatra was noted for its centres of Buddhist learning and the close contacts it maintained with the Buddhist University of Nalanda in the Seventh Century.

We know that during this period Malaysia also was home to many Buddists, judging from the large number of artefacts discovered in various parts of the Malay Peninsula, especially Kedah. Among them was a clay tablet inscribed with these two verses in Sanskrit.

Whatever natures have arisen through causes, their cause the
Tathāgata has declared and whatever is their cessation-
Speaking thus is the great ascetic (mahāsramaṇa).

Through ignorance Karma is accumulated; Karma is the cause of rebirth. Through knowledge, Karma does not operate; from the absence of Karma one is not reborn.

This indicates the presence of Buddhism as early as the fourth century A. C. in the area. Mahāyāna Buddhism is believed to have flourished here up to the 8th Century A. C. and possibly much later. India's trade links with the peninsula go back to the early centuries of the Common Era. Traders would arrive on the northern part of the west coast (Known to them as Suvaṇṇabhūmi because of the rich gold deposits they found here) in their boats, cross the land by elephant to the East Coast and continue their journey to China across the South China Sea. Settlements would have arisen to satisfy the needs of the traders, as they would have had to stay there for extended periods of time to wait for the arrival of ships or favourable weather to set sail. As at least some of them would have been Buddhist they naturally would have set up places of worship on both sides of the peninsula. Buddhist artefacts found in these places testify to this possibility.

There is evidence to indicate that some traders from the eastern coast of the Indian sub-continent were Buddhist. The northern parts of the Malay peninsula were influenced by the Theravāda Buddhism of Myanmar & Thailand, while the southern part was influenced by the Mahāyāna Sri Vijayan empire of Sumatra. They would have brought religious objects to accompany them to ensure safe journeys and set them up for worship in their temporary settlements. Artefacts found on the riverbeds and disused tin mines in Kedah seem to point out that this was the case. Buddhist influence would also have spread from the Sri Vijayan empire in Sumatra to the Malay Peninsula. However Buddhism does not seem to have played a very important role in the lives of the local people as there is no evidence of any ruler or the population having been converted *en masse* or even having left any mark on the culture of the people as Hinduism certainly did. After the Chola invasion of Sri Vijaya, Buddhism was weakened in the region, the final blow coming around 1300 A. C., making way for the arrival of Islam in 1411 A. C.

We are on firmer footing when we look at the spread of Buddhism via Thailand on the East Coast of the peninsula in Kelantan and Trengganu in later times. Buddhism was introduced to Thailand in the first or second century C. E. and became the dominant religion which even today plays a significant role in the Government and culture of the Thai people. As Kelantan and Trengganu were under Thai rule until the 19th Century Buddhism was widely practiced in these states. Even today many Kelantanese of Thai descent are devout Buddhists and they maintain important places of worship there. Buddhists and Muslims share a deep respect for each other and their degree of tolerance for each other is remarkable.

The arrival of the British and the development of rubber plantations and tin mines in the country created a large influx of migrants from China and Sri Lanka towards the latter half of the 19th Century. The migrants from Sri Lanka brought with them their brand of Theravāda Buddhism and they established a number of temples in the places they settled, notably in Penang,

Taiping and Kuala Lumpur. But aside from attracting English educated Chinese to their form of Buddhism they refrained from active missionary work to convert non-Buddhists to their religion. The Chinese who migrated in those days brought with them a mixture of Mahāyana Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, established temples, schools and hospitals and welfare groups to cater for their needs. Some of these establishments were highly successful and have continued to the present day, catering to a large Mahāyāna population.

However, as more Chinese became English educated, they were attracted to Sri Lankan Theravāda Buddhism, especially through the influence of the English speaking monks who came to serve here. Therefore a sizeable proportion of Malaysian Chinese are adherents of Theravāda Buddhism, at the same time, especially in the north, many of them have adopted Thai Buddhism.

In recent years many buddhists have begun to show an active interest in Vajrayāna Buddhism especially in urban areas. A very attractive aspect of Buddhism in Malaysia is that the followers of the three *YANAS* are quite comfortable with all of them and more freely from one to another as the occasion demands.

Overall, Buddhism is today practiced by about 18% of the total population of 21 million in Malaysia, but its adherents make no active efforts at conversion, being content largely to spread the knowledge about the religion only to those who are already Buddhists, and to counteract the missionary efforts of the proselytizing religions.

Today therefore Buddhism in all its three major forms is thriving in every part of the country and Buddhist leaders are constantly working to meet the needs of the population not only spiritually but in other areas like welfare and education as well.

There are 714 registered Buddhist organizations in Malaysia. They provide religious education for the Buddhists and are actively engaged in social and welfare work. Buddhist societies are also found in some universities, colleges and schools. There is also an active Buddhist youth movement in Malaysia headed by the Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia.

In fact there is so much Buddhist activity going on that Buddhism is slowly taking on a distinct Malaysian flavour with Chinese, Thai, Sri Lankan, Burmese and even Tibetan forms of practice being blended to satisfy the particular needs of Malaysians. One important feature is that while these different forms are so distinctly different, they do not see themselves as rivals in any way, mingling freely and recognizing their unity as Buddhists. The best evidence of this is the celebration of Wesak which commemorates the Birth, Enlightenment and Death of the Buddha. Right up to the period of Malaysian Independence from British Rule, only Buddhists of Sri Lankan origin celebrated this festival on a grand scale. But today all Malaysian Buddhists celebrate Wesak throughout the country, whether they are Theravāda, Mahāyāna or Tibetan.

Monks and Nuns: Monks and nuns are often looked upon as religious leaders, teachers and counsellors to the lay Buddhist community. They command great influence over the lay Buddhists and play a crucial role in the development of Malaysian Buddhism. ***Saṅgha***, which is the name given to the society of monks and nuns, is one of the components of the Triple Gem (the others are ***Buddha*** and ***Dhamma***) which Buddhists pay homage to.

There are about 2000 monks and nuns in Malaysia. Amongst the outstanding are Ven. Dr. K. Sri Dhammananda, Rev. Chuk Mor and Rev. Sect. Kim Beng who are well known for their publications and lectures. Rev. Kian An of Kwan Im Teng is well known for his social welfare work, while Rev. Paik Wan of Petaling Jayā is a distinguished calligrapher and painter. There are also many other younger monks who are making outstanding contributions to the development of Malaysian Buddhism, but names are too long a list to mention.

In April 1995, the Malaysian Buddhist Saṅgha Council, an association with membership open only to monks and nuns, was formed. Rev. Chik Hwang was elected as its chairman. In November 1995, this Council hosted the Sixth World Saṅgha Council meeting in Penang. About 800 monks from all over the world attended.

Buddhist Organizations: Unlike the temples, the 714 registered Buddhist organizations in Malaysia are generally managed by lay men, with monks or nuns as advisors. They are devoted to the study and practice of Buddhism. Chanting sessions and services are held within the premises of these organizations regularly. From time to time, Buddhist lectures are organized. Some Buddhist organizations also run weekend Bud-

dhist classes for children. Apart from these, Buddhist organizations are also actively engaged in social and welfare activities, such as blood donation, free medical services and charitable contributions to the aged and the needy.

Many of these organizations operate from modest residential homes or commercial premises while some of them, such as Fo Kuang Buddhist Association, Taiping Buddhist Association, Klang and Coast Buddhist Association, Sandakan Buddhist Association, Sarawak Buddhist Association, Kuching Tze Yin Buddhist Association own large association houses. Some of these buildings resemble temples and are often regarded as such.

Most Buddhist organizations were registered after Malaysia gained its independence in 1957. But the oldest registered Buddhist organization is the Sāsana Abdhiwurdhi Wardana Society, which manages the well-known Brickfields Buddhist Mahā Vihāra. It was formed in 1895 by a group of Buddhists of Sinhalese-Sri Lankan origin.

Operating within the premises of the Brickfields Mahā Vihāra is the Buddhist Missionary Society. Registered in the year 1962, this society is reknowned for its publications such as the "Voice of Buddhism" and numerous booklets. With a membership of 10,000, it is the largest of the very few English-speaking Buddhist organisations in Malaysia. Most other Buddhist organizations use Mandarin as their means of communication.

In the year 1959, two years after Independence, the Malaysian Buddhist Association (MBA) was formed. With membership open to Buddhist temples (individual temples are usually not registered with the Registrar of Societies), organizations and individuals, it is the umbrella body of Buddhist organizations in Malaysia. However, non-Mandarin speaking and non-Mahāyāna organizations are not affiliated to it. Currently, its membership stands at 24,000.

In 1962, the MBA successfully convinced the government to declare Wesak a public holiday for Malaya. (Records show that other Buddhist organizations, such as the Sasana Abdhiwurdhi Wardana Society, were also instrumental in bringing about this decision). This is interesting, considering that Wesak had until that time been celebrated on a large scale only by the Sinhalese in the country. But all Buddhists, especially the Mahāyāna were quick to recognize the important role this important festival would have in drawing Buddhists to the temples and making it recognizable as a major religion in the country. The MBA with other unaffiliated groups also successfully objected to the screening of films which were detrimental to the dignity of Buddhism. From time to time, the MBA, and other Buddhist Organizations such as the Young Buddhist Organizations and the BMS, communicated with the government on issues such as moral and religious education in schools, places of worship in town planning, and certain policy formulation.

One of the achievements of the MBA is the establishment of the Malaysian Buddhist Institute in Penang in 1970. This Institute provides courses in Buddhism at lower, middle and advanced level. It has since produced more than 1000 graduates, with more than 50 of them donning the robes to become monks or nuns.

In Malaysia, there are two Buddhist primary schools, and a Buddhist secondary school, namely, the Siang Lim Primary School founded by the late Rev. Dr. Kim Beng in Melaka, the Phor Tay Primary School and Phor Tay secondary school in Penang. However, these schools follow the government school syllabus and only teach an additional subject on Buddhism after normal school hours. In other schools, Buddhism is not taught. However, Buddhist Societies are allowed in some schools as part of their extra curricular activities. This is largely in response to the many representations by Buddhists, Christians, Hindus and Sikhs to have their religions taught to the children who belong to them.

Buddhist societies are also active in 4 of the 9 universities. There are also Buddhist societies in some Teacher Training Colleges. These societies provided the impetus for the development of Buddhist youth movement in the 60s and 70s.

Youth Movement: The Buddhist youth movement began with the formation of Penang Buddhist Association Youth Circle by Rev. Sumangalo, an American Theravāda monk in the year 1955. By the year 1958, there were 7 youth circles in Peninsular Malaya, and the Federation of Malaya Buddhist Youth Fellowship (FMBYF) was formed. By 1965, the FMBYF had a membership of eleven affiliates, about half of the number of existing youth bodies. However, the activities of the FMBYF came to a standstill from then on due to various reasons.

On 29th July 1970, at the First National Buddhist Youth Seminar held at the Malaya University, the delegates resolved to dissolve the FMBYF, and in its place, a new national youth organization, the Young Buddhist Association of Malaysia (YBAM) was formed. Present at this Seminar were delegates from 17 Buddhist youth circles including societies from University Malaya and other colleges.

Today the YBAM has a total membership of 234 organizations representing about 100,000 individuals. It is in fact the single largest Buddhist organization in Malaysia. It is recognized by the Ministry of Youth and Sports as the sole representative of Buddhist Youth in Malaysia and is represented at the Malaysia Youth Consultative Council. It also affiliates itself to the multi-racial multi-religious and multi-cultural Malaysian Youth Council.

The Buddhist Gem Fellowship: Originally started as the Buddhist Graduates Fellowship (BGF) in 1980 by a group of local university graduates, the BGF has grown to become a leading group of Buddhist leaders providing training and leadership support to college students in local universities. Through the Inter-College and Varsity (INCOVAR) Camps, the BGF has been successful in providing support and training to the students in managing the Buddhist societies at the various local universities in Malaysia. Many of these students subsequently become members of the BGF when they graduate, and they are in turn helping their juniors back in campus. It changed its name from Buddhist Graduate to Buddhist Gem to attract a large number of capable and qualified young professionals to work for the Buddhist cause.

Meditation Groups and the Local Sangha: During the past 20 years, meditation has become an increasing part of Buddhist practice among devotees in Malaysia. In the Chinese Mahāyāna tradition, temples which teach meditation include Hoe Beng Si in Kuala Lumpur, Taiping Buddhist Society (Perak) and Triple Wisdom Hall and Malaysian Buddhist Institute in Penang.

In the Theravāda tradition, many meditation centres were established recently. Those in the Kuala Lumpur area include the Selangor Vipassanā Centre, Wisdom Centre and the Subang Jaya Buddhist Association. Their teacher is Venerable Sujivo who teaches meditation based on the Mahasi Sayadaw tradition. There are also other smaller meditation groups in Johor Bahru (Metta Lodge) and in Kota Tinggi (Sāntisukārāma Buddhist Centre), both in the southern state of Johor.

In the northern region, there are meditation centres in Lunas and Bukit Perak in Kedah and at the Taiping Insight Meditation Centre and Sitiawan Meditation Centre, both in the state of Perak. All these centres follow the Burmese method of meditation as taught by the late Mahasi Sayadaw.

Ti-Ratana Society: This Society was formed in 1997 by Ven. Kirinde Dhammaratana an incumbent monk at the Buddhist Maha Vihara, Kuala Lumpur to provide welfare services to all under-privileged Malaysians and it has gained national recognition for the excellent work done. It runs an orphanage for children and numerous welfare activities such as a senior citizens club and an annual Caring & Sharing event to distribute money and other material goods for the needy.

The Buddhist Maha Vihara Monks Training Center: One of the biggest problems facing Malaysian Buddhists today is the non-availability of suitably qualified local monks to serve the needs of a growing Buddhist population. These monks have to be knowledgeable in the Dhamma and must be sensitive to the particular problems that Malaysians face in leading a Buddhist life. To overcome this problem a Buddhist Monks Training Center was set up under the guidance of Ven. Dr K Sri Dhammananda in 1975 and will be celebrating its 25th anniversary in 2000. Since its inception it was also responsible for the setting up of the Paramadhamma Buddhist Institute at Kelaniya, Sri Lanka. Both organisations have provided the opportunity for monks from foreign countries to be trained not only to understand the Dhamma, but also to carry out Dhammadūta activities in non-Buddhist countries.

All-Night Chanting: While this particular practice is commonplace in all Theravāda countries, it was an innovation to have an annual Pirith ceremony at the Buddhist Maha Vihāra in Kuala Lumpur. The first ceremony was held in 1965 with the aim of invoking the protection of the *devas* on the country and its people. Over the years many eminent monks have been invited from Sri Lanka to participate in this chanting. The practice has now been extended to most other Theravāda Buddhist temples in Malaysia, especially those run by Sri Lankan monks in the states of Penang, Perak and Selangor. One unique feature of the cer-

emony in Malaysia is the practice of inviting monks from the Mahayāna and Vajrayāna traditions to conduct the chanting before the Sri Lankan monks begin the recitation of the Pirith.

Conclusion: Indications are that Buddhism is on the rise in Malaysia. The number of Buddhist temples and organizations which have been established over the past 20 years bear testimony to the fact that the Buddha's teachings is alive and well. Many local Malaysians have also become monks, and a number of them have been in the monkhood for more than 10 years. Many young and educated Malaysian Chinese are also rediscovering Buddhism as can be seen in the increasing enrolment in Buddhist classes at the major Buddhist centres in Kuala Lumpur and other cities. They are interested in exploring the Buddha's teaching rather than relying on traditional customs and beliefs practiced by their older parents and grandparents.

The future of Buddhism in Malaysia is bright but much needs to be done in the area of Buddhist education. This is where the major Buddhist organizations, whether Theravāda, Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna must work together with a common vision to ensure that the younger generation of Buddhists are provided with adequate and proper understanding of the teachings of the Buddha. In this way, Malaysian Buddhists can experience the new millenium with hope and optimism.

Kirinde Dhammananda

MALDIVE ISLANDS, a group of numerous islands ("One Thousand Isles") comprising at least 17 inhabited atolls. They are situated in the Indian Ocean 400 miles south west of Sri Lanka. The people of the Maldives now profess Islam, but until about 1153-4 A. C. (Anno Hejira 548) had followed Buddhism. The comprehensive researches of H. C. P. Bell, the Sri Lankan archaeologist, showed this beyond all doubt.

The large group has Male, in their centre, as the headquarters of a unified administration. It is in the remoter and more southerly islands that the surviving traces of Buddhism have been found. These were at four places: Mundu, Gan (or Gamu) and Fua Mulaku (itself an atoll), islands of Haddummati atoll; Gan (or Gamu) island of Addu atoll. Except for *bodhi trees*, the constituents of ancient Sri Lanka's Religious establishments were evident in the Maldivian remains excavated and discussed by the archaeologist. These elements of a *saṅghārāma* were: *thūpa-vihāra-*(image house), *vaṭa-da-ge-* (circular relic-house) and *piriveṇa-* (monks' residence). The *ficus religiosa*, too, had flourished although no surviving tree was reported in 1922.

The Buddhist remains, exposed as they were to the attentions of such a monotheistic creed as Islam for over seven centuries, were found to be in hopeless and almost unrecognisable state. Had they not come within the view of an experienced archaeologist like Bell, the knowledge of them may well have been lost. Bell was able to recognize a total number of 5 *thūpas*-3 *viharas*, 1 *vaṭa-dā-ge* (tentatively suggested as such), 2 *piriveṇas*-besides appurtenat buildings enclosed by walls as so commonly found in Sri Lanka. The last named were of too uncertain a nature to describe.

How and when did the Maldivians come to embrace Buddhism? The answers to these questions have also been offered with a great degree of plausibility. The language of the people, before Arabic and later influences affected it, approaches most closely to *Eḷu*, or the "pure" speech of the Sinhalese or Sri Lanka. Thus the first colonizers of the Maldives were Sinhalese people; alternatively (and less probably) they were a band allied to the Sinhalese. In considering the two suggestions Wilhelm Geiger, an authority on Sinhalese and Maldivian linguistic studies, wrote: "the first view seems the more probable to me, owing to reasons which appear on a study of the character of the Maldivian language. This, in fact, shows a number of features which are characteristic of the Sinhalese language, and which have not arisen in the Prakrit foundation in Sinhalese, but seem to have originated on Ceylon soil itself." (*JCBRAS*. XXVII, Extra No. p. 3). Maldivian Buddhist remains too show great kinship with those in Sri Lanka, particularly of Anuradhapura. In fact, among them only two features have been recognized as (probably) being unique for the islands.

Monuments: These are here described from north to south in the order of their situation. It is not known whether they are still surviving. The first atoll where they were recorded is Haddummati. Mundu Island is the northernmost point of its known ruined structures. There was here a solitary low mound of coral which was all that remained of a *stūpa*. The local name for it was *Budu-ge* (in the Sinhaalese language, "Buddha-House"). The ruin had only one more feature, the curling balustrades (found incomplete) which had flanked the steps leading up to the shrine. The balustrades were the sole extant local examples of their kind in the

Maldives; they may, of course, have been a general feature as they are in Sri Lanka-but none other of the class remained.

Gan Island or the same atoll showed traces or Buddhist sites. The first is eastward and comprised a large ruined *stūpa*, a (probable) circular relic-house, an image house, a spacious residential complex enclosed by a wall, 2 unspecified ruins and 5 wells-two of which at least were coeval with the ancient survivals. Thus it was here that the largest group had managed to survive, although not too far away from the village itself. The *stūpa* was locally known as *Hat-teli*. In Sinhalese the expression would indicate seven basin-like pans which, as reported by the people of the place. Bell accepted after the discovery of a lone *chatta* of the pinnacle; particularly so, as he was made to understand that there had been seven of them. However *"Hatteli"* may be suggested as the corrupted pronunciation of *chatra*. This *stupa* was the biggest of all the Maldivian structures of their types. Its original elevation, less superstructure, has been suggested as 42 feet, and the diameter at base as 105 ft. Generally it does not seem to have been very different from the *"Havitta"* (*stupa*) of Fua Mulaku, commented below. The following finds from it have been listed: a flattish circular slab of coral 4 ft. in diameter and presumed to be the centring stone (*Indrakīla*); the face, in two sections, of a colossal Buddha made of coral-the measurements being 1 1/2 ft. from chin to forehead and 1 1/4 ft. from cheek to cheek, the original height of the figure (probably a standing one) has been reckoned as 15 ft. a small sedent Buddha figure of coral with traces of colouring-head, hands and lower half of the legs were missing; part of an ornamental head-dress of a Bodhisattva; one *chatta* from the (missing) pinnacle. The Building suggested as those of an erstwhile circular relic-house had probably been of the type at Toluvila, Anuradhapura, with the addition of a parapet with the post-and-rail design.

The image house, which also conformed to the ancient Ceylon pattern, measured 47 ft. from north to south and 43 ft. east-west. It had a large Moonstone step (10 ft. by 6 1/4 ft.), the sole Maldivian survival of its kind, it was of the simplest character, very much like the Toluvila examples. The residences were centrally sited within an enclosure 184 ft. East west by 146 ft. north-south. The wall was 8 ft. wide and had two openings. The plan of the residence itself showed it to have spread over an area 67 ft. east-west and 55ft. north-south. It was distinguished from Sri Lanka's monastic structures by its feature of triple fronting.

At the south end of Gan existed a small group in the place known as Kuruhinna. A moderate *stupa* (locally) *'Mambaru"* here had undoubtedly had its relic-chamber, for a square relic-casket (of coral) found in the debris could have come only from it. A few tiny beads and two coloured stones had survived the destruction of the *stupa*. The remains of unidentified buildings, one oblong and the other square, were also excavated. The *stupa* has marked features of the *smaller* ones at Anuradhapura, which flourished till about the 11[th] century A. C. In the basement platforms of the Kuruhinna structures there is a uniqueness, which marks them off from architectural types so far known.

South of Haddummati atoll is Fua Mulaku island which itself is a true atoll. There was a *stupa*, near the northeast sea front, called "Havitta" - corrupted from *"chaitya"* (Bell). This *stupa* was very close in design to the well known Laṅkārāma Dāgaba of Anuradhapura. In height and base diameter, the Maldivian *stupa* exceeded the Sri Lankan example. The relic chamber had been rifled; a few beads which must have come from it were found. When Bell visited this island in 1879 he had heard a report of the existence of an erect figure of the Buddha in stone. But in 1922 there was neither a report nor a trace of it.

Gan island of Addu atoll, the southernmost fringe of the Maldives where the survivals of Buddhist architecture have been investigated, had its ruins in the south-west, about 300 yards from the beach. These were classified into: *stupa*, and an enclosing wall around a residential complex whose form was not traceable. The memory of the former was clearly retained, for the local name given to the *stupa* was *"ustubu"*.

The Maldivian population numbered 80,000 in 1939; more recent census figures are unobtainable. The people carry on a regular trade with Sri Lanka and maintain good relations with the government. In spite of undoubtedly close affinities it is curious that history is unable to establish political links between the two in ancient times. The Maldives sent tokens of homage and sought claims of protection, for the first time in 1645, as records show (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*). During the colonial period of the British government in Sri Lanka the Maldives were a dependency of that bigger island, but are now independent.

The ancient historical name by which the Maldives were known has not been traced from any source whether in Sri Lanka or India. It is, therefore, useful

note a suggestion made by Polwatte Buddhadatta Thera that it might be contained in the word *Maleyya* (Sinhalese: *Maliya*) prefixed to such as Maha Deva thera mentioned among the ancient Sinhalese Theras. (Prefatory remarks to the *Sahassavatthuppakaranam*, p. xiv).

The above account reveals that Buddhist remains have been found in the southern atolls, the cluster which is largely isolated. The population closely resembles the Sinhalese (*Encylopaedia of Islam*) and the language is a Sinhalese dialect with the natural modifications brought about by time and geographical separation from Sri Lanka. This is particularly the case with Addu and Fua Mulaku which are cut off from Huvadu (Suvadiva) by the Equatorial Channel.

Buddhism was not entirely forgotten even after the time of the conversion of the Maldivians to Islam, for it appears to have been practiced, although in small degree, even in the 13th century. Practices which are manifestly repugnant to Islam prevail to this day among the people; their origins probably lie in the "superstitions" of the older creed. In fact, according to tradition the Muslim saint who was responsible for the conversion had sufficient tact (no less than courage) to ignore these survivals.

Bibliography: W. Geiger, "Maldivian Linguistic Studies" (*JCBRAS. Op. cit.*); H. C. P. Bell, "the Maldive Islands - Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy" (Govt. Press, Ceylon, 1940). The older references are scanty and are included in these two publications. The account in the *Ency. Brit.* Lacks the information contained in them, but the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, 1936, gives some of it as well as other sources.

D. T. Devendra

MALEVOLENCE See VYĀPĀDA

MALICE See VYĀPĀDA

MALIYADEVA, Var. Malaya Mahadeva, Maliyamahādeva, Deva, an arahant thera of Ceylon (*Tambapanni-dipe*). After receiving his ordination he is mentioned to have stayed for three years in the Mandārāmaka-vihāra in Kallagāma. He seems to have received his education from this *vihara* (see. Rāhula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Colombo, 1956, p. 293). He was honoured for his spiritual and intellectual attainment (*infra*). He was a contemporary of king Duṭṭhagāmini, who, once, during the *Akkhakkhāyika* famine, offered to Mahādeva and to four others a meal of sour-millet-gruel, which he purchased with the proceeds of the sale of his ear-rings. Mahādeva took his share to Samantakūṭa and shared it with nine hundered other theras (*Mhv*. XXXII. 30, 49). The *Vamsatthappakāsinī* mentions that the *thera* Mahādeva was among the eight arahants who accepted a meal of wild boar flesh from Sāliya in his pervious birth as a blacksmith (*Mhv*. II. p. 606).

One day while Mahādeva was going for alms in the village named Kallagāma which was close to the monastery, an *Upāsikā* invited the thera to her house and offered him a meal (*Yāgū ulumkaṃ*) and regarding the *thera* as her own son invited the *thera* to take all his meals at her house. The *thera* accepted the invitation and each day, after the meal he gave thanks only in a few words - "May you be happy and free from sorrow" (*sukhaṃ hotu, dukkhā mucca*). At the end of the rainy season (*vassa*) the *thera* attained arahantship and the chief incumbent of the *vihāra* entrusted Mahādeva with the duty of preaching to the assembled people on the *pavāraṇa* day. The young novices informed the *upāsikā* that her 'son' would preach that day, but she, not aware of the capabilities of Mahādeva to preach, as she had regularly heard only the thanks giving which also was limited to a few words, thought that the novices were making fun of her, replied that everyone could not preach. But the novices persuaded the *upāsikā* to go to the *vihāra* and when Mahādeva's turn came he preached all through the night elucidating the few words he used at the thanks giving for the *upāsikā*, with material drawn from the three *piṭakas*. At dawn only he concluded his sermon and the *upāsikā* became a *sotāpanna* (*AA*.1.pp.38-39).

The *Papañcasūdanī* mentions that once Maliyadeva thera (preached the *Cha chakka sutta* (*M*. III. p. 280) in the Lohapāsāda and sixty monks who heard him preach became arahants. He also preached the same *sutta* in the Mahāmaṇḍapa, in the Mahāvihāra, at Cetiyapabbata, at Sakiyavaṃsa vihāra, at Kuṭālivihāra, at Antarasobbha, at Mutingana, at Vātakapabbata, at Pacīnaghara, at Dīghavāpī, at Lokandara and at Gamendavāla and at each place sixty monks attained arahanthship (*MA*.V.p. 101).

Once at Cittalapabbata he saw a monk of over sixty years preparing to bathe at Kuruvākatittha and begged permission to bathe him. The elder through familiarity of his voice discovered that the request has

been made by Maliyadeva, a person worthy of showing honour, agreed to let him do so, though, no one had even touched his body during sixty years. This was an honour paid for Mahādeva's spiritual and intellectual attainment. Later in the evening the elder requested Mahādeva to preach to him. When Mahādeva preached for the gathering sixty monks, all over sixty years old, who were in the audience, became arahants. The same thing happened at Tissamahāvihāra, the Kalyānivihara, the Nāgamahāvihāra, the Kālakacchagāma and at several other places.

The *Visuddhimagga* mentions that once two monks asked Mahādeva for a subject of meditation and that he gave them the formula of the thirty-two parts of the body, which he asked them to recite for a period of four months (*cattāro māsemaṃ eva sajjhāyaṃ karothā ti dvattiṃsā kārapāliṃ adāsi*). The two monks, though versed in the three *Nikāyas* could become *sotāpanna* only by following Mahādeva's advice (*Vism.* p. 241).

In the *Jātakas* Mahādeva thera has been mentioned with several other *theras* as to have been associated among those various large groups (*samāgama*) who renounced the world in the company of the *bodhisatta* namely in the Kuddālaka, Mūgapakkha, Cūlasutasoma, Ayogharapaṇḍita and Hatthipāla Samāgamas (J.IV. p. 490, VI. 30).

M. Karaluvinna

MALLĀ is the name of a powerful warlike clan; their territory was located in North Eastern India. In the country of the Mallas, was Kusinārā the site at which Gautama Buddha passed away in *Parinibbana*. Thus in the Mallā country was located a place" which the believing clansman should visit with feelings of reverence (*D*.II. pp. 140-41; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II.p. 153). The name Mallā is the name of the tribe and it has been used to denote the country in which they lived (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* Calcutta, 1950, p.16; Bhandarkar, *Ancient History of India,* Calcutta, 1919, p. 51). This tribe is mentioned in the Buddhist and the Jaina literatures (*supra*) and also in Sanskrit literature. According to a passage in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (A.IV, p. 257), Mallā constituted one of the sixteen Great States (*Solasa-Mahājanapada*) that were extant as "political divisions of India at or shortly before the time when Buddhism arose" (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 16). This country is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata, the Great Epic of India*. In the *Sabhāparva* of that epic, Bhīsma, the second Pāndava, in his expeditions to East India is mentioned as having vanquished the kings of Kosala and Ayodhyā and subjugated the country of Gopālakaccha and the northern kosalas and the king of Mallas, and arriving at Himalayas soon brought the whole country under his sway.

"Tato Gapālakaccham ca sottamān
Api cottarān Mallānāṃ
Adhipam caive pārthivam vyajayt
Prabhun tato Hiṃavatah pārśve
Damabhyetya jaradgavam sarvam
Alpena kālena deśam cakre wase balī"

(Suktankar & Belvalkar ed. The *Mahābhārata,* vol. II.; *The Sabhāparvan* ed. Edgerton, B.O.R.I Poona, 1944, 2.27.3-4

During the time of the *Mahābhārata* war, the Mallas along with Angas, Vangas and Kalingas were thus occupying east India closer to the foothills of the Himalayas (Suktankar and Belvalkar, *op.cit. Bhīsmaparvan,* 6.10.44-45).

The Mallas, during the last days of the Buddha, if not earlier, appear to have been divided into two separate confederacies with two Capitals, one situated at Pāvā and the other at Kusinārā (*D*. II. p. 12, 128). According to Buddhaghosa, the distance between the two capitals was three *gāvutas* (*D*A. pt. II. p. 573 and 607). According to Rhys Davids, the Mallas of Pāvā and Kusinārā were independent clans "whose territory, if we may trust the Chinese pilgrims, was on the mountain slopes to the east of the Sakya land to the north of the Vajjian Confederation" (Rhys Davids.*op.cit.*p.19). But this location of the territory of the two Malla clans is not conclusive as Rhys Davids himself observes 'some would place it south of the Sākyas and east of the Vajjians" (*ibidem*). From the account given in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta,* it is clear that Mallā was not considered a prosperous land and the two capital cities Pava and Kusinārā were not regarded as cities of the first rank unlike Rājagaha, Vesāli or Sāvatthi, during the lifetime of Gautama the Buddha. When the Buddha told venerable Ānanda that he had selected Kusinārā as the place of his final passing away, Ānanda expressed his disapproval of the Buddha's selection on the grounds that Kusinārā was "a little wattle-and-daub-town, in the midst of the jungle and it was a branch township" (*D.* II. p. 146). Mallās had several other small towns. Anupiya was one of them, it was a

...-grove (*Anupiyaṃ nāma ambavanaṃ*) where the Buddha spent his first week after going forth on renunciation, and it was 30 *yojanas* away from Rājagaha (J. I. pp. 65-66). In the *Saṃyutta* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas*, another small township named Uruvelakappa is mentioned and there the Buddha lived for a short period (*S*.V. 28; *A*.IV. 438). In the vicinity of this township there was a forest-tract called Mahāvana and once the Buddha went there for his noon day rest (*divāvihāra*) after his meals and met the householder Tapussa.

The Mallas, like the Licchavis, belonged to the Āryan ruling caste the *ksatriyas*. When the Mallas of Pāvā heard the news of the final passing away of the Buddha, they claimed a share of the remains of the Buddha, on the ground that like the Buddha they too were *ksatriyas* (*D*.II.165). In the *Samgīti Sutta* and in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* the Mallas (both of Pāvā and Kusinārā) were addressed as Vāseṭṭhas by the Buddha and venerable Ānanda and others (*D*.III.p.209; *D*.II. 147), as they like the Licchavis, belonged to the *Vāśistha Gotra*. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, III.p.202, n.2) observes that "Vāśistha is apparently a leading family name among the Malls both of Pāvā and the neighbouring village Kusinārā." Then again like their neighbours - the Licchavis, the Mallas are mentioned by the Brahmin law givers and the lexicographers, to have been born of a *ksatriya* mother who was formerly the wife of another *vratya* (outcaste) and of a *ksatriya* and of a *ksatriya* father of the *vrātya* type *ksatriya* as he had not gone through the ceremony of Vedic initiation at the proper age. In the *Vaijayanti* of Yādavaprakāśa the definition goes:-

"Licchavim ksatriyā vrātyāj
Jallam sa viprapūrvikā
Vratyapūrvā tu sā mallam
Ksatrapurvā tu sa natam"

(Gustav oppert, ed. The *vaijayanti*. London, 1893, p. 72)

This definition of the lexicographer more specific on the side of the mother is not supported by the evidence in *the Laws of Manu*, where the stress is laid on the side of the father and the definition goes "from a vratya (of the) ksatriya (caste), (sprang) the Jhalla, the Malla, the Licchavi, the Nata, the Karana, the Khasa and the Dravida (*SBE*, Vol. XXV. Buhler, trsl. *The Laws of Manu*. 1886. Oxford, p. 406: *Manusmrti*, X.22).

In the formation of their government the Mallas were a typical example of the *saṃgha rajya* (*M*. 1. p. 231). Kautilya also mentions them in his *Arthaśastra*, as being governed by a *saṃgha*. i.e. a corporation of which the members called themselves *rajās* "which does not mean king in this connection but rather someting like Roman Consul or the Greek archon" (Rhys Davids *op.cit*.p. 13; and *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I.p. 157). According to Buddhaghosa the Mallas functioned as *rājas* in turn. When they were not called to office as *rāja* s they were engaged in trades. Some of them went to distant countries with carts loaded with goods for trade. Pukkusa was one of them (*DA* II, p. 569). Unlike the Licchavis who dominated the Vajjian confederacy, which consisted of eight clans and shared the common title of Vajji and lived in amity and concord, the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā preferred to be governed by their own *saṅghas*. Thus the Mallas of Pāvā and Kusinārā had their respective *Santhāgāra* where all matters both political and religious were discussed. When once the Buddha visited Pāvā in the course of his peregrinations, the Mallas of Pāvā invited him to their newly built council hall called the *Ubbhataka (supra)*. From the account of the distribution of the relics of the Buddha, it is also clear, that the two (Mallā) clans, while sharing the common title of Mallā the clan name, lived independent of each other. Thus the Mallas of Pāvā sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinārā claiming a share of the remains of the Budddha. The Mallas of Kusinārā maintained that it was in their territory that the Budhda passed away and therefore whatever relics that remained belonged to the Mallas of Kusinārā. This implies that the Mallas of Pāvā had no direct dealings with, nor shared any claims with their own clans-men at Kusinārā. Perhaps they were rival groups.

The etymology of the term Malla and the literary data that they were decidedly a martial clan, it is probable according to Law, 'that the word (Skt.) 'Malla' denoting a wrestler by profession was derived from the tribal name of these brave people' (Law, *Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1924. p. 151). According to the *Jataka* the Mallas were zealous in manly sports such as wrestling and their general Bandula's valour alone substantiates this (Cowell, ed. *Jataka*, II. p. 65).

Like all other *Ksatriyas* of the time, the Mallas were interested in education. Bandhula a son of Malla *raja* of Kusinara went to a far distant place, Taxila for education. The Mallas were an educated clan, and they anxiously discussed such religio-philosophical problems as *Sati-Samadhi-Viriya-Saddhā-Dukkha* etc.

In the early stages of their civilization the Mallas like their neighbours Licchavis paid homage to Caityas. A shrine called Makuta-bandhana to the east of Kusinara is mentioned in the *Mahāhparinibbana sutta* and that place was selected to cremate the dead body of the Buddha. When Jainism flourished in Eastern India, the Mallas were followers of Jainism. It was at Pāvā that the great Tirthankara Mahāvira passed away. Buddhist literature mentioned that "at Pavā the followers of Nigantha Nātha putta, were divided after the death of their teacher and even the lay disciples of the white-robe who followed Nāthaputta, showed themselves shocked, repelled and indignant at the Niganthas" (*D*. III, p. 209-10). This statement indicates that Pāvā was a strong hold of Jainism.

It is an interesting semblance to note that just as the Mallas of Kusinārā honoured the Buddha at his death, the Mallas of Pāvā (*var*. Pādā) along with the Licchavis honoured Mahāvira at his death. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra's* mention that to mark the passing away of the venerable ascetic, nine Malla chiefs and nine Lichchavi chiefs instituted an illumination on the day of the new moon saying, "Since the light of intellligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter (Jacobi, Trsl. *Jaina Sūtras*, pt. 1. *SBE* Vol. XXLL, p. 266) The Buddha, in the last days of his life, travelled in the territory of the Mallas, accompanied by five hundred disciples and at Pāvā he dwelt in the Mango-grove of Cunda the smith. The Mallas of Pāvā heard the news of the arrival of the Budha to their capital and invited the Buddha to their newly built council-hall called *Ubbhataka* saying, "Let the Lord be the first to make use of it. That it has first been used by the Exalted One will be for the lasting good and happiness of the Pava Mallas" (*D*. III. p. 208; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, III. p. 201). To the Mallas who were assembled in the new council hall, the Buddha preached the doctrine. It was also at Pāvā the Buddha had his last meal when he was attacked with dysentery and from there proceeded to the rival Mallian city of Kusinārā.

On reaching Kusinārā, the Buddha realised that he was fast nearing his death, and while he was resting in his death bed at the Sāla Grove of the Mallas of Kusinārā, he sent Venerable Ananda to the Mallas of Kusinārā to inform them that the final passing away of the Tathāgata would take place in the last watch of that night, so that they could take the opportunity of visiting the Tathāgatha in his last hours. (*D*. II. p. 147-148). On receiving the news, the Mallas with their men and maidens and with their wives were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelling their hair, and without stretched arms they wept, fell prostrate on the ground and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought "Too soon will the Exalted One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Too soon will the light of the world vanish a way!" Then the Mallas with their young men and maidens, and with their wives came to the Sāla Grove. They were the only clan that had the opportunity of honouring the Buddha just before his death. Ven. Ānanda caused them to stand in groups, each family in a group, and presented them to the Buddha saying, "Lord, a Malla of such and such a name with his children, his wives his retinue and his friends humbly bows down at your feet" (*ibid.*). All of them were presented in this manner. It was at the Sāla Grove of Mallas of Kusinārā that the Buddha received his last convert, the wanderer Subadda, into the Order and also breathed forth his last word 'We behold now brethren, I exhort you, saying :- 'Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation" and entered into the forth *jhāna* (Rapture) and finally passed away.

At the passing away of the Buddha the Mallas of Kusinārā met together in their mote hall and discussed means of honouring the earthly remains of the Buddha and in the meantime they received Venerable Ānanda sent to them by venerable Anuruddha with the message announcing the death of the Buddha and requesting to do whatever seemed fit for the Mallas. Then the Mallas of Kisinārā ordered their attendants to gather together perfumes and garlands to the accompaniment all the music in Kusinārā. They went to *Upavattana*, the Sāla Grove where the body of the Exalted One lay. There they passed the day in paying honour, reverence, respect and homage to the remains of the Exalted One with dancing, hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes and in making canopies of their garments and preparing decorations of wreaths to hang thereon. (D. II, p. 159). In like manner they spent six days honouring the dead body of the Buddha. Then on the seventh day the Mallas carried the body of the Exalted One to their shrine called Makuta-bandhana to the east of the city and there started to perform the cremation ceremony. The Mallas were instructed by venerable Ānanda as to the manner in which to treat the remains of the Tathāgatha. Then they ordered their attendants to gather togethr all the carded cotton wool of the Mallas. They wrapped the body of the Exalted One in a new cloth and when that was done, they wrapped it in carded cotton wool and then again in a

new cloth and soon till they had wrapped the body of the Exalted One in five hundred layers of both kinds. And then they placed the body in an oil vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfumes and upon it they placed the body of the Exalted One (*D.* II. p. 161-62). Before the arrival of Elder Mahakassapa the Mallas could not set the pyre alight. And when the homage of the Elder Mahakassapa and those of five hundred brethren was ended the funeral pyre of the Exalted One caught fire by itself (*D.* II. p. 164).

After the cremation, when the funeral pyre of the Exalted One was extinguished by spontaneous streams of water, the Mallas also brought water scented with all kinds of perfumes and poured it on the funeral pyre of the Exalted One (*D.* II, p. 164) and collected the bones of the Exalted One. These relics they placed in their council hall, surrounded them with a latticework enclosure of spears, and with a barrier of bows, and there, for seven days they paid homage as they did for the dead body of the Exalted One. When king Ajātasattu of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesālī, the Sīkiyas of Kapilavatthu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Brahmin of Veṭhadīpa and the Mallas of Pāvā heard the news and lodged their claims with the Mallas of Kusinārā they flatly turned down their request for relics and told the assembled crowds " The Exalted One died in our village domain. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Exalted One" (*D.* II. pp. 165-66). Buddhagosa elucidates, that the crowds from the above mentioned seven cities assembled at Kusinārā and threatened to wage war against the Mallas of Kusinārā if a share of relics were not given to each group assembled ... (*amhākaṃ dhātuyo vā dentu yuddhaṃ vā ti. DA.* II. p. 607). The Mallas of Kusināra challenged the claims put forward by the people of the above mentioned cities for relics and they maintained that they (the Mallas of Kusinārā) never sent word to the Buddha nor went themselves and accompanied the Buddha to their city. The Buddha came there of his own and sent word for the Mallas of Kusinārā. Further, they asked those assembled for relics "would you care to give us whatever treasures that are found in your territory. We have been blessed with the highest treasure found on earth and heaven and we shall not give it to you." And had there been a war according to Buddhaghosa, the Mallas of Kusinārā would have been victorious as the gods who were there to guard the relics, were on the side of the Mallas of Kusinārā. At this stage Doṇa, a brahmin, intervened and his suggestion that it would be unbecoming and unseemly to fight over the division of the remains of the Buddha who taught forbearance etc., and that let the eight peoples receive an equal portion of the remains of the Buddha was accepted by the Mallas of Kusinārā. On their request the brahmin Doṇa divided the relics equally into eight parts. The Mallas of Pāvā and Kusinārā received each a portion of the remains of the exalted One and each clan took their relics to their respective capitals and made two cairns in Pāvā and Kusinārā over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast (*D.* I, pp. 166-67).

The country of the Mallas was not a very important centre of Buddhism; but among the early followers of the Buddha were such eminent *theras* like venerable Dabba who on account of his virtues was appointed a regulator of lodging places and apportioner of ration. Khandasumana a son of a Malla rājā at Pāvā entered the Order and acquired sixfold *abhiññā* (Phys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren,* p. 90). There were such householders as Tapussa, Roja nad Sīha who were devout lay disciples of the Buddha. The Mallian Saṅgha at Kusinārā made it obligatory to accord welcome to the Buddha, lest any person transgressing the rule be fined five hundered *kahāpanas* (*Vin.* I., p. 247). Only two *suttas* have been delivered in this country- one *sutta* while the Buddha was residing at the Mango-grove of Cunda, the smith (*A.*V. p. 263ff.) and the other - *Kinti Sutta* of the *Majjima Nikāya* (*M.* II, pp. 238-243). The Country of the Mallas gained prominene as a result of the last days of the Buddha were spent in that country and it happened to be the site of the Buddha's *parinibbāna* thus claiming to be one of the four holy places for pilgrimage.

M. Karaluvinna.

MĀNA - Pride, Conceit, arrogance. According to the *Nettippakaraṇa mana* is of two kinds: Profitable and unprofitable. Any *māna* supported by which one abandons *māna* is profitable, but any *māna* which makes suffering occur is unprofitable. (*Yaṃ mānaṃ nissāya mānaṃ pajahati, ayaṃ māno kusalo. Yo pana māno dukkhaṃ nibbattayati ayaṃ māno akusalo - Nettippakarana* p. 87)

According to another classification *māna* is of three kinds: *seyyamāna*, *sadisamāna* and *hīnamāna*. When a person thinks that he is superior to others because of his birth, lineage, good virtues, caste, wealth, education, work, branch of study, science, hearing, intelli-

gence or any other object and produces haughtiness, raises it like a flag in the mind, desires for prominence, it is called *seyyamana-Vbh.* p. 353.

When a person thinks he is equal to others because of the same reasons and produces haughtiness, raises it like a flag in the mind, desires for prominence, it is called *sadisamāna (ibid).* On the other hand when a person disregards himself or thinks that he is inferior to others because of his birth, lineage, etc., such disdaining is called *hīnamāna (ibid).*

There is a Comprehensive description of *Māna* in the *Mahāniddesa*: (1) *Māna* is of one kind - that is the haughtiness of the mind. (2) *Māna* is of two kinds (a) conceit of extolling self and (b) conceit of contempting others. (3) *Māna* is of three kinds-a-conceit that arise when a person thinks "I am superior to others", (b) "I am equal to others" and (c) "I am inferior to others". (4) *Māna* is of four kinds - conceit produced by (a) gain, (b) fame, (c) praise and (d) happiness. (5) *Māna* is of five kinds - conceit produced by the thoughts that self is getting (a) pleasent forms (b) pleasent sounds, (c) pleasent smells, (d) pleasent tastes and (e) pleasent contacts. (6) *Māna* is of six kinds, conceit produced due to the accomplishments of - (a) eye, (b) ear, (c) nose, (d) tongue, (e) body and (f) mind. (7) Again *māna* is of seven kinds- (a) Conceit, (b) excessive conceit, (c) conceit surpassing execessive conceit, (d) disregard, (e) undue estimate of oneself, (f) self-conceit and (g) wrong conceit. (8) *Māna* is of eight kinds - (a) conceit produced by gain, (b) disregard produced by loss, (c) conceit produced by fame, (d) disregard produced byfame, (e) conceit produced by praise, (f) disregard produced by blame, (g) conceit produced by happiness and (h) disregard produced by pain. (9) *Mana* is of nine kinds - conceits produced by the thoughts: (a) I am superior to the superiors, (b) I am equal to the superiors, (c) I am inferior to the superiors, (d) I am superior to the equals, (e) I am equal to the equals, (f) I am inferior to the equals, (g) I am superior to the inferiors, (h) I am equal to the inferiors and (j) I am inferior to the inferiors. (10) *Māna* is of ten kinds - Here a person produces conceit due to birth, lineage, good virtues, caste, wealth, education, work, branch of study, hearing, intelligence, or any other object.

If somebody produces pride with haughtiness as mentioned above, raises it like a flag, desires for prominence (self - advertisement), it is called *māna.* All such sorts of conceit, overweening conceitedness, loftiness, mounting a flag, assumption, desire of the heart for self - advertisement is called conceit.

D. Saddhasena

MANAS See CITTA, MIND

MANASIKĀRA is derived from the word *manas* (mind) which in Buddhism is considered as an internal sense faculty or organ (*indriya*) which can be controlled and developed as any other faculty.[1]

Manasikāra literally means, 'doing in the mind.' Several connotations appear in Pali texts for the term *Manasikāra* such as Attention, Reflection, Pondering, Advertence etc. e. g. *Sammā manasikāraṃ anvāya* (by careful reflection).[2]

The concept *Manasikāra* generally appears in the *Suttas* in combination with the word *yoniso*, which literally means by-way of the womb. This means *yoniso manasikāra* enables one to see things deeply instead of looking at them only on the surface. Thus *yoniso manasikāra* is wise consideration, thorough attention, wise reflection, mental advertence, reasoned attention..[3]

Manasikāra is one of the two conditions that are conducive to arising of Right Understanding (*Sammā Diṭṭhi*) and of the factors of Enlightenment. Right Understanding is to perceive the unsatisfactory nature of all phenomena of existence, i.e. the true nature of aggregates which implies the realization of the Four Truths. All these, which are grasped and seen in the light of the three Signata (*tilakkhaṇa*) are directed by gradually growing insight (*vipassanā*). The other condition is hearing the doctrine (*saddhamma*) from others known as *paratoghoṣa*. This condition is external as it is received from outside. By listening to what is wholesome our own views are formed. On the other hand *Yonisomanasikāra* which contributes to Right Understanding is of the highest significance among

1. *S.* III. p. 60.
2. *D.* I. 13, 18; *D.* III, 104, 108.
3. *D.* III. 227.

the other seven factors of the Eightfold Path leading to Nirvana and Enlightenment because those are being guided by *Manasikara*. It is an internal condition which one has to cultivate. This is a difficult task because one has to constantly be aware of things one does in everyday life and counteract the arising of Cankers (*asavas*) and the five Hindrances (*Pañca Nīvaraṇa*) by radical thinking and application of insight, which is equivalent to the realization of the Four Noble Truths. Manasikāra is conceived as a psychological term in Buddhist literature. It is one of the seven mental factors (*cetasika*) that are associated with all states of consciousness (*cetanā*). *Manasikāra* belongs to the Formation Group (*saṃkhārakkhanda*), according to *Suttas*. It is one of the mental factors where all phenomena of existence are summed up under the aspects of five Groups: corporeality (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*) mental formation (*saṃkhārā*) and consciousness (*viññaṇa*) which is *Bhavaṅga* a sub conscious thought process. *Manasikāra* is also given as one of the factors representative of mind (*nāma*). *Nāma* is used as a collective of "Feeling (*vedanā*), (manasikāra)... this O! Brother, is called mind/ mentality (nāma)".[1] It is the mind's first contact with an object, which links the associated mental factors to the object (*āvajjanā*) creating awareness of the object. It could be either physical obect (*pañca-dvāra-āvajjanā*) or mental object (*mano-dvāra-āvajjanā*). Thus it could be said that Manasikāra is the most significant factor in two specific classes of consciousness, Sensing (*āvajjanā*) at the five sense doors or sensing at the mind door which is a conscious thought process (*cittavithi*) these two states of consciousness breaking through the subconscious life continuum (*bhavāṅga*) form the first stage in the perceptual process as it appears in the Visuddhi Magga as *cittavīthi*, viññaṇa-kicci[2] *Ayoniso-Manasikāra* Unsystematic or Unwise Attention does not direct one to radical thinking, but leads to the arising of Cankers (*āsavas*) and of the Five Hindrances (*Nivaranas*)[3]

N. Narangoda

MĀNATTA is the penance attached to the commission of a *Saṅghādisesa* (q. v.) offence. The meaning of the term regarding the *Vinaya* ritual is doubtful, and if taken as derived from *māna* it might be explained as measuring or taking measures. The Buddhist Sanskrit form is *māṇāpya* meaning something pleasant (*Mahāvyutpatti*, 262).

Mānatta is very often followed by another term *Parivāsa* which connotes "probation", corresponding to that for membership in a religious body.

The set of *vinaya* rules or *Pātimokkha* rules for *bhukkus* comprises 227 *sikkhāpada* or disciplinary rules, whereas for *bhikkhuṇis* the number of rules increases up to 311.

Out of the 227 rules, breaking one or more of the first set of four (*pārājikā*) and the second set of 13 (*saṅghādisesa*) are grievous offences (*garukāpatti*). A *bhikkhu* who commits one or more of the four-*pārajikā* (defeat) offences is considered to have lost his higher-ordination (*upasampadā*). The thirteen-*saṅghādisesa* rules, when broken, require a formal meeting of the Order. If a monk is convicted of one or more of these offences he is temporarily suspended from the order. One portion of the disciplinary procedures he must undergo in order to be rehabilitated is called *mānatta*.

Once a monk commits a particular *saṅghādisesa* offence, he must announce it to one or more of the members of the Order. Thereafter he must observe the *mānatta* discipline for six nights. *Vinaya* (11. p. 38) contains the procedure as to how the order should inflict *mānatta* as set forth by the Buddha, on the monk named Udāyin who had committed the first *saṅghādisesa* offence i.e. the intentional emission of semen, and who had as well announced it to other monks.

"And thus, monks, should it be inflicted: Monks, that monk Udayin, having approached the Order, having arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, having honoured the feet of the senior monks, having sat on his haunches, having saluted with joined palms, should speak thus to it: 'Honoured Sirs, I fell into one offence.... not concealed. So I honoured sirs, ask the Order for *mānatta* (discipline) for six nights on account of the one offence.... not concealed. I, honoured Sir's fell into one offence and a second ... not concealed, time I ask the Order... not concealed. I honored sirs, fell into one offence..... not concealed. And a third

1. *M.* I.9, *D.* III. 104.
2. *Vism.* XIV. 152.
3. *S.* II. 3

time I ask the Order for *mānatta* (discipline) for six nights on account of the one offence: the intentional emission of semen, not concealed'.

"The Order should be informed by an experienced, competent monk, saying: Honoured Sirs let the Order listen to me. This monk Udāyin fell into one offence.... not concealed. He is asking the Order for *mānatta* (discipline) for six nights on account of the one offence.... not concealed. If it seems right to the Order, the Order may inflict *mānatta* (discipline) for six nights on the monk Udayin on account of the one offence..... not concealed. This is the motion. Honoured Sirs, let the Order listen to me. This monk Udāyin fell into one offence.... not concealed. He is asking the Order for *mānatta* (discipline) ... not concealed. The Order is inflicting *mānatta* (discipline) for six nights on the monk Udāyin on account of the one offence.... not concealed. If the infliction of *mānatta* (discipline) for six nights on the monk Udāyin on account of the one offence... not concealed is pleasing to the venerable ones, they should be silent; he to whom it is not pleasing should speak. And a second time I speak forth this matter. And a third time I speak forth this matter: Honoured Sirs let the Order listen to me. This monk Udāyin.... should speak. *Mānatta* (discipline) is being inflicted by the Order for six nights on the monk Udāyin for the one offence: intentional emission of semen, not concealed. It it pleasing to the Order, therefore it is silent. Thus do I understand this." (I.B. Horner: *Book of the discipline*. Vol. V, p.56)

There is a distinction between *saṅghādisesa* offences, which are announced forthwith on the day of commission and those which have been concealed from members of the Order for any length of time. *Mānatta* is inflicted on the offender immediately who has not concealed the commission of the offence; i.e. who has announced it forthwith.

One who has concealed the offence has to undergo additional penalty of *parivāsa* (probation) for the number of days of the offence had been concealed. After the offender has behaved well under the penalty of *parivāsa* (probation) for concealing his offence, *mānatta*, the penalty for the actual *saṅghādisesa* offence would be imposed (*Vin*. II. 40).

A monk may lapse into error during the period of his sentence. If, at the time of his second offence, he is still serving his probation period for the first offence which he had concealed, or has just finished probation but not started on his *mānatta*, then he is called upon to serve his period of probation over again. But if the second offence is committed during the period of *mānatta* or when he is about to be rehabilitated then he will serve only the full period of *mānatta* again.

The behaviour proper for those serving a period of *parivāsa* or *mānatta* is recommended in the *Vinaya* (*Vin*. II, 32). It is reiterated that he who is under a penalty should make it known to the rest of the monks. Being both guest and host should inform the other monks of his position. He should also announce it at the regular assemblies of *Uposatha* and *pavāraṇa*. Even in the case of illness, when personal attendance is impossible, he should communicate it through a messenger who would be a full-fledged monk and not a non-higher ordained one (*anupasampanna Vin*. II, 32, *VinA* VI. 1166). One, who is under the *mānatta* (discipline), has the additional burden of announcing the fact of his being under the penalty each day (*Vin*. II. 35). The offender cannot evade informing the fellow members that he is under a penalty. For instance, during this period he should not take to the vow of forest-residence to avoid meeting other monks who come to his residence, or not take to the vow of begging for his meals so that he may avoid occupying the last of the seats which he would have to accept in the alms hall, as a part of the penalty (*Vin*. II. 32). The above instances show that no monk who is under probation or *mānatta* discipline should make a secret of it to fellow members of the Order.

Ninety-four observances are laid down as the pattern of conduct for the monk under probation (*catunavutiparivāsikavatta*) and are more or less identical with those for the one who is under *mānatta* (*Vin*. II. 32-35). Under these penalties a number of privileges, which a monk is normally entitled to enjoy, are withdrawn from him. His authority is reduced and freedom of action is curtailed. Only the first 18 items, which are common to both those who are under *parivāsa* and *mānatta* as well as to all acts of punishments (*daṇḍakamma, (q.v.)*. run as follows.

1. He should not ordain another.
2. He should not give guidance.
3. No novice should attend on him.
4. He should not consent to an agreement to exhort to the nuns.
5. Even if agreed upon he should not exhort nuns.
6. He should not fall into that same offence for which he was granted probation.

7. Nor into another that is similar.
8. Nor into one that is worse.
9. He should not find fault with the formal act taken against him.
10. He should not find fault with those who carry out the formal act.
11. He should not suspend a regular monk's observance.
12. He should not suspend his invitation.
13. He should not issue commands at monastic functions.
14. He should not set up authority at monastic functions.
15. He should not ask for leave.
16. He should not reprove another monk.
17. He should not remind another monk of an offence.
18. He should not quarrel with other monks.

There are four kinds of interruptions (*ratticcheda*) for a monk undergoing *mānatta*.

1. Dwelling with another (*sahavāsa*) monk under the same roof.
2. Being absent (*vippavāsa*)
3. Not announcing (*anārocanā*)
4. Going about with less than a group (*Ūṇe gaṇe caraṇaṃ*)

A monk undergoing *mānatta* should not spend the night with another monk. He should spend the night in a dwelling in which no regular monk spends. But he should be present in front of them before the day dawn. He should also announce that he is under the discipline. The offender undergoing *mānatta* should observe it every evening before a group of monks numbering four or more (*VinA*. 1. 170). If one or more of the above conditions are not met out it is an interruption (*ratticcheda*) and he has to undergo the discipline for an additional night.

Parivāsa and *mānatta* differ from each other by the number of monks attending the ritual. *Parivāsa* needs at least one monk other than the offender, whereas to undergo *mānatta* there should be four or more than that.

Due to certain unavoidable reasons some monks undergoing *mānatta* found it very difficult to carry through their discipline. For instance, once a large number of monks gathered together at Savatti; monks under probation were not able to carry through their probation since it was impossible to announce their position to each and every monk of the large group. In such cases offenders are allowed by the Buddha to postpone *parivāsa* and *manatta* disciplines and to take up the observance later on.

After the *manatta* discipline the offender of *saṅghādisesa* rule is rehabilitated by the order of monks by carrying out another disciplinary ritual called *Abbhāhana*. (See also PĀTIMOKKHA and VINAYA).

Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

MANĀYATANA See **ĀYATANA, MIND, CITTA**

MAṄGALA: According to the *PTS* Dictionary, the term is derived from the root *maṅg* and is explained as, "auspicious, prosperous, lucky, and festive.....[1]. In the Monier Williams Dictionary it is explained as: "happiness, felicity, welfare, bliss, anything auspicious or tending to a lucky issue (e.g. a good omen, a prayer, benedication, auspicious ornament or amulet, a festival or any solemn ceremony on important occasions & c...."[2]. In the *Paramatthajotika* Buddhaghosa defines the term *maṅgala* as *iddhikarana, vuddhikarana* and *sabbasampattikarana*'.[3]

Iddhi is a very rich concept in the Buddhist literature. A king is said to possess four *iddhis*, which are enumerated as personal beauty, long life, good health and popularity.[4] The *iddhi* of a rich young noble consists of a beautiful garden, soft and pleasant clothing, and different houses for different seasons and good food....[5] According to *M*. 1.152, the *iddhi* of a hunter is the craft and skill with which he captures game, but at *M* 1.155 other game have an *iddhi* of their own by which they outwit the hunter.[6]

1. s.v. *PED*.
2. s.v. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Sir William Monier
3. *Paramatthajotika*, 123
4. *D*. II. 177; *M*. III. 176
5. *A*. 1. 145
6. s.v. *PTS* Dictionary.

Accordingly, *iddhikarana* means that which causes or increases an individual's material prosperity and welfare. Similarly, *vuddhikarana* refers to that which causes or ensues one's success and prosperity. *Sabbasampattikarana* is that which brings or increases the overall good fortune, accomplishment and success.

Thus, according to Buddhaghosa *maṅgala* includes all aspects of personal and worldly power, prosperity and welfare. The term *maṅgala* has also been used to describe a wide variety of things and events which were conceived as auspicious or lucky and regarded therefore as conducive to one's prosperity. Buddhaghosa introduces them under three principle divisions as *diṭṭhamaṅgala, sutamaṅgāla* and *muta maṅgala*[1].

Diṭṭhamaṅgala is the sight of such auspicious things as the first thing in the morning such as: *bhāsasakunaṃ*, a bird of prey, *beḷuvalaṭṭhim*, a young sprout of the vilva tree, *gabbhinim*, a pregnant woman, *kumārake*, a youth, *alaṃkatapaṭiyatte puṇṇaghaṭe*, a decorated full pitcher, *allarohitamacchaṃ*, a fresh fish, *ājaññaṃ*, a thoroughbred horse, *ājaññarathaṃ*, a carriage drawn by thoroughbred horses, *usabhaṃ*, a bull,[2] *gaviṃ*, a cow, *kapilagavaṃ*, a brown cow or the site of any other omen regarded as auspicious.

Sutamaṅgala is hearing as the first thing in the morning, of auspicious sounds or pronouncements such as *vaḍḍhā*, prosperous, *vaḍḍhamānā*, increasing, growing, *puṇṇā*, full, *phussā*, blossomed, clear, *sumanā*, happy, *sirī*, luck, glory, *sirivaḍḍhā*, increase in glory, *sunakkhattaṃ*, an auspicious constellation, *sumuhuttaṃ*, an auspicious moment, *sudivasaṃ*, and auspicious day, *sumaṅgalaṃ*, a very auspicious day or the hearing of any other sound or pronouncement accepted as auspicious.

Mutamaṅgala is explained as, *padumagandhādi pupphagandhā vā ghāyati*, the smelling of sweet and pleasant scents like the scents of flowers like the lotus; *phussadantakhaṭṭam vā khādati*, the sensation experienced when cleaning teeth with excellent toothbrush as used by the Brahmins; *paṭhaviṃ vā āmasati*, touching the earth; *haritasassaṃ, allagomayaṃ, kacchapaṃ, tilavāhaṃ, phalaṃ vā āmasati*, the touch of fresh grain, fresh cow dung, tortoise, a cart load of sesame seed, fruits, *phussamattikāya vā samālimpati*, the touch of fine clay; *phussasāṭakam vā nivāseti*, the sensation of wearing an excellent robe; *phussaveṭhanaṃ vā dhāreti*, the sensation of wearing a fine head-gear or the smelling of any other scent, the tasting of any other taste, and the sensation from feeling any other touch, are included under *mutamaṅgala*.[3]

The belief and acceptance that the sight and smell of, or contact with, certain things can be auspicious and therefore being good luck and prosperity is naturally based on the acceptance that the sight and smell of, or contact with, things regarded as inauspicious is detrimental or harmful to one's progress, prosperity and well being. It was this belief in the inauspicious, which led to the formulation of measures regarded as potent to dispel evil and bring blessing and ensure prospeiy and well being.

The Indian society of the Buddha's day evidently witnessed important occasions of life from the birth of an individual to his death and even after, covered with such protective and blesssing rites. These occasions of rites are also named as auspicious (*maṅgala*). The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* reference where Buddhaghosa enumerates some of these as *nāmakaraṇa maṅgalaṃ*, the naming ceremony, *āhāraparibhoga maṅgalaṃ*, the feeding ceremony, *Kaṇṇavijjana maṅgalaṃ*, the ear-piercing ceremony, *dussagahana maṅgalaṃ*, the clothing ceremony, and the *cūlakappana maṅgalaṃ*, the ceremony for hairdressing, etc.,[4] can reasonably be taken as throwing some light on these.

Emperor Asoka mentions a few of the ceremonies, which perhaps were in vogue in the contemporary society. "People perform various ceremonies on occasions of sickness, the weddings of sons, the weddings of daughters, the birth of children, and departure on journeys. On these and other similar occasions people perform various ceremonies" (*Jane ucāvucam maṅgalaṃ kalety, ābādhasi, vivahasi, pajopadane pavāhasi; atāye amnāye cā edisāye jane bahu maṅgalam kaleti*).[5] It it also stated by Asoka that, "at such times the womankind perform manifold, trivial and worthless ceremonies"

1. *KhpA*. 118f.
2. It is a symbol of manliness and strength
3. *KhpA*. 119 f.
4. *DhpA*. 11. 87
5. Vincent A. Smith, *Edicts of Asoka*, 14, Eggermont & Hoftijzer, *The Moral Edicts of King Asoka*, 12;

Thus while it has been regarded as *maṅgala* to see an auspicious object, hear an auspicious sound or to feel the comfortable sensation of wearing an auspicious robe, the ceremonies which marked the important occasions of an individual's life were also called *maṅgala*. It is in this context of belief and acceptance that the *Maṅgala Sutta* outline the Buddhist conception of what constutites *Man'gala* or blessing brings one's prsperity. Accordingly, the factors, which bring prosperity and are hence considered auspicious according to Buddhism, are the following:

I. Non-association with the foolish
II. Association with the wise
III. Worship of the worshipful
IV. Residence in congenial place of residence
V. Be of past merit
VI. Be of high personal aspiration
VII. Be learned and professionally skilled
VIII. Be disciplined and well-trained
IX. Be of well-spoken word
X. Service to parents
XI. Care of children and wife
XII. Non-complicated livelihood
XIII. Liberality
XIV. Conduct according to the Dhamma
XV. Care of kin
XVI. Be of blameless deeds
XVII. Cease and abstain from the wrong
XVIII. Restraint in drink
XIX. Diligence in the Dhamma
XX. Reverence
XXI. Meekness
XXII. Joy
XXIII. Gratitude
XXIV. Timely hearing of the Dhamma
XXV. Patience
XXVI. Obedience
XXVII. Sight of Samanas
XXVIII. Timely engagement in discussions on the Dhamma
XXIX. Asceticism
XXX. Higher life
XXXI. Realization of the ariyan truths
XXXII. To be unmoved by the *lokadhammas*
XXXIII. Realization of *nibbāna*
XXXIV. To be free from grief
XXXV. To be free from difilements
XXXVI. To be secure (*khema*)

Those who live according to the above requirements of the auspicious will encounter no defeat and go about happily. Theirs will be the highest blessing.[1]

While the popular acceptances regarding the auspicious combined the belief in magic and superstition,[2] the Buddhist conception steers completely away from both magic and superstition by emphasizing that the auspicious consist in the cultivation of qualities which makes the individual auspicious not only to himself, but to the entire society in which he lives. The departure in the Buddhist conception of the auspicious is from one, where belief in the unseen power of certain specified external objects is recognized, to one, which recognises no such magical power or influence in any external objects.

Thus, while Buddhism rejects the irrational superstitious acceptances that certain sights, sounds or contacts can bring or increase one's prosperity, it recognizes that certain external factors are relevant and therefore do influence or cause one's prosperity. These factors are therefore regarded as auspicious. The association with the wise, shunning the foolish, respect and reverence of the revered and residence in congenial residential area are the external factors which are accepted as factors which are auspicious. These, unlike those factors, which we have discussed above under the *diṭṭha, sutta* and *muta maṅgala,* do not involve belief either in magic or superstition.

The rest of the factors treated as *maṅgala* (asupicious) in the *sutta* seem to fall into two broad groups. In the first are those factors, which are intended to, the building up of a learned, refined individual whose learning, concern and care for his wife and family, and all around him makes his very presence in the community a blessing. The quite clear emphasis here is that the auspicious is not to be sought for in external objects, but results from one's own self-culture and good relations with one's own family and the community. The auspicious is what comes out, or emanates from the overall character and conduct of the individual and hence does not come from external sources.

In the second group are those factors that are directly relevant to the spiritual development of the individual. The attainment or accomplishment in these makes the individual the embodiment of the highest

1. *Sn.* 258-69.
2. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 1963, 14f.

qualities, and hence of the factors which are auspicious (*maṅgala*). It is the individual who has attained the highest spiritual accomplishment who is usually compared to the lotus flower, which stands out unsullied by the mud and water. The individual who thus attains accomplishment in the highest spiritual qualities stands in clear contrast to the rest of the worldlings and thus become auspicious by virtue of his inner attainments.

Thus, it is the cultivation of good qualities, blameless conduct, and engagement in blameless occupations, awareness of, and attention to, the needs of the other members of the community which are regarded as auspicious (*maṅgala*) according to Buddhism. The Pali cononical texts are not aware of any religious rites or ritual either to ward off the evil or the inauspicious, or to increase blessing and prosperity. The word *pūjā* found in verse 259 of the *sutta*, it must be noted here, does not have the sense of *pūjā*, which came into vogue with the development of the *pūjā* rites in the post-canonical Buddhism.

According to the Buddhist texts, the world is inhabited by both visible and invisible beings (*diṭṭa vā ye va addiṭṭha*).[1] These invisible beings are not the micro-organisms, but do constitute a wide variety of beings that were explained by traditional mythology as beings inhabiting the heavens and the purgatpries. Buddhist cosmological thinking has established that these beings do not inhabit physicaly remarkable areas of the solar system, but do constitute the beings of this same world, living within the same spatial boundaries as the human beings.[2] Also, the Buddhist texts are quite clear that these invisible beings can be contacted (i.e. heard, seen and conversed with) by developing the appropriate *samadhi*[3] after one reaches the fourth *jhāna* through the path of gradual trainig, gradual practice and gradual progress.[4]

The Buddha's enlightenment was not considered complete until he attained mastery over the eightfold series of knowledge and insight, which transcended the gods. "*Yāva kivañca me bhikkhave evaṃ aṭṭhaparivaṭaṃ adhidevañaṇadassanaṃ na suvisuddhaṃ ahosi, neva tāvāhaṃ bhikkave sadevake loke samārake ..... Anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho ti paccaññāsim.*[5] It was after the Buddha attained this higher knowledge and insight, i. e. the eightfold series of knowledge and nisight surpassing the gods, that he revealed to the world that even the higher beings of the invisible are not able to accept prayer, sacrifice or other request and intervene in the affairs of main in response to request or supplicatin.[6]

This means that the invisible beings who inhabit this world system do not have the power or the capability to inflict harm or injury or bring prosperity, well being or provide protection from harm, injury or disaster. Neither the inanimate objects of whatever description have any power to bring harm, ill luck, and prosperity of good luck.

That the Pali canonical traditions have kept within this conceptual framework is proved by the fact that we do not find evidence of any rites or consequent ritual either for blessing or for warding off evil in these texts. All religious benefits, which were traditionally derived from the sacrifice, were now guaranteed from the *dāna* offering without having to subscribe to the belief in the supernatural powers or of the auspicious or the inauspicious.

However, by the time of the commentarial literature the concept of the auspicious seems to have been accommodated within the ritual framework of Buddhist practice, not by accepting the validity of the superstitious belief, but by instituting the *dāna* offering in place of the *Vedic* or tribal rite which was usuallly held to mark the occastion. This is supported by the evidence in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, according to which occasions such as, giving a name (*nāmakaraṇa maṅgala*), the first taking of solid food (*āhāraparibhogamaṅgala*), piercing the ears (*kaṇṇavijjana maṅgala*), taking up the robe (*dussagahana maṅgala*) and the first hair-dressing (*culakappana maṅgala*), were celebrated by offering a special preparation of *dāna* to the *bhikkhu*.[7]

1. *Sn.* 147
2. M. M. J. Marasinghe, *Gods in Earlty Buddhism*, 1974, 94f.
3. *D.* I. 220; M. M. J. Marasinghe, *op. cit.* 92f.
4. *Anupubbasikkhā, anupubbakiriyā, anupubbhapaṭipadā, M.* 111.3.
5. *A.* IV. 304.
6. M. M. J. Marasinghe, *op. cit.* Chapter 64.
7. *DhpA.* 11. 87.

Emperor Asoka in his Girnar Rock Edict while describing the occasions, on which such ceremonies were held, emphasises that such ceremonies bear little fruit. Instead, he commends the "ceremonial of piety" which bears grater fruit. This explained as, "the proper treatment of slaves and servants (*dāsabhatakasi samyappaṭipati*), honour to teachers (*gulunā apaciti*), gentleness towards living creatures (*pānānaṃ samaye*), and liberality towards ascetics and Brahmanas (*samaṇabambhanānaṃ dāne*). "These things, and others of the same kind, are called the ceremonial of piety (*ese amne ca hedise dhammamagale nāma*)."[1]

Emperor Asoka's accout of what constitutes *maṅgala* also goes to prove that the rites associated with the concept were not among those adopted by Buddhist practice at the time. The institution of the *dāna* to answer most needs arising from the belief in the auspicious seems to have been, historically much posterior to the Asoka era as shown by the reference in the *Dhammapada* commentary cited above.

Thus, the Buddist teaching has introduced a rational and scientific interpretation of the concept of *maṅgala* (the auspicious) in place of the contemporary acceptances based purely on the belief in magic and superstition. The exposition contained in the *Maṅgala Sutta* is valid and relevant in the context of the thick cover of superstion and myth which envelopes Buddhism today as it did, in the days of the Buddha.

M.M.J. Marasinghe

MAṄGALALAKKHAṆA: Maṅgalalakkhaṇa, auspicious signs that have been developed in the Buddhist traditions, fall into four sets, i.e., (1) *maṅgala* signs attributed to the soles of feet of the Buddha, (2) Theravāda *Aṭṭhamaṅgala* used for decorative purposes, (3) *Aṣṭamaṅgala* of the Mahāyāna tradition, and (4) The *maṅgala* symbols found in the ritual deposit boxes (*Garbhapātra*)

1. Maṅgala signs attributed to the soles of feet of the Buddha: Physical characteristics of the Buddha are given in three *suttas* of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Of these *Mahāpadāna* and *Lakkhaṇa suttas* are found in the *Dīghanikāya*, while the other, *Brahmāyu Sutta* in the *Majjhimanikāya*. All these *suttas* give details of the 32 major characteristics of the Buddha as a Great Being, but not a single *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* is found in any of them. It is only the *Buddhavaṃsa* which says that the soles of feet of the Buddha are endowed with *dhaja, vajira, patāka, aṅkusa,* and *vaḍḍhamāna*. This indicates that the former two *nikāyas* are older than the latter, which can be dated to the 3rd century B. C. Even though the *Buddhavaṃsa* does not mention these five signs as *maṅgalalakkhaṇa*, in the later Buddhist scriptures and Sinhalese literature they have been identified as *maṅgalalakkhaṇa*. It seems to be that the origin of *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* as a part of Buddhology took place during the 3rd century B. C.

The *Lalitavistara* of the Sarvāstivādins attributes *srīvatsa, muktaka. nandiavatta* as accompaniments of the wheel signs on the soles of feet of the Buddha. They have also been identified in the later works as *maṅgala* signs.

2. Aṭṭhamaṅgala (Skt. Aṣṭamaṅgala): Pali *aṭṭhamaṅgala* is equivalent to Sanskrit *aṣṭamaṅgala* and Sinhala *aṭamagala*. There are two traditions of *aṭṭhamaṅgala* Sri Lanka of which one belongs to the Mahāvihāra Sect while the other to the Dhammaruci Sect of the Abhayagiri Vihāra. The latter seems to be popular in the Mahāyāna countries too. Therefore these two traditions of *Aṭṭhamangala* can be identified as connected with the Theravāda and the Mahāyāna traditions respectively in a wider sense. Each *aṭṭhamaṅgala* type contains eight signs. They have been used for different purposes, which will be discussed later.

Aṭṭhamaṅgala of the Theravāda tradition : It is evident from about the 3rd century B. C. onwards that the Mahāvihāra tradition in Sri Lanka used eight auspicious luck bringing symbols to decorate religious buildings or objects and in ceremonies of religious or national import. The Mahāvihāra list of *aṭṭhamaṅgala* or *aṭṭhamaṅgalikā* includes *saṅkha* (conch shell), *cakka* (wheel), *puṇṇaghaṭa* (full pitcher), *gadāyudha* (mace), *sirivaccha* (a symbol of goddess Sri Devi), *aṅkusa* (elephant goad), *dhaja* (flag) and *sovatthika* (*svastika*). Some of these symbols have been found among the sculptures of the gateway-*toraṇas* of the Sāñchi stūpa. King Dutthagamini used *aṭṭhamaṅgalikā* to adorn the trunk of the Bodhi tree in the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa (Ruwanvälisäya) in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka during the 2nd century B.C. Besides these he is

1. V. A. Smith, *Edicts of King Asoka*, 15; P.H.L. Eggermont & J. Hoftijzer, *The Moral Edicts of King Asoka*, 12f.

said to have used them to decorate a pavilion of the Lohapāsāda, a nine storied chapter-house and in the brick laying ceremony of the Mahāthūpa in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

3. Aṣṭamaṅgala of the Mahāyāna tradition: A building manual called *Manjuśrivāstuvidyāśāstra* of Mahāyāna origin was found in Sri Lanka and it is dated to the 7th century A. C. This text refers to an *aṣṭamaṁgala* type which is found common in Mahayana Buddhist countries. Therefore this type of *astamangala* can be identified doubtlessly as the Mahāyāna *aṣṭamangala*. This type seems to have been used as a diagram sculptured on stone, metal and brick structures in the basis pattern of display. One primitive example was found at Kivulekaḍa, in the north central province, Sri Lanka and it is an *attani*-pillar (a pillar of a grant) of king Sena I (833-853 A. C.)

Several other developed examples have been found in Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Matara districts of Sri Lanka. They are different in design but similar in arrangement of eight symbols, these slabs of stones must have a ceremonials significance which will be elaborated later. These *aṣṭamaṁgala* slabs have a full blown lotus in the centre and eight auspicious symbols along the four edges. The eight auspicious symbols found in these are *śrivatsa* (an iconic symbol of goddess Sri Devi), *matsya* (single or double fish), *aṅkusa* (elephant good), *svastika*, *bhadrapīṭha* (auspicious seat), *cāmara* (fly wisk) and *saṅka* (conch shell). These symbols have been placed with their directional significance. They also have an affiliation with eight planetary deities as shown below.

Symbols	Planets	Directions
Saṅkha	Mercury	North
Pūrṇakumbha	Jupiter	Northeast
Srivatsa	Sun	East
Cāmara	Venus	South east
Aṅkusa	Mars	South
Matsya	Dragon's head	Southwest
Svastika (or Nandiavarta)	Saturn	West
Bhadrapīṭha	Moon	Northwest

The purpose of the Mahāyāna *aṣṭamaṅgala* slabs seems to be similar to that of the anointing of great *grahas* or planetary deities prescribed in a Tibetan text called *chen-po-brgyad-kye-dkyil-hkhor-du-dbd-leskor-bahi-coga-ni-ma-boud-len-sos-bsa-ba* (*Aṣṭamahāgrahamaṇḍalābhiśekaarkarasāyanavidhināma*). This text says that figures of planetary deities of eight directions are placed around the lotus which is in the centre of the *mandala* and anointed with scented water. This ceremony is called *abhiśeka* (anointing) of the great eight planetary deities and the purpose of this ceremony is to invoke the eight deities to bless the country and its inhabitants and to fulfill the desires of the people.

A ritual cup of bronze with *aṣṭamaṅgala* of Mahāyāna type engraved on the interior was recently unearthed at Abhayagirivihāra, Anuradhapura by archaeologists of the Cultural triangle. This proves that even the *aṣṭamaṅgala* of the Mahāyāna type were used for many purposes other than anointing of eight great planetary deities.

Aṣṭamaṅgala diagrams are used in healing ceremonies by the Sinhala Buddhists in Sri Lanka. They call it *aṭamagala* in Sinhala which is a little box made of pieces of banana stem in the shape of two squares, one above the other, which contain a small vessel with coconut blossoms. Instead of this box there is often a *yantra* diagram of ashes strewn on a table covered with a white cloth, which consists of two squares, one on top of the other, with a circle in the center. Such a *yantra* does not contain *aṭamagala* symbols, but the names of the nine planetary deities are mentioned in an abbreviated form. This type of *aṭamagala yantras* must have its origin in *Kolan* of Tamil Hindus, who used them in several designs.

Two foot prints of the Buddha which were found at Amarāvati, India, are endowed with the following four auspicious signs: *Svastika, Vajra, bhadrapīṭa,* and *nandiāvatta*. These foot prints were dated to the second century A. C.

A foot print of the Buddha from Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, now in the Colombo National Museum is given a second century date and contains *vajra*, with *chatra, sirivaccha, bhanddapīṭa, saṅkha, talavanta, dhaja, paṭaka, aṅkusa, puṇṇaghaṭa, macchayugala* and *svastika*. These eleven signs may have been popular in Sri Lanka before the thirty nine signs were introduced by the commentators.

In the commentaries to the Pali Buddhist canon the number of *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* went up to 36. These commentaries belong to the period between the 3rd century B.C. and the 1st century A.C. Their editions

and translations into Pali took place during the 5th century A.C. the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* includes the following auspicious signs.

Satti, sirivaccha, nandi, sovatthika, vaṭaṃsaka, vaḍḍhamānaka, macchayugala, bhaddapīṭha, aṅkusa, pāsāda, toraṇa, setacchatta, khagga, tālavantaka, morahattha, valavijani, unhīsa, manipatta, sumanadāma, nīluppala, rattuppala, setuppala, paduma, puṇḍarika, puṇṇaghaṭa, punnapāti, sannudda, cakkavāla, Himavā, Sineru, candimā, suriya nakkhatta etc. cattāromahādipā, dveparittadīpasahassāni, cakkavattiraññо parisaṃ upādāya......

The last development of *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* on the soles of feet of the Buddha possibly took place during the 12th century A.C. In this last development the number of *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* increased up to 108 as mentioned in the *Jinālaṅkāra-ṭikā* of the 12th century A.C.

Buddha's foot prints that are found in South and South east Asian Buddhist countries display these *maṅgalalakkhaṇa*. Among them, foot prints with 108 signs are more popular in Thailand and Myanmar. This type of foot prints were introduced to Sri Lanka most probably after the 18th century with the introduction of *upasampadā* ordination to Sri Lanka from Thailand. The list of 108 *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* are as follows.

1. *satti* (spear), 2. *sirivaccha* (an iconic symbol of goddess Sri Devi), 3. *nandiyāvatta* (a kind of flower by that name), 4. *sovatthika* (*svastika*), 5. *vataṃsaka* (an ear ornament), 6. *vaḍḍhamānaka* (receptacle or cup for food), 7. *bhaddapītha* (auspicious seat), 8. *aṅkusa* (elephant goad), 9. *pāsāda* (a storied mansion), 10. *toraṇa* (an archway), 11. *setacchatta* (white umbrella), 12. *khagga* (a sword), 13. *tālavanta* (talipot fan), 14. *mayurahattha* (peacock's feathers), 15. *cāmara* (a fly-whisk), 16. *unhīsa* (frontal band of gold), 17. *patta* (bowl), 18. *maṇi* (gem), 19. *sumanadāma* (garland of jasmine flowers), 20. *nīluppala* (blue water lilly), 21. *rattuppala* (red water lilly), 22. *rattapaduma* (red lotus), 23. *setapaduma* (white lotus), 24. *puṇḍarika* 25. *puṇṇakalasa* (full vase) 26. *puṇṇapatta* (full bowl), 27. *samuddha* (ocean), 28. *cakkavālapabbata* (the universe), 29. *himavantapabbata* (the Himalayas), 30. *merupabbata* (Mt. Meru), 31. *suriyamaṇḍala* (the sun), 32. *candamaṇḍala* (the moon), 33. *nakkhatta* (the stars) 34-37. *suparivara catumahādipa* (the four great continents surrounded by smaller continents), 38. *suparivārasattaratana samaṅgicakkavatti* (universal monarch with seven gems and attendants), 39. *dakkhiṇāvatta-setasaṅkha* (right-voluted white conch), 40. *suvaṇṇamacchayugala* (a pair of gold fish), 41. *cakkāyudha* (discus used as a weapon), 42-48. *sattamahagaṅga* (seven great rivers), 49-55. *sattakulapabbata* (seven mountains around the Mt. Meru), 56-62. *sattasīdantasāgara* (seven great lakes), 63. *suvaṇṇahaṃsarāja* (a golden swan king) or *supaṇṇarāja* (*garunda* king), 64. *sumsumāra* (crocodile), 65. *dhajapatāka* (two kinds of flags), 66. *suvaṇṇasivikā* (golden litter), 67. *suvaṇṇavālavijani* (golden yak's tail), 68. *kelasapabbata* (Mt. Kailasa) 69. *sīharāja* (lion king), 70. *byaggarāja* (tiger king), 71. *valahakassarāja* (king of *valāhaka* horses), 72. *uposathachaddantahatthirāja* (uposatha king of elephants who belongs to the Chaddanta clan), 73. *vāsukīnāgarāja* (a cobra king called vāsuki), 74. *haṃsarāja* (king of swans), 75. *usabarāja* (bull king), 76. *erāvanahatthirāja* (elephant king called Eravana), 77. *suvaṇṇamakara* (golden dragon), 78. *catumukhasuvaṇṇanāvā* (golden boat with four bows), 79. *savacchakadhenu* (cow with its calf), 80. *kimpurisa* (male kinnara), 81. *kinnarī* (kinnara female), 82. *kuravīka* (an Indian cuckoo), 83. *mayurarāja* (peacock king), 84. *coñcarāja* (heron king), 85. *cakkavākarāja* (rudy goose king), 86. *jivañjīvakarāja* (peasant king), 87-92. *chadevaloka* (six heavens of gods), 93-108. *solasabrahmaloka* (seventeen heavens of brahmas).

4. Maṅgalalakkhaṇas found in the garbhapātras: Garbhapātras or the ritual deposit boxes with nine, sixteen and twenty five compartments have been found in Sri Lanka. Presumably they belong to the period before the 12th century A.C. Some archaeologists have identified them as *yantragala* without knowing the original name of them. Stella Kramrisch (1946) identified them as *garbhapātra* in the light of *Purāṇas* and building manuals of Hindus. She quotes the relevant description from *Isānapaddhati* (III, ch. XXVII, 81-106). *Garbhapātra* represents the ground of the temple with the respective locations of the deities. These *garbhapātras* have been found in South and South East Asian countries, where Theravāda Buddhism or Hinduism was the dominating factor. In the context of Buddhist culture *garbhapātras* have been found under the pedestals of Buddha images and under the caskets of relic chambers of *stūpas*. They are generally square in shape, and the material used for them are stones, bricks and metal. The number of compartments is varied. *Garbhapātras* with nine and twenty five compartments were popular and there was only one

Garbhapātra so far found with sixteen compartments, except the one in the middle, which was meant for Brahmā. The locations for other deities are around it. The distribution of objects in the *garbhapātras* is as follows: Precious stones in the centre; grains and pigments in the four directions; metals and various other symbols including *maṅgala* symbols in the eight directions; soils in eight directions and in the centre; four varieties of lotus and *tagara* (*Tagernamontānā coronariyā*) in the four directions and in the centre.

Garbhapātra with nine maṅgala symbols: *Garbhapātra* with nine *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* in nine compartments have been found buried under the pedestal of a Buddha image at Bunnahapola. The nine *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* found in it are *sirivaccha, cāmara, aṅkusa, maccayugala, sovatthika bhaddhapīṭha saṅkha, puṇṇaghaṭa* and *padma*.

Garbhapātra with sixteen maṅgala symbols: A *garbhapātra* with sixteen *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* in sixteen compartments has been found at Bunnahapola. There are seventeen compartments with the one in the centre. This central compartment is common to all *garbhapātras*. Sixteen compartments are located along the four sides of the *garbhapātra*. *Maṅgalalakkhaṇa* found in these sixteen compartments are *padma, vajira, khagga, satti, kūrma, sirivaccha, saṅkha, cakkāyudha, cāmara, sovatthika, aṅkusa, puṇṇaghaṭa, cakka, setachatta, bhaddapīṭha, māccha*. Unlike the *aṣṭamaṅgala garbhapātras* this does not represent the directions. This *garbhapātra* with sixteen compartments is named as *soḷasamaṅgala* in the Sinhalese literature. It is probably an extension to the *aṣṭamaṅgala garbhapātra*.

Some signs or synbols considered to be auspicious are common heritage of Hindus, Buddhists and Jains. In the Buddhist context *aṭṭhuttarasatamaṅgala* (108 auspicious signs), *aṣṭamaṅgala* (8 auspicious signs) and *soḷasamaṅgala* (16 auspicious signs) with an extension of nine auspicious signs were discussed here. Of these first and second types are found in foot prints of the Buddha. *Garbhapātras* with 9, 16 and 25 compartments contain some auspicious signs and such *garbhapātras* have been found under the pedestal of Buddha images and under the relic caskets in the relic chambers of *stūpas*. These auspicious signs presumably represent some divinities. Therefore they possess power of those divinities. Some of the auspicious signs can be regarded as an iconic representation of particular deities and some others are weapons of deities. For instance, *śrīvatsa* has developed into anthropomorphic form of godess Sri Devi is the personification of the concept of innate splendor. This goddess is the consort of Viṣṇu. According to Vaikhanasa sect of Vaiśnava, Viṣṇu and Sri Laksmi represent elements called *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* or the male and female elements by the union of which creation became materialised.

It may be concluded that Buddhists seem to have shared the belief of *maṅgalalakkhaṇa* with Hindus and Jains and they gave them a place in the Buddhology and Buddhist Civilization. People believe that the divine power attached to these *mangala* signs can fulfill the desire of those who venerate, see and touch them.

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Chandra Wickramagamage

MAṄGALASUTTA, "the Discourse on the Blessings', or more popularly known as 'the great discourse on the auspicious things' (*Mahā Maṅgala Sutta*) occurs in the *Cūlavagga* of the *Suttanipāta* (*Sn*. pp. 46, 47) and in the *Khuddakapāṭha* (*Khp*. pp. 2-3). The *Sutta* was preached by the Buddha at the Jeta's Grove in Sāvatthi, to a group of deities who visited the Buddha one day, late in the night. The spokesman of the deities tells the Buddha that many gods and men ponder as what the real auspicious things are, and requests the Buddha to reveal them for the welfare of all living beings. The auspicious things, according to the Bud-

..ana are: non-association with the lowly (*bala*) and association with the wise (*pandita*), showing due honour to those deserving honour (*pujāniyānam*), living in a good environment (*patirūpadesa*), the fact of having done merit in the past (*pubbecakatapuññata*), having the correct type of resolve or aspiration (*sammapanidhi*), to be learned (*bahusacca*), to have skills in various carafts (*sippa*), to be disciplined in body, speech, and mind (*vinaya*), using cultured language (*subhāsita*), ministering to one's parents (*mātāpitū upaṭṭhāna*), and proper care towards wife and childern (*puttadārassa saṅgaha*), engaging oneself only in undisputed activities (*anākula kammanta*), giving in charity (*dāna*), practising the *dhamma* (*dhammacariyā*)' proper treatment towards the relatives (*ñātakānañca saṅgaho*), doing things which are bleameless (*anavajjāni kammāni*), to be dissociated from evil (*ārati virati pāpā*), restraint regarding intoxicants (*majjpāna saññamo*), heedfulness in the *dhamma* (*appamādo*), to be respectful (*gāravo*), to be non-conceited (*nivāto*), to be contented (*santuṭṭhi*), to be grateful (*kataññutā*) listening to the dhamma at the proper time (*kālena*), to be patient (*khanti*), to be amenable to advice (*sovacassatā*), meeting recluses, and discussing the *dhamma* at the proper time, austerity (*tapo*), leading a spiritual life (*brahmacariyā*), comprehension of the noble truths (*ariya sacca*), realisation of the final goal (*nibbāna*), to be able to live unmoved and undisturbed in mind (*cittaṃ na kampati*) when faced with worldly fortunes and misfortunes (*lokadhamma*).

The commentrary to the *Khuddakapāṭha* (*KhpA*.p.120ff) says that once there were many discussions in the whole of Jambudvipa regarding what the real auspicious things were. Some argued that good sights (*diṭṭhamaṅgala*) constituted the auspicious, some argued that to hear something good constitued the auspicious (*sutamaṅgala*), some argued that to experience a good smell or a good taste or a good bodily contact constituted the real auspicious (*mutamaṅgala*). There was no consenses on what constituted the real auspicious, and the entire country was in uproar over this issue. The discussion spread gradually to the guardian deities, from them to the terrestrial deities, and likewise it spread up to the Akaniṭṭha Brahma World, and there was no uniformity in their views regarding the auspicious things. Since there was wide disagreement among the gods, too, they sent one of their emissaries to the Buddha to get a proper clarification and the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* constitutes that clarification.

The *sutta* is another example wherin the Buddha has tried to give an ethical interpretation to a current term. The term *maṅgala* was used popularly in the time of the Buddha, not so much to connote activites that resulted in the welfare of the individual and the society as a whole, but to connote a lot of superstitious beliefs that did not help a man's material or spiritual development. The Buddha, without discardign the term gave it an ethical meaning in keeping with his teachings. According to the meaning given to the term *maṅgala* by the Buddha, it means all activities of an individual that result in the material and spiritual progress of oneself and others.

The *Suttanipāta* commentary (*SnA*. 1 174) say that countless devas were present at the time the *sutta* was preached and a countless number of them realised the truth by listening to it.

The *Maṅgala sutta* is a very popular *sutta,* and it is one of the *suttas* that are chanted as *Paritta* (protection) at various ceremonies. According to the *Majjhimanikāya* commentary it is considered as act of great merit to have it written down in a book (*MA*. II 806). The *Mahāvaṃsa* says (*Mhv*. xxxii, 43) that King *Duṭṭhagāmini* attempted to preach the *MaṅgalaSutta* at the Lohapāsāda, but could not proceed owing to nervouseness.

W. G. Weeraratne

MAṆISĀRAMAÑJUSĀ is a further commentary on the sub-commentary *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinīṭikā*. It was written by Ven. Maha Ariyavaṃsa thera of the Chappaṭa fraternity, during the reign of king Narapati (1442-68 A.C.) of Burma. He was also the author of the *Atthasālinī Anuṭikā*. It is said in the *Catalogue of Palmleaf Manuscripts of Ceylon by* K. D. Somadasa (Vol.1, p.6; Vol. II, p.5) that Ven. Ariyavamsa, before he became widely known, went to Sagaing to study grammar under a learned thera by name Yedin (the water carrier). According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa,* he was used to keeping a mouthful of water in his month either to restrain his own inclination to talk, or, because he found the brethren too talkative, and hence his name Yedin (water carrier). Ariyavamsa found it difficult to persuade his Master to impart knowledge to him, but he was not discouraged. He performed the duties of a disciple and won the teacher's heart. He studied *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* under the Master and was able to grasp it within a short time. The *acariya* then charged him to do his part in helping others by writing a commentary on the text he felt best fitted to expound. Ariyavamsa selected the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinīṭikā* and wrote the *Maṇisāramañjusā* on it.

While writing the further subcommentary, he submitted it chapter by chapter to his fellow monks for criticism, reading it aloud to elderly monks as they sat assembled on *uposatha* days in the court yard of the Punnacetiya.

On one occation, a monk seated in the assembly uttered a loud voice of disapproval during the reading. He went up to the protester and found out that the error was regarding a gender of a word. Ariyavamsa readily accepted the mistake and offered his garment of fine cloth to the monk, thus showing his readiness to accept correction.

Maṇisāramañjusā is hardly known in Sri Lanka today, though the catalogue of Palm leaf manuscripts referred to above records the existence of fifteen manuscripts.

K. Arunasiri

MAÑJUŚRĪ (1) one of the two most important bodhisattvas in the Mahāyāna pantheon, the other being Avalokiteśvara. Some scholars are of opinion that he is the first boodhisattva mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures.[1] Textual evidence shows that in the beginning of the bodhisattva doctrine Mañjuśrī was regarded as the most exalted bodhisattva. But, at a later period of the development of the bodhisattva doctrine he lost this pre-eminent position to Avalokiteśvara.

The Mahāyānists generally regard him as a *dhyāni*-bodhisattva or as the first of the sixty persons of matchless mind (*anūpamacitta: Rpp.* p.2) The Tantrists regard him as the Suprem Being or the Ādi-Buddha. He is considered to be the embodiment of wisdom (*prajñā*), of all sciences, and as such his primary function is to cleave asunder the cloud of ignorance (*avidyā*) and reveal the light of wisdom (*prajñā*). Thus his iconographical representations show him as carrying a sword with which he is said to cleave ignorance, and a book the *Prajñāpāramitā* which is symbolic of wisdom.

Though popularly known as Mañjuśrī he has numerous other names and epithets such as Mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta Mañjusvara, Mañjughoṣa, Mañjubhāṇin, Mañjurava, Manjuvara,[2] Mañjuvajra, Mañjunātha, Mañjubhadra, Pañcacīra, Pañcavīra-kumārā,[3] Dharmarāja, Balavrata, Mahāmati, Jñanadarpana, Śikhadhara, Khaḍgin, Kumārarāja, Daṇḍin, Vajradhara, Niloltpalin, Śārdūlavāhana, Simbakhela, Vibhusana[4]. In China he is known as Wen-chu-shih-li or Wen-chu. In Japan he is popularly called Manju and in Tibet he is called either ḥjam-paḥi-dbyams or ḥjam-dpal.

There is no concensus among scholars regarding the origin of Mañjuśrī. Authorities like S. Lévi think that Manjusri is of Tokharian origin, for the term *mañju* could possibly be a Tokharian word corresponding to Sanskrit *kumāra* (*JA.* 1912, I, p.66; S. Lévi, *Népal* p. 330ff.). Poussain opines that the Mañjuśrī cult originated in India, developed in China and later spread to Nepal (*ERE.* s. v. Mañjuśrī). Charles Eliot is also of opinion that the term *mañju,* though Sanskrit, has a Central Asian ring. But he does not directly support S. Lévi's theory. Eliot's view on this problem is not quite clear. He says that attributes of Mañjuśri are Indian and that there is little evidence of his foreign origin. But he also adds that it is probable that during various inroads of Graeco-Bactrian, Yüeh-chih and other central Asian tribes into India Mañjuśrī was introduced to the Mahāyāna pantheon from China and Central Asia and that Mañjuśri has in the earlier descriptions a certain pure abstract quality which recalls Amesha-spentas.[5] Some scholars think that he is a real person who was deified later.[6] According to Chinese Buddhism Mañjuśri was born from a lotus (for details see below).

A study of the origins of various bodhisattvas makes it clear that they are mostly metaphysical creations of Mahāyānists. One such creation is Avalokitesvara (q.v.) and Mañjuśrī, too, appears to be of similar origin.

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1. Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, p. 96.
2. Probably due to metathesis vara>rava.
3. Probably an error for Pañcacīra-kumāra.
4. Regarding these epithets see *BHS*. pp. 515, 414f. and A. Gründwedel, *Buddhist Art, London*, 1901, p. 184.
5. Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London 1921, II. p. 19ff.
6. B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*: Calcutta, 1958, p. 102; A. Grundwedle (*op.cit.*p.199), too, thinks that he is a real person; But on p. 201 he says that Mañjuśri may be regarded as the personification of meditation.

Though popularly known as Mañjuśri, Mañjusvara and Mañjughoṣa are most ancient of his many names.[7] The term *Mañju* is common to both Sanskrit and Pali, and in Pali it occurs in canonical literature in the meaning of pleasant, charming, sweet, lovely with reference to the voice of Buddhas and Brahmas. The pleasant voice (*Mañjusvara*) is regarded as one of the eight qualities of the voice of Buddhas and Brahmas[8] (*D.* II. 211, 227; *PED.* s. v. *Mañju*).

In a voice enriched by these eight qualities the Buddha preached the Dhamma he realised by attaining Enlightenment. With regard to his Enlightenment the Buddha says, 'eye is born, knowledge is born, wisdom is born, science is born, light is born.[9]' Thus, it is clear that his *dhamma* is wisdom (*paññā*) which he delivered in a pleasant (*mañju*) voice (*sara*). Most probably it was this particular aspect of the Buddha- the Buddha as the preacher, the revealer of wisdom, and in a wider sense the Buddha as the embodiment of wisdom [10] - that was later personified as Mañjuśrī. It is also probable that the concept of Brahmā, whose voice is also pleasant (*mañju*) influenced the character of Mañjuśri. Particularly the character of Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra, and to a lesser extent that of Pañcasikha appear to have influenced the evolution of the concept of Mañjśri.

According to Theravāda Buddhism wisdom (*paññā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) are the most exalted qualities of the Budhda's character, and as a matter of fact every Buddhist striving to be perfect was taught to bring in to perfection these two qualities.[11] After the rise of Mahāyāna these two qualities were given more emphasis. At the beginning wisdom (*paññā*) was regarded as being the more important of the two, and its importance rose still higher with the rise of Mādhyamika philosophy which exalted *prajñā*. It was during this period of doctrinal development that Mañjuśrī appeared and perhaps came to be regarded as the most important bodhisattva as being even greater than Avalokiteśvara. But this state of affairs did not last long. The bohiṡaattva docrine, which rose by about the 2nd century B.C. more or less as a rival movement to the brahmanic deity worship and also as a reaction to the arahant ideal of the Theravādins, in the course of its developlment relegated to second place t he perfection of *prajña* and put forward altruism as the sole virtue. This doctrinal development brought into prominence the conçept of *Karuṇā* and consequently its personification in Abalokitésvara.

Date of origin: It is not certain as to when Mañjuśri appered. As stated earlier scholars tend to consider Mañjuśrī to be the earliest mentioned bodhisattva. Mañjuśrī is very prominent in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra* and if the sections in which he is mentioned belong to the earliest strata of the text, it could be surmised that his origin goes back to about the 2nd century B.C., and as such his origin could be regarded as being almost co-eval with the rise of the bodhisattva doctrine.[12] The fact that Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang found Mañjuśrī worship prevalent in India during their visits shows that Mañjuśrī worship was well established then. However, I-tsing records that during his visit he found that the Hindus believed that Mañjuśrī came from China and this most probably reflects that at that time Mañjuśrī worship had waned in India.

Mañjuśri and Sanaṅkumāra: As already pointed out the concept of Brahmā seems to have influenced the concept of Mañjuśri. According to Buddhism Brahmas appear as beings of learning. Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra is specially so. From canonical literature it becomes evident that Sanaṅkumāra is specially so. From canonical literature it becomes evident that Sanaṅkumāra performs the role of a teacher. He is also noted for his *brahmassara*. In this voice he preaches to the Tavatiṅsa

7. Poussain takes Manjughoṣa to be the earliest name (*ERE.* s.v. Mañjuśrī). But D. L. Svellgrove (*Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957, p. 61) says "His full name is Pañcaśikha Mañjughoṣa, meaning Five-fold Crest and Gentle Voice. It is likely that the first was the original name and the second just an epithet."
8. One who possesses a voice enriched by the eight qualities is called a *brahmassara* (*J.* I, p. 96; V. p. 336) These eight qualities are *vissaṭṭha* (fluent), *viññeyya* (intelligible), *mañju* (sweet), *savaniya* (audible), *bindu* (continuous), *avisāri* (distinct), *gambhīra* (deep), *ninnāda* (resonant). See also *PED.* under each term.
9. .... *cakkhuṃ udapādi, ñaṇaṃ udapadi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi aloko udapadi* (*S.*V. p. 422).
10. Of the Dharmakāya concept. The statues of Dharma, too, are combinations of Avalokiteśevara and Mañjuśrī (Alice Getty, *op. cit.* p. 20).
11. The Noble Eightfold Path also is based on *pañña* and *karuṇa* (W. Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught*, Gordonfraser, 1959, p. 46f.)
12. See Bhattacharyya, *op.cit.* p. 100.

gods. It is Sanaṅkumāra who conveys to these gods the Buddha's declaration that, "Open for ye are the doors of deathlessness" Manjusri. Sanankumara.[13]

Mañjuśrī is the revealer of wisdom and as such is the embodiment of learning and all the sciences. Many texts such as the *Saddharamapuṇḍarīka Sutra*, the *Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa*, the *Laṅkavatāra -sutra*, the *Divyāvadana* reveals this salient aspect of his character. He is ever young as his epithet Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta signifies.[14] The *Mañjuśrīvikrīḍitā*, a Sanskrit text translated into Chinese about the 4th century, also relates how Mañjuśrī in the guise of a handsome young man converted a woman. These similarities seem to point to the fact that the Brahmā concept, greatly influenced the development of the concept of Mañjuśrī. This early influence paved the way for further influence at a later stage, and even the consort of Brahmā, namely, Sarasvatī became the consort of Mañjuśrī. Even the epithet Brahmā came to be applied to Mañjuśrī (*ERE*. s.v. Mañjuśrī).

Mañjuśrī and Pañcaśikha: Scholars such as Mlle. Lalou are of opinion that the concept of Mañjuśrī is related to that of Pañcaśikha.[15] On this point it should be noted that Pañcaśīrṣa or Pañcaśika occurs as a name referring to the miniature figures of Mañjuśrī.[16] Pañcacīra -probably meaning five braids or locks of hair-is an epithet of Mañjuśrī. Pañcaśikha is also the name of a particular *mūdra* belonging to Mañjuśrī. Pañcacīra*mudrā* is also sacred to him (*BHS*. p. 315).[17] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* contains numerous references to Mañjuśrī's head which it describes as being adorned with five locks or braids of hair.[18]

In Pali canonical literature Pañcasikha[19] is represented as a *gandabba*, a celestial musician, a favourite attedant of Sakka. Once Sanaṅkumāra is said to have assumed the form of Pañcasikha when he preached to the gods[20] (*D*. II, 211). Through its connections with Sanaṅkumāra Pañcasikha's character could have had some impact on the formation of the character of Mañjuśrī.

Mañjuśrī and Kārtikeya: His stock epithet Kumārabhūta appears to have also led to the curious blend with the Hindu god Kārtikeya who is also called Skandha, Kumāra. Thus in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* he is called kārtikeya-Mañjuśrī (*Mmk*. p. 33). Like Skandha he is described as sitting on a peacock.

Mañjuśrī in India: Mañjuśrī who probably came into existence with the rise of the bodhisattva doctrine was regarded as the formost among the bodhisattva. As the revealer of *prajñā* he, at first, occupied a position higher than even that of Avalokiteśvara but later when *karuṇā* preceded *prajñā* Mañjuśrī was relegated into second place. Numerous Mahāyāna texts refer to Mañjuśrī as the revealer of *prajñā*. The *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* says that Sudhana attained Enlightenment through the favour of Mañjuśrī. Śāntideva is said to have been initiated into the sciences by Mañjuśrī. He is highly praised in the *Ratnakāraṇḍavyūha sūtra*. He is the principal interlocutor in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* contains the *Mañjuśrī-mantra* which claims to include within itself all sciences. By the power of this mantra one can attain all things and it has the power to destroy the *mantras* of evil doers and even to blot out all sins. The importance of Mañjuśrī rose to such heights that in the *Nāmasaṅgīti*

13. Buddhaghosa says that Sanaṅkumāra in his previous birth practised *jhāna* while yet a boy with his hair tied in five knots (*pañcacūla kumārakāle*) and was reborn in the Brahma world *jhāna* intact. He liked this guise and continued to be ever young (*DA*. II, p. 640). Purāṇic tradition also alludes to his ever youthfulness.
14. Har Dayal (*The Bodhisattva Doctrine, London*, 1932, p. 46f) thinks that the title *kūmāra* is probably nothing more than a complementary epithet for the bodhisattvas, who are regarded as "ever youthful", and perhaps also as "princes of Buddha's realm". H. Zimmer says: "Kumārabhūta which means, "He who has become (*bhūta*) the anointed, crown prince (*kumāra*), for he has been blessed by the sacrement of the sprinkling with holy water that consecrates the heir apparent or co-ruler of the existing kingship. Mañjuśrī has attained the dignity of the Buddha, the spiritual monarch, though himself still a junior, a bodhisattva. He represents the potential Buddha dwelling within the bodhisattva." (H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Bollingen Series, XXXIX, Vol. I, p. 198 f.). It should also be noted that 'Kumārabhūta' is the stock epithet of Mañjuśrī and it was only later appended to the names of other bodhisattvas.
15. Mlle. Lalou, *Iconographie des etoffes peintes dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. Paris, 1930, p. 66ff.
16. C. Eliot. (*op.cit*, p. 196).
17. For details see *BHS* s. v. *cira*.
18. For e. g. *sarvabālālaṃkārabhūsita-pañcacīrakopaśobhitah; pañcacīrakopaśobhitam siram bāladārakālaṃkālamkṛtaṃ* (*Mmk*. pp. 41, 305). Fore more details refer the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and also *BHS*. p. 231 s.v. *cīraka*.
19. Regarding Pañcasikha see the *DPPN*. s. v. Pancasikha.
20. This is because all gods liked Pañcasikha (*DA*. II. p. 640).

he is referred to as the Ādi-Buddha. The Mahayānists believe that the worship of Mañjuśrī eventually confers upon the worshipper, wisdom, retentive memory, eloquence and also the ability to master all sciences.

The *Mañjuśrīguṇakṣetravyūha* tells how Mañjuśrī took his bodhisattva vow. It says: "As the chain of births is endless, so long shall I live that holy life for the well-being of all creatures. Let us produce the *bodhicitta* in the presence of our Lord. I invite all the world, for I shall deliver it from poverty. From this day unto the day of my attaining Enlightenment I will not cherish any feeling of malice, stubbornness, envy or grudge. I will practise continence and shun all lusts. I will follow the self-restraint and morality followed by the Buddhas. I will not attempt to attain Enlightenment quickly. I will remain until the end of chain being even for one living being's sake. I will purify a measureless number of Buddha fields. I will acquire a name renowned in all the ten directions. I will make pure all my verbal, mental and bodily actions. I will never do a bad act.[21]

Mañjuśrī as a *dhyānibodhisattva* is regarded as an emanation of either Akṣobhya or Amitābha. He is also regarded as belonging to several *kulas*. Probably it was after the rise of Tantrism that the worship of Mañjuśrī developed into a particular cult. The *Sādhanamālā* records over (*op.cit.* p. 100 ff) forty *sādhanas* addressed to him. B. Bhattacharyya lists fourteen different forms of Mañjuśrī as conceived by the Tantrists. These forms are Vajrarāga, Dharmadhātu-vāgīsvara, Mañjughoṣa, Manjuvajra, Mañjuvara Mañjukumāra, Arapacana, Sthiracakra, Vādirāṭ, Siddhaikavīra, Vajrānanga, Nāmasangīti-Manjuśrī, Vāgīśvara and Yamāntaka. Besides these, Alic Getty (*op. cit.* p. 95) refers to three other forms, namely, Simhanāda-Mañjuśrī, Mahārājalīlā Mañjuśrī,[22] and Dharmaśaṅkasamādhi-Mañjuśrī.[23] Normally Mañjuśrī is represented without a consort and as such Eliot describes him as a male Athene, all intellect and chastity, (C. Eliot, *op. cit.* p. 19) But sometimes Śarasvatī, or even Lakṣmī[24] is named as his consort.

Though Mañjuśrī lost his position of pre-eminence to Avalokiteśvara and though numerous other bodhisattvas rose to prominence, the Mañjuśrī cult did not completely disappear from India. An eulogy on Mañjuśrī occurring in the *Sikṣāsamuccaya* points to the fact that even during the seventh century he was held in high esteem. The eulogy says: "With the dark blue colour of a swarm of bees, wearing an ascetic's dress, carrying a chaplet of various sweet and blosoming flowers, traversing a multitude of Buddha fields, mighty, invincible, taking away every obstacle, emitting the water of quenching for the fires of ghostly existence and hell, pursuing the good of the beings who may be converted, standing in the abysses of transmigration, wearing the ornament of strength for causing the opening of the world's eyes, wise, strong in body, causing people to feel confident. With all my being, glory again and again to that concentrated salvation which has for name Mañjuśrī, a great lake of joy for those tormented with different pains, a mighty cloud for satisfying the hells of thirst in the three worlds, a wishing-tree filling the ten regions with blossoming flowers that the world desires, venerated by the lotus- eyes of the world, rejoiced by reaching their desires, praised by hundreds of bodhisattvas, their hair shivering with admiration. I revere Mañjuśrī with ever increasing salutations. Honour to thee, Mañjuśrī, sorrow's physician, giver of the feast of happiness, by whom in every way we live."[25]

The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* also says that in the future Mañjuśrī will be born as Buddha Mañjudhvaja (*Mmk.* p. 591).

Mañjuśrī in China: The Mañjuśrī cult spread from India to China via Central Asia at a very early date.[26] According to the Chinese belief, Mañjuśrī was informed by Gotama Buddha that it was his duty to turn the Wheel of Law for the salvation of the Chinese people. The place chosen for his manifestation was Wu-t'ai Shan (Pañcaśīrṣa)[27] mountain in the Shan-shi province. The legend relates that the five peaks were of

21. This passage is quoted in the *Śikṣ.* p. 13.
22. B. Bhattacharayya (*op.cit.* p. 116) takes this to be another variation of the Vāgīśvara form.
23. For detailed descriptions, see under each name.
24. Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune is regarded as the consort of Viṣṇu and is identified with Śrī. The similarity between the two names Śrī and Mañjuśrī probably brought them together.
25. See *Śikṣ* p. 365.
26. The anothology *Kuang Hung Ming Chi* contains an eulogy on an image of Mañjuśrī by the Chin writer Yi-shin an (265-420 A.C.). For details see A.C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, (*Artibus Asiae*), Supplement Vol. XIX, p. 32f.).
27. Note that Mañjuśrī has such epithets as Pañcacīra, Pañcaśikha and Pañcaśīrṣa.

five different colours and made of diamond, sapphire, emerald, rubies and lapis lazuli; that a flower grew on each peak and that there was a pagoda on each peak. When the time came for the manifestation of Mañjuśri Gotama Buddha caused a golden ray of light to issue from his forehead which darted and pierced a jambu-tree that grew at the foot of the mountain. As it was pierced by this ray of light a lotus sprang from it and from that was born Mañjuśri. His complexion was yellow; he had one face and two arms. With the right he wielded a sword and with the left he carried the book of wisdom (*prajñapāramitā*). Thus, he was born without the intervention of a father and a mother and free from pollution of the common world.[28] Chinese Buddhist sources record that activities of Mañjuśrī at Mount Wu-t'ai Shan were brought to the notice of Emperor Ming-Ti. In the mentime, mumrous Sanskrit Buddhist texts connected with Mañjuśrī, such as the *Mañjuśrīguṇa-ksetravyūha*, the *Mañjuśrīvikrīḍitā'* were translated into Chinese and these works caused the Mañjuśrī cult to spread rapidly and establish firmly in China. Thus, by the 4th century Mañjuśrī worship was widely prevalent and the main temple dedicated to him was erected during this period. By the 6th century the Mañjuśrī cult was so well established in China that I-tsing records that even Indians believed that the Mañjuśrī cult originated in China and was later transmitted to India.[29] It is said that both Vajrabodhi and Prajñā went to China to worhsip Mañjuśri. In 824 A.C. envoys from Tibet came to China to obtain a statue of Manjusri. The lamas officially recognised that Mañjuśrī was incarnate in the Chinese experor (*JRAS.* Ns. xi, p. 522; *JASB.* 1882, p.41). The 4th day of the 4th month came to be regarded as the birthday of Mañjuśrī. But as in India in China,too the Mañjuśrī cult was overshadowed by the cult of Avalokiteśvara, and it never became as wide spread and accepted as the cult of Avalokitesvara.

Mañjuśrī in other Asian countries: Though Mañjśrī is held in high esteem by all Buddhists his cult did never reach the proportions reached by the cult of Avalokiteśvara.

The Nepalese tradition regards Mañjuśrī as the person who brought civilization to Nepal and thus assign to him an exalted position in the pantheon. The *Svayambhū-Purāṇa* records that Mañjuśrī, who was residing on the Pañcaśīrṣa mountain in China, came to know about the appearance of the Ādi-Buddha from a lotus that grew in the pond called Nāgavāsa in Nepal, and decided to visit Nepal. He, assuming the form of Viśvakarma and being accompanied by a king called Dharmākara and a large number of disciples, came to Nepal and saw that the whole valley was submerged in water. He with his scimitar cleaved the surrounding mountains and drained the water. When the valley became dry he walked about in all directions and finally erected a high wall to suport the stalk of the lotus from which the Ādi-Buddha appeared. This he called the Satya-giri. For sometime he resided on a mountain which was called Mañjuśri parvata and after accomplishing his task, he established Dharmākara on the throne and went back to the Pañcaśīrṣa mountain. This legend made Mañjuśrī very popular in Nepal, and numerous temples of worship dedicated to Mañjuśrī were built there.[31]

In Japan, too, Mañjuśrī is held in high esteem. Texts such as the *Vimalakirtinirdeśa* helped to establish his importance, and his images are known from about the 7th century A.C. Accordig to the Shingon teaching Mañjuśrī is said to take charge of the souls of dead persons from the second week after death.[32]

In Java, too, Mañjuśrī worship became very popular. In 1343 A.C. king Ādityavarman is said to have erected an image of Mañjuśri Tjandi Djago. Colossal images of Mañjuśrī are also found in temples such as Tjandi Mendut and Singasari.[33]

In Khotan also Mañjuśri seems to have been held in high esteem, for Vairocana, who spread Buddhism in that region, is considered as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī.

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28. A Grundwedel, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme au Tibet et en Mongolie, baseé sur la collection lamaique du Prince Outhotomsky*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 138.
29. *A record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India* and *Malay Archipelago* by I-tsuing, trsl. by J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896; pp. 139, 169.
30. J. Edkin, *Chinese Buddhism*, London, 1880, p. 208.
31. B. H. Hodgon, *Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874, p. 116f.; *History of Nepal*, ed. by Daniel Wright, Calcutta, 1958, chp. ii.
32. See A. Getty *op.cit.* p. 33; N.W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, Vols. I and II, see index under Mañjuśrī and Manju.
33. C. Eliot, *op. cit.* pp. 163, 165, 169.

He is highly honoured and worshipped in Tibet, too. Atiśa, Tsong-kha-pa, and even Sa-skya-Pandita are regarded as being incarnations of Mañjuśrī. It is the fierce form of Mañjuśrī known as Yamāntaka that is most popular in Tibet. The Tibetans believe that in this form Mañjuśrī saved their country from Yama who threatened to depopulate the whole of Tibet. (For details see YAMĀNTAKA).

Mañjuśrī worship appears to have been known in Sri Lanka too, for the Mahāyānists there are said to have made images of Mañjuśrī from very early times. One such image was discovered at Elahera, in the Matale district, in the Central Province.[34] The relief at Isurumuniya (Anuradhapura) which is popularly referred to as "The Lovers" is cosidered to be a representation of Sthiracakra, a form of Mañjuśrī, and his consort.[35] But his identification is not accepted by all.[36]

Iconography: In his simplest form Mañjuśrī is respresented as being seated cross-legged on a lotus seat carrying his stock symbols, the sword and the book (the *Prajñāpāramitā*) in his right and left hands respectively. In some representations the sword and the book are placed on lotuses the stems of which are held by Mañjuśrī. The number of faces, hands, the symbols he carries and such other features vary from form to form. As Vajrarāga, Mañjughoṣa, Siddhaikavīra, Vāgīśvara, Mañjuvara, Arapacana, Sthiracakra and Vādirāṭ he has one face and two arms. As Vajrānaṅga he has one face and four or six arms. As Mañjukumāra and Mañjuvajra he has three faces and six arms. As Nāmasaṅgīti he has three faces and four arms and as Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara he has four faces and eight arms.

The symbols that he carries, too, vary from form to form. As Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara he is respresented as carrying a bow and an arrow, a noose and a goad, and a bell and a *vajra* in his three pairs of hands. As Vajrānanga, a god of love, he carries a fully strung bow mounted with an arrow of alotus bud. The other two pairs carry a sword and a lotus, and a mirror and an *aśoka* twig with red flowers. His complexion, too, varies. Yellow and white are the most prominent colours. *Pratyālīḍha, vajraparyaṅka, ardhaparyaṅka, lalita, mahārājalīlā* are some of the sitting postures depicted by his statuary representations. His different forms adopt mudrās such as *dhyāna, varada, dharmacakra.* In one form he rides a lion, in another a tiger, but often he is represented as being seated on a lotus seat.

Occasionally he is represented with his *śakti.* Some of his representations bear miniature figures of either Amitābha or Akṣobhya whose emanation he is considered to be. See PLATE LIV.

S. K. Nanayakkara

MAÑJUŚRI (2) a bodhisattva: In the early Mahāyāna, wisdom and mercy are regarded as equally important and a Bodhisattva should possess the double quality of knowledge and merit (*jñānasambhāra* and *puṇyasambhāra*). Wisdom is considered to be somewhat more important than Mercy. Mañjuśrī who represents wisdom is invoked in the opening verses of several treatises and he is praised in *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, The early Mahāyāna recognises an oligarchy of bodhisattvas and eight are mentioned as a group of equal rank. The list begins with Mañjuśrī.

Mañjuśrī means "Gentle Glory" or "Sweet Splendour". He is named in Ch. 11 of *Saddharmma-puṇḍarīka* and is regarded as a master of wisdom and knowledge. He has trained and disciplined many bodhisattvas. He has been aptly called "all intellect and chastity". The epithet *kumāra* or *kumāra-bhūta* is often applied to him. It has been interpreted as 'ever young' or 'prince royal', a consecrated heir of the Buddha.

The place assigned to Mañjuśrī in the Buddhist Pantheon is one of the highest. Mahāyānists consider him to be one of the greatest of bodhisattvas. Many believe that the worship of Mañjuśrī confers upon them wisdom, retentive memory, intelligence and eloquence and enables them to master sacred scriptures. Therefore it is no wonder that his worship was widely prevalent among the Mahāyānists. They conceived him in various forms and worshipped him with various *mantras.* Those who could not form any conception of him according to Tantric rites, attained perfection by simply muttering the *mantras.*

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34. N. Mudiyanse. *Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1967, p. 64f.
35. P. C. Sestieri. *East and West*, New Series, Vol X, Nos. 1-2, March - June, 1959, pp. 94-96.
36. N. Mudiyanse. *op. cit.* Appendix B.

It is difficult to fix the exact date when Mañjuśrī entered the Buddhist Pantheon. His image is not to be found among Gandhāra or the Mathurā sculptures. Aśvaghosa, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva do not mention him in their works. His name occurs in the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* as well as in the *Amitāyus-sūtra* (which are somewhat early texts). Since then Mañjuśrī is mentioned in subsequent Sanskrit (Buddhist) texts and in the accounts of Chinese travellers such as Fa-Hsien, Hiuen-Tsang, I-Tsing and others and his images are found among the sculptures of Sarnath, Magada, Bengal, Nepal and other places.

Many details about Mañjuśrī are to be found in the *Svayambhū-Purāṇa* dealing with the glories of Svayambhū-kṣetra in Nepal. The Ādi-Buddha manifested himself here in the shape of a flame of fire and so it is called Svayambhū-kṣetra or the Palace of the Self-Born. This place is consecrated with a temple of Ādi-Buddha and close to it is the Mañjuśrī Hill, now known as the Sarasvatī-sthāna. The information about Mañjuśrī as gleaned from the Svayambhū-Purāṇa is given below in brief.

It is mentioned in this text that Mañjuśrī hailed from China, where he was living in Pañca-śirṣa (The Hill of 5 peaks). He was a great saint with a good number of disciples and followers including the king of that country Dharmākara by name. One day Mañjuśrī received divine intimation that the self-born Lord Ādi-Buddha had manifested himself in the form of a flame of fire on a lotus rising from the Lake Kālīhrada in Nepal. He forthwith started for Nepal to pay homage to the god and was accompanied by a large number of disciples and his two wives and King Dharmākara of China. When he came to the lake, he found the god inaccessible, being surrounded by the vast expanse of water. With great difficulty he approached the flame of fire and paid his homage. He contemplated of various ways of securing access to the god and began to go round the lake. In course of time, he cleft asunder with his sword the southern barrier of hills. The result was that the water rushed through that opening, leaving a vast stretch of dry land behind, which is known as Nepal valley. Through that opening the water of Bāghmatī even now flows down and it is still called 'Koṭ-bar' or 'sword cut'.

Mañjuśrī lost no time in erecting a temple consecrating the flame of fire and very near to the temple on a hillock he made his own habitation. On the same hill he made a *vihāra* (or monastery), still known as the Mañjupaṭṭana, for his disciples. Lastly he made Dharmākara, the king of Nepal. These and many other pious deeds are ascribed to Mañjuśrī in the *Svayambhū-Purāṇa*. Putting everything in proper order, Mañjuśrī returned home and soon obtained the divine form of a Bodhisattva, leaving his mundane body behind.

From the above it appears that Mañjuśrī was a great person who brought civilisation to Nepal from China. He had extraordinary engineering skill and was a great architect. It is not possible to say exactly when he came to Nepal from China, but there is no doubt that in the 4th century A.C., he was well known as a Bodhisattva. He wielded great influence in the minds of the Buddhists and the Mahāyānists worshipped him in various forms and various ways. He is known in almost all the countries in the continent of Asia where Buddhism made its sway. Various countries conceived various forms of Mañjuśrī and it is a subject which is very extensive and involved.

Buddhists believe that gods emanate from one or the other of Dhyāni Buddhas, or 4 or 5 of them collectively. But it had not been possible to assign Mañjuśrī to a particular Dhyāni Buddha or to one particular group of Dhyāni Buddhas. There is evidence that the list of the five Dhyāni Buddhas was completed sometime after Śāntideva, if not considerably later, though two or three of them were known prior to him. It is after Śāntideva that the priests of Vajrayāna conceived the idea that all gods should emanate from one or other of Dhyāni Buddhas or four or five of them collectively, in the same way as Avalokiteśvara emanated from Amitābha.

Mañjuśrī was introduced into the Buddhist Pantheon after Avalokiteśvara and nobody has any doubt as to his human personality. But Avalokitesvara was an abstract idea and never a human being. It is said that Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha, in his anxiety to create, caused a golden ray of light to appear from his head and in it originated the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. With Mañjuśrī the case is otherwise. He was regarded as a Bodhisattva in the same way as Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asanga and many others were regarded as Bodhisattvas in the time of Hiuen-Tsang. But this is no reason why Mañjuśrī should not be regarded as an emanation from any one of the Dhyāni Buddhas. Some considered him to be an emanation from Amitābha, others from Akṣobhya, still others from the group of the five Dhyāni Bud-

dhas. Cases are however, on record that Mañjuśrī is not affiliated to any of the Dhyani Buddhas i.e. in other words, regarded as independent.

Thirty-nine *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā* are devoted to the worship of Mañjuśrī and forty *dhyānas* describe 14 different forms of the Bodhisattva. In finding out the names of the different varieties, special stress has been laid on the *mantras* rather than on the colophons of the *sādhanas*. In determining the names of gods, the *mantras* are the safest guide, especially when one deity has a great many forms. The 14 varieties have each a different name. Vāgiśvara, Mañjuvara, Mañjughoṣa, Arapacana, Siddhaikavīra, Vāk, Mañjukumāra, Vajrānaṅga, Vādirāṭ, Nāmasaṅgīti, Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara, Sthiracakra, Mañjunātha and Mañjuvajra.

Ordinarily, Mañjuśrī carries the sword and the book in his right and left hands. In representations, we sometimes find these two symbols placed on lotuses. He is accompanied sometimes by Yamāri or by his *śakti* alone. Sometimes he is accompanied by Sudhanakumāra and Yamāri and sometimes also by the 4 divinities, Jālinīkumāra, also called Sūryaprabha, Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī. Though the last four are required to be present with Arapacana, they are found represented in other places also.

Emanations from Amitābha: The following two varieties of Mañjuśrī should bear the effigy of their sire Amitābha, one on the tongue and the other on the crown. The former is Vāk and the other is Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara.

(a) *Vāk- Mudrā* is *samādhi*: *Āsana* is *vajraparyaṅka*.
Special characteristics, ornaments and dress: He is one faced, and two armed. In the *Sādhanamālā* there is one *dhyāna* describing him.

(b) *Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara* - Faces four; Hands eight; Āsana, *lalita*. Images in stone or in bronze are not common. Painters of Nepal, do even now prepare paintings of this deity.

Emanations from Akṣobhya: No less than 4 varieties of Mañjuśrī are distinctly said to bear the images of Akṣobhya on their crown.

Emanations of the five Dhyāni Buddhas: Altogether four varieties of Mañjuśrī are said to bear the images of the five Dhyani Buddhas on their crown, thereby suggesting that Mañjuśrī is a Pañcavīrakumāra.

Images of this deity in his various aspects have been found in India. Some of the sculptures which have been illustrated are as follows:

(a) Mañjuvara and Mañjuśrī in *Mahārājalīlā* in the Indian Museum

(b) Dharmacakra Mañjuśrī, Arapacana Mañjuśrī, Vāgīśvara and Nāmasaṅgīti-Mañjuśrī from Nepal

(c) Siddhaikavira from Sarnath

A standing bronze statuette of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva (height 2 inches) was found in Sri Lanka at a place called Älahära (Matale District, Central Province) and is now preserved in the Anuradhapura Museum. (Cat. No. G44). It is of small proportions and the details are not very clear. This figure shows Mañjuśrī in his simplest form with the sword raised in his right, the left hand resting on the waist with the arm bent at the elbow. He wears a conical head-dress. The drapery below the waist shows elaborate flounces at the sides as in the sculpture of Avalokiteśvara (Kuṣtarajāgala) at Weligama. The upper part of the body appears to be bare. Ornaments though indistinct now, seem to have been worn. The point of the sword is placed so as to touch the head-dress. In his simplest form, Mañjuśrī carries the sword in his right hand and the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript in his left. This sculpture does not show the manuscript but the other symbol, the sword is sufficient proof to identify it as a representation of Mañjuśrī. With regard to date, it has been suggested that it could be of an early workmanship as the 4th or 5th century.

Many of the Indian sculptures of this deity are shown as seated. But the sculpture from Älahära, Sri Lanka is a standing representation. It is not possible to identify this figure with any of the known aspects of Mañjuśrī such as Mañjuvajra, Mañjughoṣa, Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara and so forth. The sculpture may be regarded as one of the simplest representations of this deity and therefore belonging to a period before the iconographic type was elaborated into subdivisions.

A Sanskrit inscription on a rock at Tiriyay (about 30 miles north of Trincomalee, Sri Lanka) contains references to Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and the sanctity of Girikaṇḍika-caitya. In this inscription Mañjuśrī is referred to as Mañjuvāk in stanza No. 6. (The record is in verse, in Nardaṭaka metre (Nos. 1-10) and Upajāti metre (No. 11). A circular relic house (*vaṭa-dā-ge*) has been built on the same rock about 200 feet away. The inscription has named it as Girikaṇḍika-caitya (Sin. Girihaṇḍu-sāya). Stanza No. 5 states that this *stūpa* is the abode of Avalokiteśvara. The next stanza eulogises Mañjuvāk.

> *Munirapi Mañjuvāg madana doṣa viṣādaharaḥ*
> *kanaka vibhūṣaṇo jvala vicitrita gātra rucir*
> *anniyatamupaiti yatra sukumāra tanur*
> *Bhagavān*
> *tadahamapi praṇaumi Girikaṇḍikacaityavaram*

The mention of the triad, the Buddha Śākyasiṁha, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī (in addition to the *stūpa* in which was enshrined the hair relic of the Buddha given to the two seafaring monks Trapussaka and Vallika) gives a glimpse of the Mahāyānist forms of worship in the 7th century (to which period this inscription has been assigned).

The stanza quoted above describes the physical appearance of Mañjuśrī in glowing terms: i.e. the sage who is the burning poison of mental transgression, of delicate body and who attains indeed a splendour of body heightened by the brightness of golden ornaments. In the premises of the *vaṭa-dā-ge,* it is very likely that there was an image of Mañjuśrī also (in addition to those of the Buddha Śākyasiṁha and Avalokiteśvara), the aesthetic qualities of which enraptured the poet to such degree. The words "*Girikaṇḍi-gatam Sugatam-ahamapi pūjayāmi*" (Stanza No. 9) refer to the Buddha image within the shrine. The presence of a hair relic could also be interpreted as the presence of the sage himself.

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4. Ch. XI of the *Saddharmma-Puṇḍarīka-sūtra* states, "The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī proclaimed the 'Lotus of the Good Religion' in the Kingdom of the Nāgas at the bottom of the ocean and the youthful daughter of the Nāga king heard the sermon and understood all the doctrines. As a result she attained Enlightenment and changed her sex on the spot". The merit of the preacher of the Lotus-sūtra and of the faithful hearing of this sermon is praised again and again.

5. The main contents of the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* are the wanderings of the youth Sudhana, who travels all over India on the advice of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, in order to obtain the highest knowledge essential for Enlightenment.

6. In Tantric ritual literature, there is a Buddhist God of Love, Vajrānaṅga, an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, who is invoked in *sādhanas* 59 and 60 (of the *Sādhanamālā*), where it is taught how a man can get a women into his power.

7. According to the texts named *Tārā Tantra* and *Tārā Rahasya*, the cult of Mañjuśrī was taken from India to China. It became so popular in China that people in India said, Mañjuśrī lived in China and his cult was then again taken from China to Nepal. I-Tsing calls attention to an Indian book in which China is praised because it is the home of Mañjuśrī.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

MANJUSRI, L.T.P. About 38 miles from Colombo, along the road to Galle, lies the town of Alutgama, which is on the border that separates the Southern Province from the Western Province. However, Alutgama belongs to the western province and it was there that L.T.P. Manjusri, the well-known painter was born in the year 1902, into an extremely poor family. The poverty of his family was such that he had to borrow a shirt to wear to school. As he had no books of his own, he did his lessons by reading the books of his classmates as he walked with them to school. His early education was not of any long duration. When he was about 10 or 11 years of age, he had to go out into the world to seek his fortune. His first engagement was as an apprentice to a carpenter. Next he betook himself as a companion to a relative of his who was a ballad singer. Later he worked as an assistant salesman in a small shop in Beruwala, which belonged to one of

his cousins. It was while working in this shop that he watched with great interest, Buddhist monks and novices (*bhikkhus and sāmaṇeras*) walking in procession or going about their daily alms-begging rounds. He had earlier been told by his colleagues that meditation exercises could in the long run confer supernatural powers such as travel by air or the state of being invisible to onlookers. He had seen such supernatural exercises being performed by yellow-robed *arahat* bhikkhus as depicted in several temple paintings.



His grandfather was one Kovis Gurunnānse who had been a Buddhist monk in his youth. Young Manjusri was deeply influenced by the Buddhist traditions with which he came to be associated with. So at the age of thirteen he had the opportunity of being made a novice (a *sāmaṇera*) under the tutorship of two eminent scholars - Ven. Telvatte Ariyavamsa and Ven. Telvatte Amaravamsa. He was admitted to the Maṅgala Pirivena where he absorbed himelf intensively in his studies of Sinhala, Pali, Sanskrit and Buddhism. When he was twenty years of age, he had earned for himself a considerable reputation as a scholar of standing. He became one of a quartet of brilliant young monks who were soon to become eminent men in their respective fields. They were: Ven. S. Mahinda, the Tibetan *bhikkhu*, the great poet who rose to the height of a national hero; Ven. Kalalalle Anandasāgara (better known as K. S. or Sagara Palansuriya) also a poet, author of *Sudo Sudu*, and politician who gave up his robes and later became a member of Parliament; finally Ven. Walpola Rahula, writer, scholar and academician who was at one time Vice-chancellor of the Vidyodaya University and later the Chancellor of the University of Kelaniya.

Manjusri had to go through a period of intense intellectual and scholarly activity during the 1920s. At an early age he had mastered the Sanskrit language and had learned to read and write Bengāli. Equipped with his book learning in Bengāli and having got a train ticket to Madras given to him by his friends, Manjusri set out for Sāntiniketan in order to pursue his studies further. He stayed in that well-known institute of learning from 1932 to 1934 and from 1936 to 1937. As made known to the rest of the world by Manjusri himself, it was there that he first began to paint, his interest having been aroused by the artists he met and the numerous outstanding artistic creations he came across there. In studying these works of art, he discovered a new medium of expression and new talents and abilities in himself. He had taken with himself to Sāntiniketan copies of Sri Lankan temple murals and when these were exhibited he found that there was an enthusiastic response to his creations. This was an encouragement to him as an artist. Thereafter he focussed his interest on the temple paintings, which had been a part of his familiar monastic environment since his youth.

He paid a brief visit to Sikkim in 1937 to study the Lamaist religious and artistic traditions of that country. This visit had changed him into an entirely new way of life as shown by his interest in connection with Gotami Vihāra paintings. Manjusri spent his days travelling throughout the country, visiting temples and ancient sites, sketching and painting or studying and copying murals. By the early 1940s he had abandoned his scholarship and become entirely absorbed in art.

In 1943, Manjusri helped to form the '43 Group', a small but highly gifted and dedicated group of modernist painters who challenged the prevailing 'Academicism' of contemporary Sri Lankan painting. Although more or less restricted to an elite and foreign-oriented audience, the artists of the '43 Group' - pre-eminent among them Justin Deraniyagala, George Keyt and Ivan Peiris - produced a remarkable body of work from the 1940s to the 1960s, constituting one of the most important schools of 20th century painting in Asia. Manjusri's somewhat surrealist-inspired paintings were quite different from anything else that could be seen in the work of the other '43 Group' painters, as were his general artistic and social interests. He broke away from the group two years later and held his 'one-man show' in 1945, where he exhibited original paintings as well as mural copies, representing the bulk of his artistic output since his return to Sri Lanka in 1937.

The exhibition was so successful that he held another in 1947, a 'farewell exhibition' on the eve of a visit to Europe. He travelled in Europe from 1947 to 1949, visiting England and Austria and holding exhibitions in London and in Vienna. See PLATE LV.

In 1950, after his return to Sri Lanka, Manjusri gave up his robes and embarked on a full time career as an artist and journalist. From 1951 onwards he was employed as a freelance writer on the *Lankādipa* the Sinhala language daily of the Times of Ceylon Group. He wrote a number of illustrated articles on temple paintings during this period. He married in 1955 and from 1956 to 1968 he was on the permanent staff of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon (the Lake House Group), where he wrote and illustrated a number of articles in both Sinhala and English language papers and journals, on a variety of subjects. During this period he continued to paint and to study and copy the temple paintings. Since his retirement in 1968, he was able to devote himself entirely to his art, assisted by his own son Kushan, who is himself an accomplished painter. Besides being represented in a number of national and group exhibitions, Manjusri has held a number of one-man shows of his works since his return to Sri Lanka and especially in the 1960s and 1970s. This includes several annual exhibitions at the Samudra Gallery in Colombo, especially that of 1969; a major show at the Alliance Francaise in 1970, at the National Art Gallery in 1972 and a joint exhibition with his son Kushan at the Art Gallery in 1976. He lived to a fairly old age, always active and energetic. In June 1981, he passed away, aged 79. See PLATE LV.

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MAÑJUŚRIBHĀṢITAVĀSTUVIDYĀŚĀSTRA, also called *citrakarmaśāstra* is a Buddhist Sanskrit text ascribed to Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. It existed in ola manuscript form till recent times and has now been edited and published. It is the only *śilpa* text which has so far come to light containing information about Buddhist monastic architecture and iconography. The contents have been divided into 17 chapters. The first three chapters (which constitute half the text) deal with monastic architecture, and has been called *Vāstuśāstra*. The remaining 14 chapters deal with iconography, iconometry and modelling of images of Dhyāni Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This second part of the text has been named *citrakarmaśāstra* by reason of its being designated as such in the colophons to chapters 4-17. The two parts belong to one and the same text and have been published under the uniform title of *Vāstuvidyāśāstra* and *Citrakarmaśāstra*.

The manuscript was discovered at a Buddhist temple in Gampola, Sri Lanka. It contains about 1600 *ślokas*. It has not been possible to trace a second manuscript of the work anywhere in Sri Lanka. The available text has been written in Sinhala script of about the 14th-15th centuries A.C. The original text was probably composed during 11th to 12th centuries. The text furnishes for the first time a wealth of hitherto unknown information about the way in which Buddhist monasteries were planned and constructed in ancient Sri Lanka.

The work is unmistakably a product of the Mahāyāna school. Apart from its authorship being ascribed to Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom and Learning, it gives descriptions of the five Sambhogakāya Buddhas and the eight great Bodhisattvas in connection with the arrangement of statues in the sanctum of the image house and also mentions the Buddha *śaktis*, Mahāyānist gods and minor deities in its section of iconography. The figures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas are among the objects to be deposited in the site of a *caitya* as well as in the reliquary underneath a Buddha statue. The work also states that a *mantra* inscribed on a metal leaf should be enshrined in the relic chamber of a *caitya*. That this too was a Mahāyānist practice is proven beyond doubt by the discovery of a number of copper plaques containing *dharaṇīs*, from the debris of the dilapidated *caitya* in the Vijayārāma, an ancient Mahāyānist monastery lying about 5 km. to the north of Anuradhapura.

The type of monastery (*ārāma*) described in this text was to be located in open space, with a retaining wall supporting a raised quadrangle containing the building complex, encircled by a walk and a moat, beyond which lay a coconut, arecanut or bamboo grove, and there are striking similarities between these monasteries and those found in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva in North Central Sri Lanka. Therefore it is very likely that this text had its origin within Sri Lanka itself.

If the various layouts of the monasteries (discussed in the work) are considered, it will be seen that some of them show close affinities with a specific group of Mahāyanist establishments that existed on the outskirts

of Anuradhapura (and also in certain other parts of the island) about the period 9-10th centuries A. C. These monasteries have been described as *pabbata-vihāras* (Sk. *parvata-vihāras*) on account of the elevated position of their central quadrangles which contained the four religious edifices, namely the *caitya*, the *bodhiveśman*, the *pratimāgṛha* and *uposathagṛha*. Immediately outside this sacred quadrangle ran a circumambulatory walk. The residential and other non-religious buildings were accommodated in the low lying area between this walk and the moat on the boundary.

The work opens with the salutation *'namas sarvajñāya'* followed by a brief account of the legendary origin of the *vāstuśāstra* attributed to the Buddha himself, who unofolds the science in response to a query by Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī who in turn imparts it to the world of mortals. This brief narrative is followed by a summary of the contents.

Chapter I enumerates the twenty four types of *ārāmas* with their geographical locations as well as their positions within a given site and also on the periphery of a site. The names of twelve *ārāma* types are given along with an alternate plan (*vikrānta*) for each type, thus bringing the total number to twenty four. The twelve types are known as Hastyārāma, Siṁhārāma, Daṇḍārāma, Padmārāma, Bhikṣuṇyārāma, Śītalāgulma, Gokulārama, Anvārāma, Bhujaṅgaphaṇārāma, Haṁsapakṣa, Nāvākāra and Cakrārāma. It should be noted that these names are not to be found in any of the Indian *śilpa* texts. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these *ārāma* patterns are an independent development in ancient Sinhala monastic architecture. Three types, the Hastyarāma, the Siṁhārāma and the Haṁsapakṣa are laid out definitely following the figures of the respective animals, and five types, the Daṇḍārama, the Padmārāma, the Bhujaṅgaphaṇārāma, the Nāvākāra and the Cakrārāma, following the shapes of the respective objects i.e. rod, lotus, cobra-hood, ship and wheel. The Bhikṣuṇyārāma appears to be a type of monastery for Buddhist nuns and the stipulation that it should be located in close proximity to another monastery further strengthens this possibility. Anvārāma has also a definite plan, but it is difficult to ascertain the pattern followed by the Gokulārāma and the Śītalāgulma.

Chapter II covers a little less than half of the whole text. It consists of 635 verses and is the longest of all the chapters. It begins with a short account of how the gnomon or sun dial used for ascertaining the cardinal points should be placed. The most important feature of the monastery envisaged in this text is that all buildings, sacred and residential were located in one large quadrangle, almost square in shape, which was raised above the ground level by means of a retaining wall built on all four sides. The only type of ancient monastery belonging to the first millennium, which is built on a well discernible plan are the so-called *pabbata-vihāras* (as mentioned earlier). The building complex consisted of a rectangle almost square in shape. The measurements are given in *hastas* (i.e. the ancient cubit of 24 *aṅgulas*). The retaining wall to be built round the area, its width, height and the mouldings are next described. Once the construction of the wall was complete, the placing of the deities (*vāstudevatās*) in the site commenced. For this purpose, the court within the confines of the wall was divided lengthwise and breadthwise into five equal parts. The twenty five squares thus obtained, were dedicated to the twently five deities of the site. After assigning the deities to the respective *koṣṭhas*, the very important ritual of *garbha-vidhāna* or impregnation of the site was carried out. This ritual consisted of depositing in each *koṣṭha*, an object symbolic of the respective deity. The depositing of the symbolic objects was done at ground level (*prakṛti-sthala*). The foundation was laid with stone and the rest of the empty space within the wall was filled with earth.

The work next describes in detail the layout of the different *ārāma* patterns. The positions of the various edifices within a monastery varied according to the direction in which the main entrance was located. Thus there are, forty six different plans discussed here. The work divides all edifices into two groups, the major (*mukhya*) and the minor (*gauṇa*). The major edifices are five in number. They are the four most important sacred buildings i.e. the *caitya*, the *bodhiveśman*, the *pratimālaya* and the *sabhā*, and the *prāsāda* which was the the residential quarters for the monks. The *sabhā* was a religious building (*uposathāgāra*) where the community of monks assembled to perform ecclesiastical acts.

The work mentions more than twenty kinds of ancillary buildings which might well belong to a monastery of average size. Of these the *bhojanālaya* (refectory) and the *bhaktaśālā* (kitchen) are the commonest and indispensable adjuncts, to any monastery complex. Next in importance comes the non-descript *pratiharmya* which in all probability was a residential

building reserved for visiting monks. Other buildings which should be mentioned are the hospital (*rogālaya*), flower-hall (*puṣpamaṇḍapa*), urinal (*srutaśālā*), lavatory (*malamokṣa*), granary (*dhanyavāsaka*), drumming hall (*bherigṛha*), dance-hall (*nṛtya-maṇḍapa*), preaching hall (*dharmma-maṇḍapa*) and conference or lecture-hall (*vyākhyāna-maṇḍapa*).

In this text, the stūpa (otherwise called *caitya*) has been given special treatment. The whole of Chapter III is devoted to it in connection with its construction and other details. The chapter opens with the specifications for the *bricks* to be used in *caitya* construction. The measurements are given in *aṅgulas*. The text goes on to enumerate five types of *caitya*. The four easily recognizable types are given as *dhānyarāśa*, *padmātmaka* (i.e. *padmākāra*), *ghaṇṭākāra* and *budbudākṛti*. The term *paṇḍalaṇḍākāra* appears to be a corrupt form for *palāṇḍvākāra* (onion or bulb shaped). The *ghaṭākāra* and the *āmalaka* types are not mentioned at all, probably because they were not popular in Sri Lanka. Something interesting about the list given in this text is that each type seems to have been associated with a particular type of monastery.

The work enumerates ten different types of ground distinguished from each other by means of vegetation, soil structure and physical features. Of the ten types, only the first four, namely *anūpa, jāṅgala, sādhāraṇa* and *dhūmraka* are briefly discussed as they are considered to be the types best suitable. The commencement of the work was preceded by an elaborate ceremony. During the course of the ceremony the four boundary lines were laid. Next commenced the construction of the first chamber. In the middle of the site an area measuring one *hasta* a side was smeared with cow-dung (as a purificatory rite). On the floor space was drawn the *pīṭha* and *upapīṭha* diagram, the former consisting of nine squares and the latter twenty five squares. In the *pīṭha* plan of nine squares were placed a heap of *śāli* rice (on the middle square up to a height of seven *aṅgulas*). In the remaining eight squares the eight kinds of auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgalas*) were placed. Thereafter work was started in connection with the *garbhagṛha*. The walls of the chamber were built most probably with bricks. Once the walls were completed the chamber was closed with stone slabs and bricks. The work of the lower part of the dome covering the first chamber must have followed next.

Before the work on the second chamber (*garbhagṛha*) commenced there was another consecration ceremony. The layout out this chamber was that of *upapīṭha* which consisted of 25 squares. There were deities occupying the sixteen squares on the periphery. They were Īśa, Mahendra, Āditya, Antarīkṣa, Agni, Gṛhakṣata, Yama, Mṛṣa, Pitṛ (Nirṛta), Puṣpadanta, Varuṇa, Roga, Vāyu, Bhallāṭa, Soma and Aditi. Brahmā occupied the centre and the eight squares around it were occupied by Āpavatsa, Ārya, Sāvitrī, Vivasvat, Indra, Mitra, Rudrajaya, Bhūmindra (Pṛthivīdhara). In this chamber, most probably in the niches on the four walls, figures of the four divine Buddhas Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, and Amitābha were deposited with their heads turned towards the east, north, west and south respectively. A figure of Amoghasiddhi was placed above that of Amitābha. The four Buddhaśaktis, Tārā, Locanā, Prajñā and Māmukhī were next placed in the four corners beginning with Īśa. Various other items worthy of veneration were also placed and the chamber was closed by laying the top bricks. The text makes no mention of any relics being deposited.

Above the top brick layer of the second chamber was placed the repository of gems which is an essential feature of the interior of any *caitya*. Strict specifications are given for its measurements. It has to be a perfect square measuring 4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11 or 12 *aṅgulas* a side. Its width also may be in relation to the width of the outer wall or of the inner wall of the *caitya*. It is likely that the terraced plinth and the bell of the *caitya* were built with two concentric walls differing in thickness. The repository of gems or *ratnanyāsa* was divided into nine chambers. In these were deposited pearls, diamonds, sapphires, rubies etc. Oblations were offered to the receptacle before the gems were deposited in it. This description of the *garbhagṛhas* and *ratnanyāsa* agrees with the arrangement of plans of Sri Lankan *stūpas*. Most of these *stūpas* contain three chambers except that of Topāväva which contained six chambers. The general arrangement of the existing examples is that the uppermost chamber which is the largest, is on level with the upper terrace of the plinth of the *stūpa* and the third or the lowermost, generally smaller in size, on ground level. In these instances, the *ratnanyāsa* (called *yantragala* in Sinhala) occurs below the chamber and not above it as mentioned in our text.

The most valuable information which our text provides concerns the prototype of that stone pillar which runs through the axis of the dome and known in India as *yūpa*. In this text it is called *gajastambha* or *gajapādaka*. The type of *caitya* described in this text

belongs to a very early period when *gajastambhas* were made of wood. It had three heights, *adhama*, *madhyama* and *uttama* measuring thirty and a half *hasta*, thirty five and a half *hasta* and thirty nine and a half *hasta*, respectively. The post was fitted on to a shaft fixed to a base placed above the receptacle of gems. The *chatradaṇḍa* is known as *yaṣṭi* in the *Divyāvadāna*. According to the text of the *Vastuvidyāśāstra*, it was, like the *gajastambha*, made of wood. It is said to be three *hastas* in length and three *aṅgulas* less than the *gajastambha* in width. A copper shaft (*kīla*) was fitted to the tapering end of the *chatradaṇḍa*. Its lower end was fitted on to the lid of the relic chamber in the *harmikā* sealing completely the hole in the lid. It was coated with plaster and supported a pile of umbrellas placed one above the other. This text does not make any mention of a *harmikā* or *hatarās koṭuva* on the top of the dome. But immediately after describing the *chatrāvalī*, it speaks of such decorative motifs as festoons of lotuses and rows of pearls and gems employed on the *caitya*. As the text (in connection with these details) is corrupt it is not possible to say anything conclusively about the *harmikā*. Originally the term *dhātu-garbha* referred to the *harmikā*.

The relic casket took the form of a miniature *stūpa* and was made of metal. It contained a nine chamber reliquary, four or five *aṅgulas* square. The nine chambers were dedicated to the nine deities (i.e. the eight Dikpālas with Brahmā in the centre). In the eight outer squares were placed the eight kinds of grain, the five kinds of metal and the eight kinds of precious stones. The relics, if there were any, were placed in the central chamber dedicated to Brahmā. A *mantra* inscribed on a leaf of gold, silver or copper was also deposited in the same chamber. The *mantra* is in the form of an appeal to the five Tathāgatas and the chamber deities to protect the relics and other deposits from possible danger. After inscribing the *mantra*, the leaf was bathed in purified water and then smeared with sandal-wood ointment. The receptacle was first inserted in the casket which was then placed in the centre of the *harmikā*.

The remaining chapters (i.e. 4-17) deal with iconography, iconometry and related subjects. The contents of each chapter are given below in brief.

Ch. 4. Classification and selection of trees for door-frame ornamentation and image making etc.

Ch. 5. Method of cutting and seasoning of wood.

Ch. 6. Ground plans and locations of the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures in the *sanctum* chamber.

Ch. 7. The technique of clay-modelling, cutting of trees for armature (*śūla*) and fixing of wooden sticks together (*aṣṭabandha*).

Ch. 8. The ritual connected with the laying of jewels prior to fixing of the *śūla*. Measurement of the altar and the *mantra* to be recited.

Ch. 9. The tying of cords round the *śūla*.

Ch. 10. Winding strings round to support the clay that forms the body of the image.

Ch. 11. Characteristics of clay suitable for image-making.

Ch. 12. Method of preparation of limestone paste.

Ch. 13. Canons of proportions

Ch. 14. Measurements to be obtained by means of plumbline.

Ch. 15. Iconographic details of the five Dhyāni Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

Ch. 16. The characteristics and the application of pigments.

Ch. 17. The ritual of taking out the eyes preceding their replacing.

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MAÑJUSRĪMŪLAKALPA. This Mahāyana text has also been called *Ārya Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa*. Its contents are based on a dialogue between the Buddha and his *parsan maṇḍala* (assembly) and between bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the assembly. The language of the document is ungrammatical such as in works, which contain charms and formulas. The contents may be described as *mantras*, *sādhanas* and astrological prognostications. The text has been intended as a handbook for believers in charms. At the end of it there is the title given as *Avatamsakāt Mahāyāna Vaipulya-Sūtrat* which makes it possible to group it into the class of literature called *Mahāyāna Vaipulya Avatamsaka*. The text begins with the words *Evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ*. The character of the text may be understood from the following extract.

> *"Namaḥ sarva tathāgatānāmacintya pratihata śāsanānāṃ o ra ra smara apratihata śāsana kumāra rūpadhārīnā hum hum phat mesvāhā. Ayaṃ sakumāra Mañjuśrī-Mūla-mantraḥ sarvesāṃ tathāgatānām hṛdyaṃ sarvaiśca tathāgatairbhāsitaḥ bhāsiśyante, sattvamapidānim bhāsisyase sahāṃ lokadhātuṃ gatvā vistara vibhāgasaḥ sarva karma karaṃ śākya muninā tathāgatenābhyanujñāta parama hrdayaṃ bhavati cātra omvākyeda namah upa hrdyaṃ cātra vākye hum."*

The fifty third *patala* (chapter) of this text is devoted to Indian History of the period 700-790 A. C. (This portion was published under the title *Imperial History of India* in the year 1934, at Allahabad, India). The relevant chapter which has been recorded as a discourse by the Buddha, begins as follows:

> *"Atha khalu bhagavān śākyamunih tasmāt samādhervyutthāya mahā sāgaropamāyām parsanmaṇḍalaṃ dharmmam deśayamānah sarvva sattvānām sarvva bhūta ganānāmagratah sannisannah tatra vajrapāni pramukhānāmaneka Bodhisattva sankhye sahasram śāriputra pramukhām aneka saṅkhyeyārhasahasrām vaiśravana pramukham........... mantrayatesma śrnvantu bhavanto devasankhyah. Sarvva Bodhisattvārya śrāvakāh. Anityāh sarvasamskārah utpādavyayadharminah. Utpadya hi niruddhayante tesām vyupaśamah sukham"*

The book ends as follows:

> *"Āryya Mañjuśrī mūlakalpāt Bodhisattva-piṭakāvataṃsakāt Mahāyāna*
> *Vaipulyasūtrāt patala visarāt eka pañcāśa Rāja vyākaraṇa parivartah"*

This work is entirely in the spirit of Mantrayāna. In the major portion of the work, the Buddha while being in the assembly speaks only to Mañjuśri. In the first three chapters, Mañjuśrı himself speaks and in the last two chapters, Goddess Vijayā. The Buddha gives instructions as to magic rites with *mantras*, *mudras*, *maṇḍalas* etc. In Ch. IX for instance, "the Great king of Sciences", the *mantra* of Mañjuśrī, is taught, which includes all sciences within itself, by means of which one can attain all things, which destroys all the *mantras* of evil doers, blots out all sins etc. It is called the *Kihum* Mantra. In Ch. XIV, the same powers are claimed for the *Bhrūm* Mantra. There is very little trace of Buddhism in this manual of magic, though the worship of the 'three jewels' is mentioned in Ch. 47. The work was translated into Chinese as a *Mahā-Vaipulya-sūtra* between 980 and 1000 A. C. and into Tibetan as a Tantra in the 11th century.

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3. M. Lalou, *Iconographie desétoffes peintes (pata) dans le Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, Paris, 1930 (Buddhica, Ser. I, t. VI). B. Bhattacarya (*GOS* Vol. LIII, p. xxxii ff) would ascribe the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* in its original form to 2nd century A. C., on grounds which are unacceptable.

4. *Mañjuśrī-Buddhaksetra-Guna-vyūha* is included in the *Ratnakūṭa* (which constitutes a large section of the Chinese Tripiṭaka and the Tibetan *Kanjūr*). *Ratnakūta* is a collection of 49 *sūtras*. *Mañjuśrī-nāma-sangīti* is also a Tantric text which has been edited by Minayeff in 1887.

Nandasena Mudiyaanse

MANŌKAMMA See KAMMA

MANOPAVICĀRA, investigation (*upavicāra*) by mind (*mano*) of sense objects that come in contact with the senses, whether a particular object gives ground for pleasure (*somanassa*) or sorrow (*domanassa*) or neutral feeling (*upekkhā*). These three aspects of in-

vestigation, when applied to each of the six sense-objects, become eighteen, which are here termed *aṭṭhārasa-manopavicāra (M.* III. 239 f; *D.* III, 244 f; *S.* IV, 232; *A.* I, 175 -176).

In the *suttas* we find *manopavicāra* being identified with *vedanā* (*S.* IV, 232) while it is placed after six bases of sense contact (*phassa M.* III, 239; *A.* I. 175). In the commentaries it is explained as representing two activities of the mind, namely, *vitakka*, initial application and *vicāra*, sustained application of the mind with regard to an object, and it has been explained as determination by investigating after having considered by reflecting (*vitakkena vitakketvā vicārena paricchindati: DA. SHB,* p. 758; cp. *AA.* II. 278; *PsA. SHB*, 69; *Vism.* 114 ff).

Its identification with *vedanā*, the fact that it follows *phassa* and also its explanation as *vitakka* and *vicāra* demonstrate that *manopavicāra* represents a stage in the cognitive process. This is strengthened by *sutta* passages, which describe the arising of what is called *papañca* (q.v.).

In the *Madhupiṇḍikasutta*, for example, the stages are given of a cognitive process which culminate in the arising of *papañca*. Coming together of three factors, it says, is called contact (*phassa*) which gives rise to feelings (*vedanā*). The stages that follow are *saññā*, cognition, and *vitakka* which results in *papañca* (*M. I.*, III, f.). *Manopavicāra* seems to represent three stages in this process, namely *vedanā*, *saññā* and *vitakka* which is naturally accompanied by *vicāra*.

Saññā here represents the actual cognition of an object. Man does not rest satisfied with mere cognition, he begins to examine it and determine. This is discriminative activity of the mind, which results in grasping the major and minor characteristics, (*nimitta* and *anuvyañjana*) of the object cognised. A man, on seeing an object, for example, investigates and determines its colour, shape, and so on; he concludes that it is beautiful or ugly or neutral. This entire process is called *manopavicāra*.

It is this *manopavicāra* that is responsible for the arising of different passions in the mind. An ordinary man, incapable of understanding the real nature of things cognises that they change and are impermanent etc., contemplates unwisely (*ayoniso manasikaroti*) and takes or rather mistakes things impermanent as permanent, things painful as pleasurable and things unsubstantial as substantial; in short, he takes a perverse view of them (*vipallāsa* : *Netti.* 115; *Viparyāsa: Mdhvr.* 452). Depending on outward appearance of the objects he decides one object as agreeable and another as disagreeable. Towards agreeable object he develops a liking and is attracted; he begins to crave for it. This is how lust (*rāga*) arises. Similarly he dislikes disagreeable objects and becomes averse to them; he begins to hate them. This is how hatred (*dosa*) arises. These are two of the basic passions (*mūlakleśa*) that arise due to ignorance (*moha*), another basic passion.

None of these passions will arise if a man is able to wisely contemplate on the objects he cognised; that they are impermanent (*anicca*), miserable (*dukkha*) and unsubstantial (*anatta*). Wise contemplation (*yonisomanasikāra*) gives no opportunity for *manopavicāra*: one does not grasp the minor and major attributes of the objects cognised. This is called restraint as regards the senses (*indriyasaṃvara*) or guarding the doors of the senses (*indriyesu guttadvāratā*). By developing this quality, one becomes disgusted with the objects cognised (*nibbidā*); on being disgusted, one becomes dissociated (*viratta*) and free (*vimutta*) from them.

Upali Karunaratne

MANORATHAPŪRAṆĪ : The *Manorathapūraṇi* is the commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* which is the fourth book of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. In this text, the contents are arranged in the ascending order, the entire text consisting of eleven chapters (*Nipātas*). These eleven chapters contain 9557 *suttas*, the majority of these being shorter than the majority of *suttas* of the other three *Nikāyas*.

The list of commentaries cited by Buddhaghosa includes a text referred to as the *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā*.[1] Although it is not clear whether the present *Manorathapūraṇi* is a direct translation of the original Sinhala *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā* or is the edited work, cleared of contradictions and repetitions to be in agreement with the canonical texts and other commentaries, it can safely be said that it is the edited product bearing witness to Buddhaghosa's great erudition.

1. *History of Indian literature*, M. Winternitze, Vol. II, 1993. 191f.

Commenting on the *Manorathapūraṇī*, Winternitz remarks, "the *Manorathapūraṇī* contains about a hundred legends. Among them we find for example 13 extremely interesting stories from the life of the *Therīs*, the early women-disciples of Buddha, which are very valuable to us as additions to the *Therīgāthās*. The wreath of legends with which the Buddhistic narrators have surrounded their female saints certainly throws some light on the real life and feelings of those women who gave up the world in order to follow the Buddha. The section begins with the life-story of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, the aunt and foster-mother of the Buddha who became the first nun. Her story is of course told already in the *Vinayapiṭaka*. After this story which gives the impression of a true happening, follows the wonderful legend of Khemā the queen, proud of her beauty, who does not even take cognizance of the existence of the Buddha for a long time; but one day the Buddha makes appear before her the phantom of a charming, beautiful goddess who, before her eyes, becomes older and older until she stands before her as an infirm old woman and at last falls down dead; then Khemā too is reminded of her impending fate and begs the king for permission to enter the community of the nuns.

Another one, Uppalavaṇṇā, is so marvellously beautiful that the princes of the whole of India want to marry her, and the father is greatly embarrassed, and the daughter solves the problem by becoming a nun. The legend of Kisāgotamī and of the mustard-corn comes here again. Most touching of all is the story of Paṭācārā whose contents may be retold here in short. Paṭācārā is the daughter of a rich merchant in Sāvathi. She falls in love with a worker employed in her house and allows him to seduce her. After becoming pregnant she would like to come back to her parents. The husband agrees, but puts off the departure from day to day, until at last she departs alone. He follows her and joins her just at the moment when, having pains on the way, she gives birth to a child. Then they come back to their house. The same thing is repeated at the birth of their second child. But while she delivers the child on the way there is a big storm. Her husband makes a protective roof for her with twigs of trees. While he is cutting grass to cover it, he is bitten by a snake and dies. The sorrowing mother continues her journey with her two children. She comes to a river which she cannot cross with both her children at the same time. So she leaves back the older boy on the bank, carries the younger one to the other bank, lays him down and comes back to the older boy. While she is in midstream a hawk comes flying to the younger child. She raises her hands to scare away the hawk. This the older boy sees who thinks that his mother is signing him to come to her. So he gets into the water and is washed away. In the meantime the hawk has flown away carrying the younger child. Full of grief the woman continues her journey to Sāvatthī. Arriving there she learns that her parental home has been destroyed by a cyclonic storm and that her parents have died. They are just about to be burnt on the pyre. The wretched woman breaks out wailing and lamenting, tears her clothes from off her body and wanders about for many days naked and mad. One day at last she comes across the Buddha who is just preaching. And the Lord lets his feelings of benevolence flow on her and says, 'Sister, come back to your senses: Sister, come back to your senses'. As soon as she hears the words of the Lord she is overwhelmed with the feeling of shame. A man throws a piece of clothing at her and she covers herself. Through one verse of the Buddha she is fully converted and she has become later one of the most highly esteemed nuns of the community.

In some of these stories we find motifs of fairy-tales which belong to the common property of world literature, whether they have wandered out of India or they have been taken over by Indians from foreigners. Thus Uppalavaṇṇā was in earlier birth-the Buddhist narrators are never content with describing the events in the life of their saints only in their last birth-the girl Padumāvatī born from a lotusbud. When she walked, lotus flowers sprouted under her footsteps. As she is the favourite queen of the king of Banaras her co-wives became jealous of her. When the king is away fighting a battle they rob her of her new born babies in whose place they place a bloody block of wood. She is driven away, but soon the babies who have been put in a wooden box are fished out and the truth is discovered. Similar stories are current in the literature of these fairy tales east and west. At another place of the *Manorathapūraṇī* we find the story of Ghosaka the merchant. This story appearing again and again in India and widespread in the whole world, tells of a boy of poor circumstances but born under a lucky star who, in spite of all attacks on his life, at last attains a high position through the help of a young girl who falls in love with him and replaces a letter which is meant to bring death upon him with another letter by which his marraige with herself is brought about. A second attack on the life of the young man is foiled like Schiller's balled of 'Gang nach dem Eisenhammer', by making the abettor of the murder of his son die in accordance with the proverb 'The biter

will be bitten'. The majority of the stories are however, only edifying stories. One of those, for example, tells of a merchant whom Māra in the guise of the Buddha tempts in order to teach him a false doctrine, but the merchant recognises him as Māra, since the Buddha cannot have taught something like that."[1]

While *puṇya* was not an acquisition that could be given away or shared by the doer at his discretion according to the canonical texts, the first occurence of the term *pattidāna* is come across in the *Manorathapūraṇī* as an explanation of the term *ātitheyya* in the story of Veḷukaṇṭakī Nandamātā in the Mahāyañña Vagga of the *Sattaka Nipāta*.[2] Explaining the textual phrase. *"Evaṃ me bhavissati ātitheyyan ti"*, as, *"Evaṃ attano pattidānaṃ yācitvā ayaṃ te dhammakathikasakkāro ti"*, introduces the term *pattidāna*.

It was thus the commentarial literature which was used to introduce the new concepts which were not only essential but indispensable in the assimilatory process. All local deities who had their own individual cults were provided a place in the ritual but devoid of their cults, and were assigned the task of providing protection and exercising vigilance over the welfare of those who gave their *puṇya* generated from offerings made to the Buddha and other centres of cultic ritual on his behalf and in his name.

Not only the *Manorathapūraṇī*, but many other commentarial and other post-canonical works as well were put in the service of this massive assimilatory process, the like of which was already taking place in the neighbouring Indian sub-continent in the assimilation of tribal cults and ritual.[3] While there was urgent need for providing supporting literature for the smooth functioning of the new ritual and cultic practices, it is quite reasonable to think that these were written in the language of the people. This seems a fair argument for the existence of commentarial and other texts like the *Bodhivaṃsa* in Sinhala. Also, it seems quite reasonable to think that at a later period it was desired that these literature too should be rendered into the language of the canonical texts, to fulfill which function the services of the great scholar Buddhaghosa was made use of.

M. M. J. Marasinghe

MONŌSAÑCETANĀHĀRA See **ĀHĀRA**

MANOVIÑÑĀṆA See **VIÑÑĀṆA**

MĀNUṢĪ BUDDHAS - According to Śrāvakayāna (Hīnayāna) as well as Mahāyāna, a Buddha is a *Mahāpurisa* (great man) who is endowed with 32 major and 80 minor auspicious marks (*dvātiṃsati-mahā-purisa-lakkhaṇa* and *asīti anubyañjanaṃ*). These are known as the external characteristics. They have been enumerated in the *Dharmasaṅgraha*, a work which has been attributed to Nāgārjuna. A Buddha must have in addition, ten *balas* (powers), eighteen *āvenika dharmas* (peculiar qualities) and four *vaiśāradyas* (bases of self confidence or assurance).

Texts of the Śrāvakayāna make mention of 24 past Buddhas (sometimes 28) beginning with Dipaṅkara, each having a particular Bodhi-tree. The Mahāyānists also recognise these past Buddhas but the lists given by them do not conform to any systematic pattern. There are as many as thirty two in one list. The last seven Buddhas are known to both vehicles of Buddhism. They are designated by the term Mānuṣī Buddhas in Mahāyānism. This term has been translated into English as Mortal Buddhas. These are Vipaśyin, Sikhī, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kaṇakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyasiṃha. There is speculation among historians about the historicity of the first six named in this list. Kern believes that Krakucchanda and Kaṇakamuni could be historical personages.

In developing the idea of Mānuṣī Buddhas, some attempts have been made to establish a connection between the last five Mortal Buddhas with the Dhyāni Buddha and their Bodhisatvas discharge their duties of creation through the agency of the Mortal Buddhas.

In iconographic representations, the last seven Mortal Buddhas appear all alike. They are of one colour and one form. Usually they sit cross-legged with the right hand displaying the earth touching attitude (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*). Colossal images of the last seven Mortal Buddhas representing them in earth-touching attitude appear in one of the Buddhist cave temples of Ellora. Mahāyānists believe that *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā* is the *mudrā* of Akṣobya. There are also paintings of the Mortal Buddhas in yellow or golden

1. *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, W. Rahula, 1956, 34f; S. Paranavitāna's excellent article in *JRAS*, CB, XXXI, no.82, 302-327
2. *Manorathapūraṇī*, II.718 (Hewavitharna Edition).
3. *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, D. D. Kosambi, 1997, 168; *Gods in Early Buddhism*, Marasinghe, M. M. J. 1974, 112f.

colour. It is difficult to identify them unless they appear in groups of seven. In one instance they have been represented as standing, under a particular Bodhi Tree and with a distinguishing *Mudra*. In the Indian Museum at Calcutta, there is such an image (No. B. G. 83). In this sculpture, Maitreya, the future Buddha is also represented. See PLATE LVI

Śākyasiṃha or Gautama is the last of the seven Mortal Buddhas. He is well represented in sculpture and in painting. Archaeologists believe that representations in sculpture begin from the time of the Kusan king Kanishka. In discussions on the origin of the Buddha image, it has not been possible to go back to a period beyond the date of this king. Representations of Buddha Gautama are available in different attitudes and expressions in India, Sri Lanka and in almost all Buddhist countries.

The *Sādhanamālā* (a 12th Century Sanskrit Tantric text) furnishes a *dhyāna* in respect of Buddha Gautama as follows:-

"The worshipper should meditate on Himself (seated on Vajrāsana) who displays the *Bhūsparṣa Mudrā* in his right hand while the left rests on the lap. He is dressed in red garments and sits on the vajra on a double lotus placed on the four Māras (*catur-Māropari*) of blue, white, red and green colour. He is peaceful in appearance. His body is endowed with all the major and minor auspicious marks (*lakṣaṇavyañjanenānvitagātram*). To the right is Maitreya Bodhisattva who is white, two armed and wears the *Jaṭāmakuṭa* and carries the chowrie-jewel in the right hand and the *nāgakesara* flower in the left. Similarly to the left is Lokeśvara of white complexion carrying in his right hand the chowrie and the lotus in the left."

All the Dhyāni Buddhas have their Śaktīs. In like manner the Mortal Buddhas have also their Śaktis through whom they obtained their seven Mortal Bodhisattvas. They are called Buddhaśaktīs and have been named as follows:

1. Vipaśyantī 2. Sikhimālinī 3. Viśvadharā
4. Kakudvatī 5. Kanthamālinī 6. Mahidharā
7. Yasodharā

Representations of these Śaktīs in either sculpture or paintings have not so far been discovered in India or Sri Lanka.

The Mortal Bodhisattvas were brought into existence by their respective Mortal Buddhas and their Śaktis. They have been named as follows:-

1. Mahāmati 2. Ratnadhara 3. Ākāsagañja
4. Śākamaṅgala 5. Kanakarāja 6. Dharmadhara
7. Ānanda

The names of Mortal Buddhaśaktis and Mortal Bodhisattvas are available in Nepalese texts. Yasodhara and Ānanda are familiar names. Yasodharā was the wife of Prince Siddhārtha and Ānanda was the disciple who was closely associated with the Buddha.

In the Indian Museum sculpture (No. B. G. 83) Maitreya (the future Buddha) has also been shown as a Mortal Buddha. It is said that he partakes of the nature of a Mortal Buddha, though he is not a Buddha yet. He is said to be in Tusita heaven and in due course he will make his descent to the earth in human form. The belief is that he would come to earth, after the lapse of 4000 years in which time the Order of the Buddha Gautama would have disappeared. Asanga is said to have visited Maitreya in Tusita heaven and the latter initiated him into mysteries of Tantra. Hiuen Tsang records the existence of a colossal image of Maitreya in Udyāna (U-chang-na). The sculptor is said to have gone several times to Tusita heaven to ascertain his correct form before carving it. Maitreya may be represented as a standing figure, richly decorated and holding in his right hand the stalk of a lotus. He is distinguished from Padmapāni mainly by the figure of a small *stūpa* (*caitya*), which Maitreya bears on his *jaṭāmakuṭa*. In some instances in Indian sculpture, his hands form the usual *dharmacakra-mudrā*; in the left there is a vase, round, oval or pointed, or there may be the stems of flowers which support his two characteristic symbols, the vase and the wheel.

Maitreya may also be shown seated as a Buddha with legs interlocked or both hanging down. His colour is yellow and his images sometimes bear the figures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the aureole behind them. The small *stūpa* on the *jaṭāmakuṭa* of Maitreya is said to refer to the belief that a *caitya* on the mount Kukkuṭapāda near Bodh Gaya covers a spot where Kasyapa Buddha is lying. When Maitreya descend to earth, he would go direct to the spot which would open by magic and Buddha Kasyapa would give him the garments of a Buddha. In the *Sādhanamāla*, there is a description of Maitreya as a principal divinity. There are also other descriptions where he is shown as a minor deity. When he accompanies others as a

minor god, he generally carries the chowrie in the right and the Nāgagakesara flower in the left. According to this *sādhana*, his complexion is yellow like gold. He sits in the *paryaṅka* attitude. In one of his hands he bears the sprout of a full blown *Nāgakesara* flower.

The concept of *Triratna* or *Ratnatraya* has also some connection with that of Mānuṣī Buddha. *Triratna* means the three precious ones i.e. the Buddha, the Law and the Order. There is a suggestion that this Trinity may have been adopted from Trimūrti of the Hindus i.e. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The *Triratna* takes many forms e.g. *Trikāya*. There is also the Nepalese concept of a triple existence of each Buddha as a Nirvāna Buddha, Dhyānī Buddha and Mānuṣī Buddha.

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MĀRA : (fr. Mṛ. later Vedic, māra, killing, destroying, bringing death, pestilence, *cp*. Lat. *mors*, death, *morbus*, illness, Lith. *māras*, death, pestilence) death; usually personified as *Np*. Death, the Evil one, the Tempter (the Buddhist Devil or Principle of Destruction). Sometimes the term *mara* is applied to the whole of the worldly existence, or the realm of rebirth, as opposed to Nibbāna. (s.v. *PED*.).

Thus, the term *Māra* seems to have been derived from the Vedic Mṛtyu, first one of the titles of Yama and in the later Saṃhitas, the messenger of Yama, the King and ruler of the dead. "Death is the path of Yama and once he appears to be identified with death (*mṛtyu*). Yama's foot-fetter (*padbīśa*) is spoken of as parallel to the bond of Varuṇa. Owing to such traits and also to his messengers, Yama must to a certain extent have been an object of fear in the Rg*veda*. But in the *Atharva Veda* and the later mythology Yama, being more closely associated with the terrors of death, came to be the god of death (though even in the Epic his sphere is by no means limited to hell). In the later *Saṃhitās* Yama is mentioned beside Antaka, the Ender, Mṛtyu, Death and Nirṛti, Decease, and Mṛtyu is his messenger" (A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 1963, 172).

Although Māra has been named after a title of Yama, the Vedic god of Death, it must be noted here that in Buddhism he has not been assigned the Vedic functions of Yama. In the Pali Nikāya texts, Yama is still the King of the underworld. It is Yama who questions those who are born into the *Niraya*, after which only they are taken away by the guardians of the *Niraya* (Nirayapālā) for due punishments. Quite in keeping with the laws relating to the operation of *kamma* in Buddhism, Yama, could not be vested with any executive authority to determine the nature, duration or the intensity of the punishments which should be undergone by those who are born into the *Niraya*.

Thus, despite his name, Māra in the Buddhist literature, is not associated with death, destruction or calamity. He is also known by other names such as *maccu* (death), *kaṇha* (the dark), *antaka* (the end maker), *namuci* (one from whom there is no release), *pamattabandhu* (friend of the slothful), *etc*. What was said of the title Māra earlier is true of these titles too, as the textual contexts where these names are used do not associate Māra with functions indicative of these names in their Vedic contexts. This is because in the mythology of Māra that we come across in the Buddhist texts, we actually see the process of adoption from popular mythologies of evil current at the time of Early Buddhism and also see how they have been adapted to meet the special doctrinal requirements of Buddhism.

It would be most useful at this point to have an idea of the pool of mythological material from which Buddhism had its selection. Obviously, in the composition of the outer shell of Māra, the rich Vedic Brahmanical material has been most useful as this form placed Māra quite comfortably within the Vedic ranks. The title Māra which, as we have already seen, was a

title of Yama brought with it to Buddhism, all the associations of the Vedic god of Death, though these were never accepted into Buddhism.

It must be noted here that it was intended that these Vedic associations lingered in the background while the new god of Death and Evil thus modelled was made to play a much modified role in his new form and in his new setting. Thus, the Vedic outer shell of Māra brought with it to Buddhism all the fearsome associations of Yama, the Vedic god of Death. This outer shell seems to have been filled with material quite different from the expectations of this outer form. A close examination of the functions which have been assigned to the new god thus created seems to suggest that the material used for the inner stuffing of this Vedic outer shell has come from sources other than the Vedic.

It is important at this point to understand what Māra stands for in the Pali canonical texts. Although references to Māra are found scattered throughout the Pali canonical texts, the principal texts which are exclusively devoted to the activities of Māra are the *Māra Saṃyutta* (*S.* 1. 103-127) and the *Bhikkhuṇi Saṃyutta* (*S.*1.128-135). In the *Māra Saṃyutta* which contains twenty-five *suttas* in three *vaggas*, Māra appears twenty times to the Buddha and four times to the disciples and once to Venerable Samiddhi. The last *sutta* of the third *vagga* records the visit of the daughters of Māra who came, hoping to bind the Buddha in the web of sensuality when their father, having failed in his many attempts to succeed went away dejected having given up hope completely.

In twenty out of twenty-five instances recorded in this *Saṃyutta* it is the Buddha whom Māra approaches and more often than not (i.e.in thirteen out of twenty) the Buddha is alone when Māra approaches him. "These attempts to assail the Buddha are not confined to any one place, such as Uruvelā, for example. This appears to indicate either, as Windisch suggested, the widespread geographical extent over which these legends were known and narrated originally, or else an intention to demonstrate from the life of the Buddha that Māra may be encountered everywhere. There is a similar variety of occasions on which Māra makes his approach: when the Buddha is alone, or when surrounded by *bhikkhus* whom he is instructing, or when he is addressing a large gathering, when he is on his alms-round, or when he is preparing for sleep. Similarly in the five cases where Māra approaches *bhikkhus*, sometimes it is when they are alone, sometimes it is when the Buddha is instructing them. The times of Māra's approach also vary: the middle of the night (1.2, 3, 6, 11.1), towards dawn (1.7), the early morning (11.8), *etc*. One thus learns from these *suttas* that Māra may make his approach at any time of day or night (T. O. Ling, *Buddhism and the Mythology of Evil,* 1962, 119f.).

As Ling explains, "Some hostile purpose always lies behind Māra's approach, whether this is actually mentioned in the *sutta*, or only implied. Sometimes it is to inspire terror into the Buddha, (1.2; 3;6;11.1) or into the *bhikkhus*, in order to cause confusion (11.7; 111.2). Sometimes it is to reproach the Buddha (1.7), or to correct him (1.1), or to confuse his hearers (11.2;4,6,9). In short, Māra's purpose is usually either to interrupt the Buddha's or the *Bhikkhus*' meditation, or to interfere with the Buddha's preaching. It will also be noted that not infrequently Māra assumes a disguise: for example; a king-elephant (*mahantaṃ hatthirājavaṇṇaṃ*) 1.2; a king-snake (*mahantaṃ sapparājavaṇṇaṃ*) 1.6; divers visible shapes, beautiful and ugly (*uccāvacā vaṇṇanibhā..... subhā c'eva asubhā ca*) 1.3; a bullock, 11.6; a ploughman, 11.9; and a brahmin, 111.1" (T. O. Ling, *Op. cit.* p. 120).

The above discussions reveal that the purpose of the Māra's visits to the Buddha or to the disciples is to disrupt their spiritual progress by distracting them from their determined endeavour to reach the Nibbanic goal. Thus, to the Buddhists, Māra is no more the god who is responsible for death or destruction as the Vedic Yama. His sole concern is with those who are making selfless effort to attain nibbanic emancipation. A parallel seems to be found in the Jaina tradition. They seem to have believed in the existence of an evil power which manifests either as god or as demon to obstruct the sage in his efforts to attain enlightenment. In the description of the enlightenment of Pārśvanātha, the historical founder of Jainism, it is a god by the name of Saṃvara or Meghamālin who employs all possible means at his command to prevent Pārśva from attaining enlightenment. In the account of the enlightenment of Mahavīra too, there is the story of similar attempts by a god who is also described as demon Vāna Vyantara Yakṣa Śulapāni. Apart from these, according to the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, an older text of the Jains, Māra is the creator of *Māyā* because of which the world appears different from what it is (Marasinghe, M. M. J. *Gods in Early Buddhism*, 1974, 196).

The above observations should show the probable source from which the inner stuffing of the Buddhist Māra has come. But, it must not be forgotten that the

Śramaṇa religious element of which Jainism formed a part only, does not account for the entirety of the inner stuffing of Māra. Material drawn from the currently popular demonology has complemented the above major element of the Māra's inner stuffing. "The canonical scriptures of Buddhism, while they are primarily intended to set out the doctrine of the Buddha, also afford some interesting sidelights on the beliefs and practices of the people of India in the sixth century B. C. Spirit beliefs are found in association with Buddhism from the very beginning. Non-Buddhist evidence of these beliefs is available in theVedic literature, particularly in the collection of hymns and charms known as the Atharva Veda. From these two sources, Buddhist and non-Buddhist, a picture emerges of a world of popular belief peopled by all kinds of spirit-beings, many of whom are demonic, and who in many ways resemble the demons, ogres, goblins and the like, which have held a large place in the beliefs of men of many parts of the world" (T. O. Ling, *op. cit.* p. 15).

It is because of the fusion of such elements of popular demonology with the Māra mythology that, "Māra emerges from the background of popular demonology, and has obvious affinities with it. There is no sharp division between the popular *yakkha* - mythology and the Māra-mythology. Material belonging originally to the former has, without much apparent readjustment, been pressed into the service of the latter. A good example of this is the protective chant found in the *Māratajjanīya Sutta,* now addressed to Māra" (T. O. Ling, *op. cit.* p. 44).

The parallels which Ling perceives between the popular beliefs about demons and the Māra mythology are as follows: (i) The demons cause terror on humans which they usually achieve by making loud noises. The time of their greatest power is night. Māra frequently tries to assail the Buddha when he is meditating in the darkness of the night (*S.* 1.109, 113, 119; *Thag.* 46, 49). (ii) Demons are able to move about freely and assume all kinds of shapes. Māra likewise assumes various guises and shapes; a ploughman, an old brahman, various visible shapes beautiful or ugly (*S.* 1.104, 115, 117). (iii) They often appear in the shape of animals or weird birds. It can be seen that among the forms Māra assumes are those of animals and reptiles, either terrible or vexatious: a king-elephant, a king-snake, a wandering bullock, etc. (*S.* 1.103, 106, 112). (iv) They are able to enter into and possess human beings. Māra is recorded as entering into or possessing the brahmin householders of Pañcasālā (*S.* 1.114), the Brahmas of the Brahma-realm of Baka, the Brahma (*M.* 1. 326), Venerable Mahāmoggallāna (*M.* 1. 332), etc.

"In the Pali canon Māra is in fact sometimes explicitly referred to as a *yakkha*. It may be noted as of some interest that in the *Mahāvastu* also he is called the 'great *yakkha*'. What is more significant, however, is that not only in name is Māra a *yakkha*, but he is also clearly characterized as such by the kind of similarities which have just been listed. Another trait linking Māra with the popular demonology is seen in the occasional ascription to him of the name *Kaṇha*, which, according to the *Dīgha-Nikāya,* was also the ancient common name for a pisāca" (T. O. Ling, *op. cit.* 44).

Thus, it becomes clear from the above discussions that in the Buddhist Māra we have a combination of three main strands of Indian mythology, the Vedic, the Śramaṇa and the popular demonological. The last strand could more appropriately be described as tribal as it has been clearly shown that the terms *yakkha, pisāca,* etc., refer to tribal peoples who maintained their distinct tribal identities until their domains were annexed by the rapidly expanding empires resulting in the complete loss of their tribal identities (Marasinghe, *op. cit.* pp. 106, 222f.). It was after such total absorption of some of these smaller tribal peoples who were not as widespread as the Nāgas, that society was left only with the legends and myths which grew and were woven around them.

Thus, the Vedic outer shell, filled with Śramaṇa stuffing with a spicy addition of popular demonological matter, made the Buddhist Māra a distinctly Buddhist development. "This emergence of Māra as the single figure dominating the background of demonological ideas in Pāli Buddhism is the more remarkable in view of the trend of Indian mythology at the time of the rise of Buddhism. In Hebrew demonology, in the centuries immediately before Christ, the tendency was towards a unifying of the evil spirit-hosts under their various princes, and towards a coalescence of these demon-princes. In ancient Indian mythology, however, the tendency appears to have been in the reverse direction, according to A.A. Macdonell, 'The older Rg-Vedic notion of the conflict of a single god with a single demon, mainly exemplified by Indra and Vrta, gradually developed into that of the gods and the Asuras in general being arrayed against each other in two hostile camps" (T. O. Ling, *op. cit.* p. 46).

It must be understood that this distinctive character of the Buddhist Māra was not purely due to his multi-strand origin, but was more due to the uniqueness of the functions he was required to perform in Buddhism. He could not possess destructive powers like the Vedic gods of death and destruction as he could not be allowed to operate alongside the Buddhist law of kamma, according to which beings reaped the consequences of their good or bad actions, without the intervention of an external power, whether god or demon. Although Buddhism did recognize the existence of various types of beings invisible to the maked human eye, it has been quite emphatic that such beings do not possess the power to harm, injure or even otherwise intervene in the affairs of man, either in consonance with or against, his will or aspirations. Therefore, it could not recognize evil spirits such as *Yakṣa* Śulapāni or Meghamālin of the Jains who could summon all evil spirits under their command and control to obstruct the enlightenment of the sage.

Thus, Māra, though accommodated within the fold of the Buddhist mythological beings, has not been vested with any power or authority as such power or authority was not compatible with the doctrinal tenets of Buddhism. It may be recalled here that even the deadly Yama, the Rg Vedic god of death and the king and ruler of the underworld (Macdonell, *op. cit.* 172) has been reduced in Buddhism to a mere passive onlooker at the uninfluenced operation of the law of *kamma* (Marasinghe, *op. cit.* 270). This is the process of transformation that he has been made to undergo in Buddhism after his adoption. Māra, likewise, despite his multi-strand origin, is the one who is for ever keeping his watchful eye on those who are endeavouring to attain *Nibbāna*, waiting for the slightest faltering on their part to disrupt their spiritual progress.

However, it is important to keep in mind that the canonical records of Māra's encounters are records of Māra's foiled attempts. The symbol of Māra has thus been used as a doctrinal device to warn the disciples of the need to be steadfast in their effort without allowing the slightest opportunity for the ever alert Māra to disrupt their work.

Once accommodated within Buddhism the Māra legend like all other legends has undergone profuse growth in the post-canonical literature. According to the canonical texts, Māra dares not appear in his usual form lest he is known and, more important, disappears the moment he is known. The usual lament of Māra, when he is discovered by the Buddha being, "*jānāti maṃ bhagavā, jānāti maṃ sugato*" (the Lord knows me, the Blissful One knows me). "The later books, especially the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka* Commentary and the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary contain a very lively and detailed description of the attempt made by Māra to create a temptation in the Buddha as he sat under the Bodhi-tree immediately before his Enlightenment. These accounts describe how Māra, the *devaputta*, seeing the *Bodhisatta* seated, with the firm resolve of becoming a Buddha, summoned all his forces and advanced against him. These forces extended to a distance of twelve *yojanas* to the front of the *Bodhisattva*, twelve to the back, and nine each to the right and to the left. Māra himself, thousand-armed, rode on his elephant, *Girimekhala*, one hundred and fifty leagues in height. His followers assumed various fearsome shapes and were armed with dreadful weapons. At Māra's approach, all the various *Devas*, *Nāgas* and others, who were gathered round the *Bodhisatta* singing his praises and paying him homage, disappeared in headlong flight. The *Bodhisatta* was left alone, and he called to his assistance the ten *pāramī* which he had practised to perfection.

"Māra's army is described as being tenfold, and each division of the army is described, in very late accounts, with great wealth of detail. Each division was faced by the Buddha with one *pāramī* and was put to flight..... Māra and his followers fled in utter rout, and the *Devas* and others gathered round the Buddha to celebrate his victory" (*DPPN*, II. 614).

These elaborate accounts of the Māra's attempt at invading the Buddha at the seat of Enlightenment according to Malalasekara had their origin in the *Padhāna Sutta* version of the event. "There is no doubt that the Māra legend had its origin in the *Padhāna Sutta* (q.v.). There Māra is represented as visiting Gotama on the banks of the *Nerañjarā*, where he is practising austerities and tempting him to abandon his striving and devote himself to good works...." (Malalasekara, *DPPN*, 11.615). The *Padhāna Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, it must be remembered, is an ancient Pāli poem and as such, contains the poet's version of the Buddha's enlightenment experiences. This poetic version, it may be recalled here, reminds one of the Jain canonical accounts of the *Kaivalya* (enlightement) of their *Tīrthaṅkaras*.

It is important to note here that despite all the luxurious growth of the Māra legend in the post-canonical Buddhist literature, there has been no major change in

the conceptual position of Mara. He is still the persistent, but ever unsuccessful attempter of disruption of the spiritual endeavour of the disciple. The post-canonical literature shows how successfully the later writers used the story of Māra for religious edification.

M. M. J. Marasinghe

MARAṆA - The customary stock definition of *maraṇa* runs as follows:

" .... *sattanikāya cuti cavanatā bhedo antaradhānaṃ, maccu maraṇaṃ kālakiriyā, khandanaṃ bhedo kalebarassa nikkhepo, idaṃ vuccati maraṇam* .... " (*M.* I. 49).

"...... the falling away, the passing away, the breaking up, the disappearance, the death and dying, the action of time, the breaking up of the group (of grasping), the laying down of the body - this, your revrence, is called dying."

Maraṇa refers in the ordinary sense to the drying up of the vital faculty that is contained within the five forms of one *bhava* or becoming (the life span of one existence). This is called *jivitendriyopacchedamarana*. The word *maraṇa* contains 3 aspects: *Samucchedamaraṇa* of the Arahant when having destroyed his *Āsava-s*, he makes an end of suffering or *Saṃsāra; Khaṇika maraṇa* by which is meant the almost simultaneous arising and falling away of one thought moment of the Psycho-physical process, which is from the Buddhist point of view the absolute, *paramatta* sense of the word, and *Sammutimarana* which refers to the conventional usage of the word as "the tree died" or "greed died away"

Bhikkhu Ñaṇātiloka gives a clear account of the word in his *Buddhist Dictionary and Manual on Buddhist Terms*:. " 'death' in ordinary usage, means the disappearance of the vital faculty confined to a single life time, and therewith of the psyscho-physical life-process conventionally called 'man, animal, personality, ego', etc. Strictly speaking however, death is the continually repeated dissolution and vanishing of each momentary physical mental combination and thus it takes place every moment."

Visuddhimagga (VIII.p.238) states: "In the absolute sense, beings have only a very short moment to live, life lasting as long as a single moment of consciousness lasts. Just as a cart-wheel, whether rolling or whether at a standstill, at all times only rests on a single point of its periphery, even so the life of a living being lasts only for the duration of a single moment of consciousness. As soon as that moment ceases, the being also ceases. For it is said 'the being of the past moment of consciousness has lived, but does not live now, nor will it live in future. The being of the future moment has not yet lived, nor does it live now, but it will live in the future. The being of the present moment has not lived, it does live now but it will not live in the future.'"

In the sense of *samucchedamaraṇam*, bhikkhu Nyānātiloka states (*op.cit*) "the coming to an end of the psycho-physical life-process of the Arahant or perfectly Holy One, at the moment of his passing away may be called the final and ultimate death, as up to that moment the psycho-physical life-process was still going on from life to life."

It must be mentioned that *maraṇa* in the ordinary sense of *jivitindriyopaccheda* consists of two classes: *kāla maraṇa* (timely death) and *akāla maraṇa* (untimely death).

Kāla maraṇa occurs due to *puññakkhaya maraṇa* which is the decay or waning of the effect of one's regenerative kamma that sustains the life process and *ayukkhaya maraṇa* is the decay due to the natural decline of the life process as a result of ageing, and *ubhayakkhayena* (due to both).

Akāla maraṇa is caused by *kammupacchedaka kammavasena* which is destruvtive or supplanting kamma. It destroys the influence of a weaker kamma and effects only its own result. (See *Vissuddhi Magga*, Ch. VIII).

Death in the ordinary sense (*jīvitindryiopaccheda maraṇa*) which is combined with old age, forms the twelfth link in the formula of dependent origination or *paṭiccasamuppāda*.

Conventionally, the chain in the cycle, of causes and effects ends with *jāti, jarā, vyādhi*, and *maraṇa*, i.e., birth, decay, decease death, resulting in *sōkaparidevadukkhadomanass'upāyāsā* (sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief, despair).

The *Dhammacakkappavattana sutta* (*Vin.* 1. 10) gives a broad definition of what *Dukkha* implies, one aspect of it being *maraṇa*: *"Idaṃ kho pana bhikkhave*

dukkhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ jāti pi dukkhā, jarā pi dukkhā, maraṇampi dukkaṃ, appiyehi sampayogo dukkho, piyehi vippayogo dukkho, yam piccaṃ na labhati, tam' pi dukkhaṃ, saṃkhittena pancu' pādānakkhandā'pi dukkhā" (And this, monks is the Aryan truth of ill: Birth is ill : and old age is ill and disease is ill and dying is ill, association with what is not dear is ill. separation from what is dear is ill. not getting what one wants is ill-in short, the five groups of grasping are ill.)

It is stated (*A*.V. 144) that it is precisely because of these 3 aspects of existence, birth, decay and death, a Buddha arises in the world to show the way out of the cycle of *saṃsāra*: "Monks, were not these three states found existing in the world, the Wayfarer would not arise in the world, an arahant rightly enlightened; nor would *dhamma* - discipline proclaimed by the Wayfarer be shown in the world. What are the three states found existing in the world? Birth, decay and death. Were not these states found existing in the world, the Wayfarer would not arise in the world ..."

A passage in the *Dīghanikāya* (*D*. III 57) states: " I have said that birth is the cause of old age and death. Now in what way that is so, Ananda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no birth of any sort or kind whatever of anyone any where-that is to say, of gods to godhood of gandharvas after there kind, of humans to humanity, of quadrupeds to the animal kingdom, cf birds to winged things, or of insects to the insects world-were there no birth after the several kinds of everyone of these classes of beings, then there being no birth whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of birth, be any appearebce of old age and death?"

"There would not, Lord."

"Wherefore, Ananda, just that is the ground, that is the basis, that is the genesis, that is the cause of old age and death, to wit birth."

This passage also brings home the point that what is liable to dying are material posssessions or objects of attachment: "And what monks, would you say is liable to dying? Sons and wife, monks, are liable to dying, women-slaves and men-slaves .... goats and sheep .... cocks and swine ..... elephants, cows, horses and mares are liable to dying. These attachments monks, are liable to dying ... seeks what is likewise liable to dying" (*M*.I. 161).

In many *suttas*, the Buddha is at pains to explain how *dukkha* which characterises existence, may be overcome. For example, in the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* it is stated: "From the uprising of birth is the uprising of ageing and dying, from the stopping of birth is the stopping of ageing and dying: the course leading to the stopping of ageing and dying is the Aryan eight fold way itself, that is to say, perfect view, perfect thought, perfect speech, perfect action, perfect way of living, perfect endeavour, perfect mindfulness and perfect concentration" (*M*.I.49).

The passage which ends this sutta explains in a more detailed manner how the phenomenon of death, which eventuality is faced by all beings may be stopped. This passage elevates the subject to the plane of ethics: "From the uprising of ignorance is the uprising of the cankers, from the stopping of ignorance is the stopping of the cankers, the course leading to the stopping of the cankers is this Aryan eight fold way itself..."

And the passage goes on : "When the disciple of the Aryans comprehends the cankers thus, comprehends the uprising of the cankers thus, comprehends the stopping of the cankers thus, comprehends the course leading to the stopping of the cankers thus, he, having got rid of all addiction to attachment, having dispelled addiction to shunning having abolished addiction to the latent view "I am", having got rid of ignorance, having made knowledge arise, is here-now an end - maker of anguish".

A passage in the *Saṅgīti Suttanta* (*D*. III, 235) concerns itself with the ethical values which condition the state of existence after death:

"Five kinds of losses, to wit, of kinsfolk, of wealth, disease, loss of character, loss of sound opinion. No being, friends, because of any of the first three kinds of loss, is after death and bodily dissolution reborn to disaster, to evil destiny, to downfall, to purgatory. But this happens because of the last two kinds of loss."

Ethics figure in another passage which mentions death: (*D*. III, 258) "Eight rebirths due to giving gifts. Herein, friends, a certain person gives a gift to a recluse or brahman in the shape of food, drink, raiment, vehicle, wreathes, perfumes and ointments, bedding, dwelling and lights. That which he gives, he hopes to receive in his turn. He sees a wealthy noble or brahman or householder surrounded and attended by, and en-

joying the five forms of sensuous pleasures. And he thinks, 'Ah! If only I may be reborn at the dissolution of the body after death as one amongst wealthy nobles, or brahmans or householders!' This thought he holds, fixed, firmly established, and expands it. This thought set free in a lower range and not expanded to anything higher, conduces to rebirth within that range. And this, I affirm, only in the case of a moral person, not of one who is vicious, The mental aspiration, friend of a moral person succeeds because of its purity."

Dukkha, it's cause and the allaying of it are at the central core of the Buddha's teaching. The *Sutta Nipāta* declares these truths in poetry. Verse 574 states:

"How insignificant is man's lot here,
How brief, obscure, how trouble, fraught with ill!

There is no means whereby man shall not die:
Death follows on decay : such is life's cause ....
.... young and mature,
The fool and sage, come all within the power
Of death: death is for all the common lot;
And death's victims passing to yon world,
no father saves his son, no kith his kin....
Who draws out the dart wins calm of mind not based on trust, and, grief o'ercome, is griefless, cool"

Again (verse 742-3) in the *Sutta Nipāta* we meet a distillation of the Buddhist perception of the unavoidable fact of death which characterizes existence, its course and how it may be overcome:

"Attachment forms becoming: men become,
fares ill; death follows birth; this is ill's cause.
Hence by right knowledge, by attachment's end
Wise men, by, knowing end of birth, come not."

Nigrodha, the wanderer, once questioned the Buddha (*D*. III, 52) as to the difference between the Buddha's doctrine and the way the Buddha's followers lived, on the one hand, and the way Nigrodha's self-mortifying ascetic followers lived on the other. The Buddha explained that the ascetic life *per se* does not necessarily constitute the way to emancipation for there were various types of ascetic practices during his time which were founded on a variety of erroneous views. The Buddha's way was concerned with the psychological content of an individual's mind bent on seeking liberation than leading an ascetic life itself. He pointed out that even among ascetics: "..... there are bad things not put away, corruptiong, entailing birth renewal, bringing suffering, resulting in ill, making for birth, decay and death in the future. And it is for the puting away of these that I teach the norm, according to which if ye do walk the things that corrupt shall be put away the things that make for purity shall grow and flourish, and ye shall attain to and abide in, each one for himself even here and now, the understanding and the realization of full and abounding insight."

Elaborating on this statement, the Buddha explained how a renunciate could, having first restrained himself with the fourfold restraints, take himself to a secluded spot and having overcome the five hindrances attain *jhānic* states and penetrate the knowledge of his past births or the coming into being and passing away of other beings according to their deeds, which knowledge conduces to enlightenment and liberation form *saṃsāra*: "Those with wrong views, acquiring for themselves that *karma* which results in wrong views, they on the dissolution of the body after death, are reborn in some unhappy state of suffering or woe; but such and such being, good in act and word an thoughts, no revilers of Aryans, holding the right views, acquiring for themselves that *karma* that result from right view, they, on dissolution of the body, are reborn in some happy state in heaven."

Almost the identical passage occurs in the *Sampasādanīya suttanta* (*D*. III, p. III) when Ven. Sariputta ascribes to the Budha such supernormal knowledge as *Pubbenivāsānussati ñāṇa* and *Cutupapāta ñaṇa* with which knowledge acquired through meditational *jhānas* the Buddha was able to observe the rising and passing away of beings according to their views and deeds resulting therefrom "Moreover, Lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the norm concerning knowledge of the decease and rebirth of creatures. Thus some recluse or Brahman, by the means aforesaid, reaches up to such rapture of mind, that rapt in thought, he sees with pure deva-eye, surpassing the sight of man, beings as they decease and are reborn; he recognizes beings as mean or noble, as ill-favoured or well-favoured as blest or wretched, passing on according to their deeds; such and such worthy folk, ill-doers in act, word or thought, revilers of the Noble Ones, holding wrong views, acquiring *karma* resulting from wrong views, all reborn after death, at the dissolution of the body, in some unhappy state of suffering or woe. But such and such worthy folk, well-doers in act and word ... in some happy state in heaven."

How the knowledge of past birth is realised is found in many *suttas* such as the *Sāmaññaphala sutta*, (*D.* I. p. 4). There is another passage (*A.* I. 164) explaining how a meditator who has overcome the *pañca nīvaraṇa*, may attain the *jhānas*: "...... with mind composed, made pure and translucent ..... bends down his mind to acquire knowledge of the fall and rise of beings from one existence to another. with the deva-sight, purified and surpassing that of men, he beholds beings deceasing and rising up again, beings both mean and excellent, fair and foul, gone to a happy state, gone to a woeful state according to their deeds (so as to say: alas! these worthies given to the practice of evil deeds, of evil words, of evil thoughts, scoffing at the Noble Ones, of perverted views land seaping the fruits of their perverted views-these beings on the dissolution of the body after death arose again in the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Downfall, in Purgatory! Or: Ah! these worthies, given to the practice of good deeds, of good words, of good thoughts. Not scoffing at the Noble Ones, but of sound views and reaping the fruits of their sound views-these beings on the dissolution of the body after death arose again in the Happy Lot, in the Heaven World. Thus with the deva-sight purified and surpassing that of men, he beholds beings deceasing and rising up again....."

Another interesting passage states (*S.* V 224) that the Bhāradvāja, the Ven. Scrap Hunter, had declared gnosis. When the other bhikkhus asked the Buddha how the Ven. Bhāradvaja knew this, the Buddha replied that he had cultivated three controlling faculties of mindfulness, concentration and insight. They end in destruction, the Buddha added, destruction of rebirth, old age and death: "Monks, it was because he saw full well that rebirth was destroyed, that old age and death were destroyed, that the Bhāradvaja, the Ven. Scrap Hunter was able to declare gnosis, to wit : "I knew full well that destroyed is rebirth, lived is the holy life, done is the task, there is no more of being here for me."

Maraṇa, death, is of course, a fact of existence but the doctrine points out and stresses that repeated death, results from the pursuit of sense pleasures. The solution for the ending of death is the stopping of birth by developing those qualities which encourage dispassion and attachment, the getting rid of desire and attachment to material shapes and other sense objects which bind one to the cycle of recurring birth and death.

Another passage states: (*M.* I, 86) "And what, monks, is the escape from pleasure of the senses? What ever, monks, is the control of desire for and attachment to pleasures of the senses."

The *sutta*, moreover emphasises that one of the perils in the pleasures of the senses, when sense pleasures are the cause, sense pleasures the provenance, sense pleasure the consequence, the very cause of sense pleasures, is dying. Many examples are cited as to how this happens: "Kings dispute with kings. Nobles dispute with nobles, brahmans dispute with brahmans, householders dispute with householders, a mother disputes with her son, a son disputes with his mother, a father disputes with his son, ..., and those who enter into quarrel, contention, dispute and attack one another with their hands and with stones and with sticks and with weapons, these suffer dying then and pain like unto dying."

The Buddha not only expanded the perils of *dukkha* immanent in existence in many a *sutta* but also underscored the supreme security attainable, untainted by those perils. One such passage states: (*M.* I, 173): "Then, monks, the group of five monks being thus exhorted, thus instructed by me, being liable to birth because of self, having known the peril in what is liable to birth, seeking the unborn, the uttermost security from the bonds-*Nibbāna*-won the unborn, the uttermost security from the bonds-*Nibbāna*, being liable to ageing because of self.... won the un-ageing... being liable to decay because of self... won the undecaying...being liable to dying because of self.... won the undying .... being liable to sorrow because of self.... won the un-sorrowing... being liable to stain because of self, having known the peril in what is liable to stain, seeking the stainless, the uttermost security from the bonds-*Nibbāna*-won the stainless, the uttermost security from the bonds-Nibbana, knowledge and vision arose in them: unshakeable is freedom for us, this is the last birth, there is not now again becoming...."

This idea is encapsulated succinctly in a verse: (*A.* I, 162):

"He who is tamed, devout, just, virtuous,
Truth-speaking, shame faced, done with birth and death,
One perfect in the holy life, load-free,
Detached from worldly ties, whose task is done,
Taintless, are gone beyond all states, not clinging
To anything, are utterly released...."

Another aspect of *maraṇa* is focussed on in the *Pāsādika Suttanta* (*D.* III, p. 135): "It may happen, Cunda, that wanderers teaching other doctrines than ours may say: How is it brother, does a Tathāgata

exist after death? Is that true, and is any other view absurd? They so asking are thus to be answered: Brother this hath not been revealed by the Exalted One. Or, they may say: Does a Tathāgata not exist after death.... or does a Tathāgata neither exist nor not exist after death.... or does he both exist and not exist after death? Is this true, is any other view absurd?"

The *Sutta* goes on to state that the questioners may inquire why the Buddha has not revealed this whereupon the answer must be made thus: "Because it is not conducive to good, nor to un-worldliness, nor to passionlessness, nor to tranquillity, nor to peace, nor to insight, nor to enlightenment, nor to *Nibbāna*. Therefore, is it not revealed by the Exalted One".

Rather than this answer reflecting an evasion of the issue, it seems to reflect the Buddha's attitude to pseudo intellectual curiosity which has very little to do with the real desire to enter the path of liberation from *saṃsāra*.

Suvimalee Karunaratna

MARAṆĀNUSSATI: The word *anussati* is derived from the Skt. *Anusmṛti* (anu+smṛ). It means remembrance, recollection, thinking of, mindfulness.

Maraṇānussati means mindfulness of death which has been advocated in some *suttas* as beneficial for the attainment of emancipation. It is keeping in mind the object of dying, of the ceasing of sense faculties.

The *Dasuttara Suttanta* (*D*. III. 272) in its style of classifying the main points of the doctrine, cites certain things that help one to attain emancipation. Among other things, mindfulness and concentration are mentioned several times as things to be developed. It also specifies the subjects that should be reflected or meditated on such as the Four Applications of Mindfulness (*D*. III. 277). Other subjects mentioned for meditating on are : the Buddha, the Norm, the Order, the Moral Precepts, Renunciation and the *Devas* (*D*. III. 280;250). A later addition includes *ānāpānasati, maraṇānussati, kāyagatāsati and upasamānussati.* (A.I. 30; 42).

The Buddha said (*A*. III. 306):

"*Maraṇasati bhikkhave bhāvitā bahulīkatā mahapphalā hoti, māhanisaṃsā amatogadhā amatapariyosānā. Kathaṃ bhāvitā ca bhikkhave maraṇasati, kathaṃ bahulīkata mahapphalā hoti mahānisaṃsā amatogadhā amatapariyosanā?*

"Monks, mindfulness of death, when made to become, increased, is very fruitful, great in weal, merging in the deathless having the deathless as consummation. How so, monks.....?"

And the passage continues: "Consider the monk who, when day declines and night sets in, reflects, thus: "The chances of death for me are many, snake, scorpion, or centipede may bite me and bring death and hinder me, I may stumble and fall, the food I have eaten may make me ill, bile may convulse me, phlegm choke me, cutting winds within rack me and bring death and hinder me". Monks, let that monk reflect thus: "Have I given up every evil and wicked thing which were I to die to-night, would hinder me?" Monks, if, on reflection, he knows that he has not, let an urge in great measure be made by that monk, an effort, an endeavor, an exertion, a struggle, let him get mindfulness and self-possession.

"Monk, just as were his cloth and hair on fire he would make an urge in great measure, an effort, an endeavour, an exertion, a struggle, would get mindfulness and self possession, to put out the fire thereof; even so let an urge in great measure be made by him, an effort, an endeavour, an exertion, a struggle, let him get mindfulness and self-possession to give up every evil and wicked thing.

"But if, monks, on reflection he knows there is no evil or wickedness that has not been given up by him, which were he to die that night, would hinder him, let him live with zest and delight, training himself day and night in the ways of right.

"And let him act likewise, monks, when night is spent and day breaks,....... Monks, mindfulness of death, when made thus become, made to increase, is very fruitful, great in profit, merging in the deathless, having the deathless as consummation."

In another passage (*A*. III. 305-6) the Buddha says: '.... the monk who makes mindfulness of death became thus: "Were I to abide mindful as I munch and swallow one morsel....." and he who thinks thus: "Were I to abide mindful of the Exalted One's word as I breathe in and out or out and in, much would be done by me." - those monks are said to live earnestly; keenly they make mindfulness of death become for the destruction of the cankers.

"Wherefore, monks, train your selves thus: we will live earnestly; keenly we will make mindfunness of death become for the destruction of the Cankers.

Train yourself thus, monks"

This same passage is repeated in *Visuddhimagga*, Chapter VIII. Further, by way of explanation, it states: "So short in fact is the extent of life that it is not certain even for as long as it takes to chew and swallow four or five mouthfuls. This is how death should be recollected as to the limitedness of the extent."

Another passage in the *Sutta Piṭaka* (*A.* I. p. 30) states: "Monks, there is one thing which if practiced and made much of, conduces to downright revulsion and disgust, to ending, tranquility, full comprehension, to perfect enlightenment, to *Nibbana*. What is that one thing? It is calling to mind the Buddha.... Dhamma.... the Order..... the moralities.... giving up.... the *devas*..... in breathing and out breathing....death....the bodily constituents....tranquility. This one thing conduces to Nibbana."

It is stated in the (*Visuddhi Magga* Chapter VIII): "He who wishes to develop this meditation, should retreat to solitude, and whilst living secluded he should thus wisely reflect: 'Death will come to me! The vital energy will be cut off!' Or 'Death! Death!' To him, namely, who does not wisely reflect, sorrow may arise by thinking on the death of a beloved person just as to a mother whilst thinking on the death of her beloved child. Again, by reflecting on the death of a disliked person, joy may arise, just as to enemies whilst thinking on the death of their enemies. Through thinking on the death of an indifferent person, however, no emotion will arise, just as to a man whose work consists in cremating the dead at the sight of a murderer with drawn sword one becomes filled with horror. Thus, whenever seeing here or there slain or other dead beings, one should reflect on the death of such deceased persons who once lived in happiness and one should rouse one's attentiveness, emotion and knowledge and consider thus: 'Death will come, etc.' ... Only in whom who considers in this way, will the hindrances (*Nivaraṇas* q.v.) be repressed; and through the idea of death, attention becomes steadfast, and the exercise reaches neighborhood concentration. (*Upacāra samādhi*)".

According to the *Visuddhimagga* (Ch. VIII) there are eight ways of meditating on death:

1. Meditating on death as having the appearance of a murderer, because this image of a murderer appearing with a sword about to cut off one's head is apt, refers to that which comes with birth and it takes away life.

2. Meditating on death as the ruin of success, i.e. the final ruining of life's success just as Emperor Asoka who conquered so many realms but had to face death at the end. As *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (1.102) puts it:

   "As though huge mountains made of rock
   So vast they reached up to the sky
   Were to advance from every side,
   Grinding beneath them all that lives
   So age and death roll over all,
   Warriors, priests, merchants, and craftsmen,
   The outcastes and the scavengers
   Crushing all beings, sparing none
   And here no troops of elephants
   No charioteers, no infantry
   No strategy in form of spells,
   No riches, serve to beat them off
   Just so should death be recollected".

3. Meditating on death by comparison, firstly by comparison with those of fame, then with those of great merit, with those of great strength, with those of great supernormal power, by comparison with those of great understanding by comparison with Pacceka Buddhas (*Sn.* 35f) and with the greatest sage of all, the fully Enlightened Buddha. We must note here that even in the case of the Buddha, he was subject to mortality.

4. Meditating on death as a sharing of the body with many, such as the different kinds of worms, several kinds of internal diseases and external causes of death such as snakes, scorpions, etc. or by falling a victim to accidents.

5. Contemplating death as to its frailty and vulnerability.

6. Contemplating death as something that is sign less, i.e. it is unpredictable and comes unannounced as it were, i.e. people are not born with their span of life marked out nor by sign that one will die by a certain illness, nor with the sign that a person will die at a certain specific time or where the body will be laid down nor is there a sign of the persons destiny where he will go to, heaven or somewhere else.

7. Death should be meditated on as limiting the extent of one's life. As it is said in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (1.108):

"Brief time have sons of men on earth to live.
Let the good man herein much trouble take
Acting as were his turban all ablaze
There is no man to whom death cometh not.
Just as a drop of dew on the tip of a blade of grass, when the sun gets up, straightway dries up and lasts not a while; even so, brāhman, like a dewdrop is the life of man, insignificant, trifling, fraught with much ill and trouble. By *mantras* awaken the people! Do good! Live the godly life! For the born there is no immortality.

"Just as a bubble appears on the water when the sky-*deva* rains down big drops, but straightaway bursts and lasts not a while even so, brāhman, like a water - bubble is the life of man, insignificant, trifling, fraught with much ill and trouble.... For the born there is no immorality.

"Just as the line of a stick on water straightway vanishes and lasts not awhile; even so, brāhman, like the line of a stick on water is the life of man, insignificant, trifling, fraught with ill and trouble... For the born there is no immortality.

"Just as a mountain river, winding here and there, swiftly flowing, taking all along with it, never for a moment or for an instant or for a second pauses, but rushes on, swirls along and sweeps forward; even so brāhman, like a mountain river is the life of man, insignificant, trifling, fraught with ill and trouble...For the born their is no immortality.

"Just as a strong man might fashion a gob of spittle on the tip of his tongue and spit it out with utmost ease; even so, brāhman, like a spittle-gob is the life of man, insignificant, trifling, fraught with ill and trouble.... For the born there is no immortality.

"Just as a lump of meat, thrown into an iron pot, heated the livelong day, straightway splits up and lasts not a while; even so, brāhman, like a lump of meat is the life of man, insignificant, trifling, fraught with ill and trouble... For the born there is no immortality.

"Just as a cow, about to be slaughtered, being led to the shambles, each time she raises her foot is nearer to destruction, nearer to death; even so, brāhman, like a doomed cow is the life of man, insignificant, trifling, fraught with much ill and much trouble. By *mantras* awaken the people! Do good! Live the godly life! For the born there is no immortality."

8. Death should be meditated on as to the shortness of the moment. In the ultimate sense the life moment of living beings is extremely short, being only as much as the occurrence of a single conscious moment. Just as a chariot wheel, when it is rolling, rolls, (that is, touches the ground) only on the point of (the circumferences of) its tyre, and, when it is at rest, rests only on one point, so too, the life of living beings lasts only for a single conscious moment. When that consciousness has ceased, the being is said to have ceased, according as it is said: "In a past conscious moment he did live, not he does live, not he will live. In a future conscious moment not he did live, not he does live, he will live. In the present conscious moment not he did live, he does live, not he will live".

Buddhaghosa concludes his exposition of *maraṇānussati* in Ch. XXIII of the *Visuddhimagga* with the following observations: "A *bhikkhu* devoted to mindfulness of death is constantly diligent. He acquires perceptions of disenchantment with all kinds of becoming (existence). He conquers attachment to life. He condemns evil. He avoids much storing. He has no stain of avarice about requisites. Perception of impermanence grows in him, following upon which there appear the perception of pain and not self. But while beings who have not developed (mindfulness of) death fall victims to fear, horror and confusion at the time of death as though suddenly seized by wild beasts, spirits, snakes, robbers or murderers, he dies undeluded and fearless without falling into any such state. And if he does not attain the deathless here and now, he is at least headed for a happy destiny on the break up of the body."

It is clear from the textual passages and Buddhaghosa's expositions that *maraṇānussati* does not guarantee the attainment of *Nibbāna* because it is a meditation based on several abstract mundane mental objects, not insight meditation or *vipassanā*, which is meditating on one's body, feelings, thoughts and mental phenomena which arise and pass away continually bringing into focus *anicca, dukkha, anatta*, and actually perceiving reality in the psycho-physical process.

However, though *maraṇānussati* does not lead one into absorption, it brings one up to neighbourhood concentration which is beneficial for the development of further meditational skills in the direction of emancipation.

Suvimalee Karunaratna

MĀRGA See MAGGA

MARICAVAṬṬI : Maricavaṭṭi or Maricavaṭṭika Cetiya and its monastery complex was built by king Duṭṭhagāmini in 161 B.C. at Anuradhapura. The *Mahāvaṃsa* devotes chapter xxvi for the Maricavaṭṭi almost entirely, and has named the chapter as *"Maricavaṭṭi vihāramaho nāma chabbīsatimo paricchedo*-'the inauguration of Maricavaṭṭi Thūpa." But conspicuously the *Dīpavaṃsa* is silent on Maricavaṭṭi. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* record, king *Duṭṭhagāmini* on the 7th day after the coronation, having subdued Tamils and occupying the city of Anuradhapura, proceeded to the Tissa tank (*Tisāvāpi*) for the customary water sports with his royal retinue. As usual, the king's sceptre[1] containing the relics (of the Buddha) (*sadhātukaṃ kuntaṃ*) was taken in the royal procession. The bearers of the sceptre (*kuntadhārakā*) deposited it in the place where *Maricavaṭṭithūpa* would be established (in future). After having enjoyed the water sport, the king intending to return in the afternoon, ordered the bearers of the sceptre to take it up. The bearers were anable to move the sceptre from the spot where it was deposited. The king, having witnessed the miracle, was highly delighted, offered garlands and incenses to it and returned to the city after making necessary arrangements for its protection. Afterwards the king built a *cetiya* enclosing the sceptre (*kunta*) and a *vihāra* surrounding the *cetiya*.

Kuntaṃ parikkhipitvā cetiyaṃ tattha kārayi
Thūpaṃ parikkhipitvā vihārañca akārayi
(*Mhv*. Ch. XXVI verse 13)

The construction of the *cetiya* and the *vihāra* was completed in three years and a great festival (*vihāramahā*) was arranged for the consecration, where hundred thousand *bhikkhus* and ninety thousand *bhikkhuṇis* assembled. There the king addressed the *saṅgha*: "Venerable Sirs, having forgotten I have enjoyed a chillie preparation (*maricavaṭṭi*) without sharing it with the *saṅgha*. I built this as a repentance for the offence, and let the *saṅgha* accept it." Having proclaimed so the king sprinkled water (*dakkhiṇodakaṃ*) and offered it to the *saṅgha*.

At this instance the *Mahāvaṃsa* proceeds to describe the grand festival organised for the consecration of the Maricavaṭṭi Cetiya and vihāra. The pavilion put up for the purpose had its feet (*pāde*) in the waters of the Abhaya tank, i.e. extended up to the shore of the tank. With that the (*Mahāvaṃsa* author) quips "it is not necessary to describe the rest of the space further (*sesokāse kathā va ka?*). The king provided alms to the *saṅgha* for seven days and offered requisites worth a hundred thousand and there was no monk who did not receive a gift. It is said that the king spent nineteen crores excluding the wealth spent (for the construction of the *cetiya* and *vihāra* etc.).

It is observed that the *Mahāvaṃsa* author does not explicitly say that the Maricavaṭṭi cetiya was so named because of the king's declaration, that he built it as a repentance. He leaves it for the readers to come to that conclusion. The immediate reason for the construction of the *cetiya* was the inability to move his *kunta* from the spot where it was kept. At the time of the commencement of he *cetiya*, the king did not make any mention of his "chillies episode". It was after completing the *cetiya* in three years, and during the consecration ceremony that the king divulged the secret, that he built it as a punishment for himself, for eating "a chillie preparation" alone. There appears some inconsistency between the incidents regarding the *kunta* and chillies. Apparently the *Mahāvaṃsa* author has made an unsuccessful attempt to connect the two incidents.

According to Malalasekera (*DPPN*. Vol. II p. 448) the king had violated a vow of his childhood. Malalasekera refers to the Mahāvaṃsa xxii verse 80 as the vow concern, which read as;

Kuladevatānaṃ no tātā bhikkhūnaṃ vimukkhā mayaṃ
Na hessāmāti cintetvā bhāgaṃ bhuñjath' imaṃ ti ca
(*Mhv*. Ch. XXII verse 80)

"Sons you partake this handful of rice thinking that you will not go against our *kuladevatā* (*Mahāsaṅgha*)". The vow the king got his sons to undertake has a wider

1. Sirisoma M. H. *Mirisaveṭi Sthūpaya* (Sinhala) published by the Dept. of Archaeology, Colombo, 1991. p. 6 points out that the English as well as the Sinhala translators have erroneously translated "*kunta*" as a spear and explains that *kunta* was not a weapon but a sceptre or the emblem of kingship.

meaning viz., not to go against, not to be hostile or not to betray the *saṅgha* and not a etiquette pertaining to the partaking of food. The *Mahāvaṃsa* at any time does not speak of a vow the King Kākavaṇṇatissa supposed to have got his sons to enter, to refrain from eating without sharing with the *saṅgha*.

The *Pūjāvaliya*, a Sinhala treatise of the 13th century A.C. (National Library Services Board Edition, Colombo 1999, p. 498) does not make a mention of the incident connected to the *Kunta*, when relating the story of *Maricavaṭṭi*. There it is said that the king built Maricavaṭṭi as a repentance for eating a chillie preparation without sharing with the *saṅgha*. The *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*, another Sinhala treatise of the 14th century A. C. too, has dropped the *kunta* incident when narrating the Maricavaṭṭi episode. But there, too, it is said the king built the Maricavaṭṭi as repentance for breaking a vow the parents got them to make, not to eat anything without giving to the *saṅgha* (*Saddharmālaṅkāraya* edited by M. Piyaratana, Colombo, 1971, p. 551). According to the Pali *Thūpavaṃsa* (circa 12th century edited by Dhammaratana, B. Colombo, 1896, p. 51) and the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* (edited by Lankananda, L. & Piyaratana, M. Horana, Colombo, 1939, p. 166) written not long after its Pali counterpart, the king Duṭṭhagāmini after his coronation had been contemplating whether he had violated the vow to refrain from partaking of any food without offering to the *saṅgha*, which his parents got him and his brother to agree upon. It is said that he recollected he had once enjoyed a chilli preparation for breakfast without sharing it with the *saṅgha* and was waiting for an opportunity to rectify the mistake. However the great vow that they will not turn against the *saṅgha* (*kula devatānaṃ bhikkhunaṃ no vimukha bhavāma*) which the parents got them to enter upon, as per the *Mahāvaṃsa* report, apparently has been substituted with a vow to refrain from eating any thing without offering it to the *saṅgha* in the subsequent accounts.

There is inscriptional evidence to show that in the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. it was known as Mirisaväti Vehera. Accordingly the Anuradhapura slab inscription of Salamevan Abhaya Kassapa V (Circa 929-39 A.C. *Epigraphia Zelanica*, Vol. I, p. 46) and the Jetavanarama slab inscription of Mahinda IV (circa 1026-42 A.C.) (*ibid.* p. 222) refer to it as Mirisiviṭi vehera. Sirisoma M.H. (*loc. Cit.* p. 5) explains the term *viṭi* to mean a place or a locality. Since ancient times in Sri Lanka, people are used to identify a *Thupa* or a *Vihāra* by the name of the village or the land it is sited on viz. Mahiyaṅgana thūpa, Mihintalā cetiya, Kalyāṇi cetiya, Dīghavāpi cetiya etc. have been named after their locations. Hundreds of such examples are available even today. The *Mahāvaṃsa* author of the 5th century A.C. is apparently trying to explain the etymology of the name of the *Thūpa* that originated in the 2nd century B. C., so as to enhance the piety of his hero King Duṭṭhagāmini, connecting it with the chillie episode. It is conjectured that the *Thūpa* built on a spot once cultivated with chillies, came to be known as Maricavaṭṭi cetiya.

Further *marici* in Pali also means a miracle. Maricavaṭṭi Cetiya is the first large cetiya built in the island. Though the *Mahāvaṃsa* does not give the original height of the *thūpa*, it is evident from the fact that it took three years to complete that, it was of a fairly large size. To the people who had up to that time had seen only small *cetiyas* Maricavaṭṭi would have appeared as a miracle. The origin of the term Maricavaṭṭi could be explained that way too. Whatever be the possible conjecture, it is advisable not to discard ancient literary traditions till literary or archaeological evidence to the contrary are discovered.

According to Sir Emerson Tennent, Duṭṭhagāmini constructed Maricavaṭṭi to commemorate the recovery of his kingdom (Smither James, G. *Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura*, London. 1894, p. 19). Though there is no evidence to substantiate his view, his view appears very much appropriate in the light of the fact that he commenced the work on Maricavaṭṭi only seven days after his consecration as the king of the entire island.

It is also significant that the Maricavaṭṭi Cetiya apparently does not contain a major bodily relic of the Buddha, like the Thūpārāma or the Mahāthūpa, other than the relic said to be contained in the *kunta* which was enshrined in it. Apparently the Maricavaṭṭi cetiya appears to have lost its position after the construction of the Mahathupa. Nevertheless in the course of its history, several kings renovated it, repaired it, raised its height, added new features to it and maintained it as any other cetiya.

King Gajabāhu (*Gajabāhuka Gāmini*) 174-190 A.C. provided a mantle (*kañcuka*) for the Maricavaṭṭi Thūpa (*Maricavaṭṭika thupaṃ hi kañcukaṃ ca akārayi* (*Mhv.* Ch. XXXV verse 21).

King Vohārikatissa (269-291 A.C.) provided a canopy for the cetiya and in addition, the king is reported to have put up a wall (*Mhv.* Ch. XXXVI verse 33-37). King Goṭhābhaya (309-322 A.C.) built a "Refectory" (*uposathāgāra*) there.

Thūpārāmeca Manisomārāme Maricavaṭṭike
Dakkhiṇavhavihāre ca uposathagharāni ca
(*Mhv.* Ch. XXXVI Verse 107)

King Vasabha (127-171 A.C.) provided the *Cetiya* with a mantal (*kañcukañca akārayi* (*Mhv.* xxxv. verse 121). King Kassapa II built a mansion (*Pāsāda*) and gave it to a Mahā thera residing at Nāgasāla (*Mhv.* Ch. XLIV. verse 149). King Kassapa IV entrusted the Bodhi tree at Maricavaṭṭi to the *bhikkhunis* residing at Tissārāma which he built for them (*Mhv. LII* verse 24). King Kassapa V (913-923 A.C.) is reported to have made substantial improvements to Maricavaṭṭi which the Mahāvaṃsa describes thus:

Duṭṭhagāmini Rājena kataṃ Maricavaṭṭikaṃ
Naṭṭhaṃ vihāraṃ kāretvā nānā āvāsabhūsitaṃ
Thera vaṃsaja bhikkhūnaṃ adā katvā mahā mahaṃ
Tesaṃ pañcasatānaṃ ca bhogagāme adāpayi

"The King having seen Maricavaṭṭi built by King Duṭṭhagāmini in ruins built (rebuilt) it adorned with various *āvāsas* and offered it to the Theravāda *bhikkhūs* having performed a grand festival. He also granted 500 villages for their sustenance" (*Mhv.* Ch. LII, verse 45-46)

Devā, mother of Sakka senāpati (wife of Kassapa V. 913-923 A.C.) provided a diadem-jewel for the Buddha image in the *vihāra*, a halo, an umbrella and a robe which the *Mahāvaṃsa* described thus

Sā eva paṭibimbassa satthuno maricavaṭṭiaṃ
Cūlamaṇiṃ pādajālaṃ akā chattaṃ ca cīvaraṃ
(*Mhv.* Ch. LII, verse 65)

King Dappula IV (923-934 A. C.) gave a village for its maintenance following the footsteps of former kings. (*Mhv.* Ch. LIII, verse 2). King Mahinda IV (956-972 A. C.) is said to have commenced work of a *pāsāda* called 'Candana' and provided a village for its maintenance (*Mhv.* Ch. LIV, verse 40). However as the *Mahāvaṃsa* says he commenced (*pāsādaṃ candanaṃ nāma kātuṃ maricavaṭṭiaṃ akārambhaṃ*) the work and does not say that he completed it. Some doubt his completion of the building. But according to the next verse the king got a golden casket made, enshrined the hair relic (of the Buddha) (*kesadhatu*) in it and deposited it there (at the Candana pāsāda) and made offerings to it.

As far as the available reports are concerned it was King Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A.C.) who repaired the Maricavaṭṭi Cetiya for the last time, after it was destroyed by Tamils. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. LXXVII verse 99) he found Maricavaṭṭi thūpa (Ratanavāluka Cetiya Abhayagiri Thūpa and Jetavana Thūpa) destroyed by Tamils, covered with giant trees and infested by bears and leopards. He got the jungles cleared and repaired the *thūpas* and the *thūpa* yard and got the *Thūpa* whitewashed. But less than half a century later it was completely destroyed by the South Indian invaders and does not appear to have been restored again.

According to the records (*Rājaratnākaraya*, p. 38) King Duṭṭhagāmini "deposited infinite riches" in the *thūpa*. James Smither; observes in this connection "This statement is not exaggerated and that the building (*thūpa*) once contained a large amount of treasures, may be judged from the ruthless manner in which the formidable work of its demolition has been performed (*Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura, Ceylon*, London 1894, p. 19).

Papañcasūdanī, the *Majjhima Nikāya* commentary (*MA.* II, p. 145) records an interesting incident supposed to have occurred during the consecration ceremony of the Maricavaṭṭi vihāra (*Maricavaṭṭivihāra Maha*). As already mentioned 100,000 *bhikkhus* and 90,000 *bhikkhuṇis* attended the consecration ceremony and the king provided alms for all. A little *sāmanera* seven years old, was seen carrying a bowl of hot gruel. It was so hot that he had to put the bowl now in the fold of his robe and now on the ground. Another *sāmaṇeri* (young nun) seven years of age, witnessed his difficulty and gave him a plate (*thalaka*) for him to carry the hot bowl in it. Years passed by and there was a famine in Sri Lanka (possibly the famine Bāminitiyā). Many monks and nuns, including the *sāmaṇera* and the *sāmaṇeri* now grown up, proceeded to a country beyond the sea (*Pārasamuddaṃ*) probably to Jambudīpa. The *sāmaṇeri* had gone there earlier and the *samaṇera* (monk) subsequently. When the nun concerned heard that another *bhikkhu* from Sri Lanka had arrived she went to see him. In the course of their conversation they recognised each other and developed a love for each other and left the Order (reverted to the lay life). It is said that they were sixty years of age at the time.

Maricavaṭṭi thūpa remained in the ruined condition up to the last quarter of the 19th century. Sir Emerson Tennent describes the condition of the *Thūpa* as "A mere barrow of earth overrun with jungle" (Smither, James G. *Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura*, London, 1894, p. 19). After clearing the jungle, the first excavation of the *thūpa* has been undertaken apparently in 1880, under the direction of S.M. Burrows of the Ceylon Civil Service. During the excavation a magnificent *vāhalkaḍa* which Europeans call "frontispiece" or "External Chapel" has been discovered on the western side of the *Thūpa*. It is considered as the best preserved *vahalkaḍa* and is the most significant feature of the Maricavaṭṭi Thupa. S.M. Burrows under whose direction the excavation was executed describes the said *Vāhalkaḍa* thus:

"A magnificent stone chapel or external shrine was excavated some years ago on the western side of the Mirisaweṭi dāgoba. It is undoubtedly the finest of its kind in Anuradhapura. It presents nearly all the well-known Buddhist ornaments and combined a great massiveness with delicacy of execution," (Smither, *Loc. Cit.* p. 22 note 1).

The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, has subscribed a considerable amount of money for the excavation of the *thūpa (ibid.* p. 22). After the establishment of the Dept. of Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, in 1900, further excavations have been undertaken by H.C.P. Bell, the Commissioner of Archaeology, in the years 1901-1903, which included not only the *thūpa* but also its environs. During the excavations five Monasteries (*saṅghāramas*), Alms Halls (*Dāna sālā*) and a Pirivena have been discovered. (Dept. of Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Administrative Reports 1901-1903). As already mentioned, it is clear from the *Mahāvaṃsa* that the Maricavaṭṭi Thūpa has had its own Bodhi, Uposathasālā (Refectory) etc. Thus archaeological evidence as well as evidence from the chronicles reveal that there has been a monastery complex around the *thūpa*.[2]

The first attempt to restore this *thūpa* has been undertaken as far back as 1888 with funds provided by a Siamese prince. The Siamese prince whose name is not mentioned, had entrusted Rs. 12,500/= to Sir Arthur Gordon, the Governor General of Ceylon at that time, for the restoration of the Maricavaṭṭi Thupa in 1888. The restoration was commenced, and it was possible to complete the restoration partially (nearly 2/3 of the dome) with the funds provided. (Harischandra-*Sacred City of Anuradhapura*, Colombo 1908 p. 38). At the expiry of funds provided, the restoration work was suspended in 1896. It is also said that the Royal Asiatic Society had brought an architect named Detall to prepare the plan for the restoration in 1900. He prepared the plan and explained the importance of restoring of the *thupa*. The Siamese king Rāma who visited the country subsequently had volunteered to provide funds for the restoration. But apparently no action has been taken and the *thūpa* remained for nearly a century in a half restored condition. The present programme to restore the Mirisaväti thūpa was launched in 1979 under the Mirisaväti cetiya Restoration Society. Simultaneously excavations of the *thūpa* and its *vihāra* complex was also commenced by the Department of Archaeology. The excavations provided much more data on the *thūpa* and the *vihāra* complex, than in the previous excavations.

The original *thūpa* built by King Duṭṭhagāmini and the cover (*kañcuka*) built by Gajabāhu subsequently were clearly indentified during the excavations. The excavations revealed that the *thūpa* built by Duṭṭhagāmini had a circumambulating path way (*padakkhiṇāpatha*) and high terraces (*pesāvas*) and it resembled the Sañchi Thūpa in India. Gajabāhu had widened the dome covering the circumambulating path way and the terraces.

The *Vihāra* Complex had been properly planned out side the Sand Terrace, the sacred and residential buildings separately. The residential buildings are arranged in units, each having three buildings[3], one large and two small (rooms) each 25 sq. ft. in extent. The large buildings of the units are built vertical to one of the entrances to the *thūpa* and the small buildings are parallel to the large building. No other *vihāra* complexe of Anuradhapura is so connected to the main *thūpa*, as seen at Maricavaṭṭi. The main buildings are

2. According to the *Mahavaṃsa (Mhv.* XLVI verse 15-16) king Aggabodhi (658-74 A.C.) granted many maintenance villages to the vihāras of the two *nikāyas*. Geiger Wilhelm. *Culavaṃsa* English translation part I p. 99 note 2 attempts to identify the said two *nikāyas* as *Mirisavetiya* and Thūpārama viharas, an attempt to consider Maricavaṭṭi vihāra including Thupārāma as separate nikāyas. But Rahula W. *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1956 p. 195 including the note No. 4 does not agree with the interpretation and says that they are not known to be referred to as two separate *nikāyas*.

3. In the Abhayagiri and Jetavana Vihara complexe the buildings are arranged in units having five buildings each. It is thought that this originated at Mirisaveti complex having three buildings in a unit to begin with.

supposed to be the residences of the chief monks. The *Dana sala* has been identified by the rice canoe (*bhatta nāvā*). Remains of the Bodhighara and an Image House are among the identified buildings. The large building with 60 pillars to the west of the *thūpa* was identified as the Uposathāgāra (refectory). There are several buildings which cannot be clearly identified till the entire complex is excavated.

It has been discovered that the stone paved compound (*salapathala maluwa*) has been constructed in circa 10th century A. C. The parapet wall had been repaired during the same period. A part of the pillar that was on the *thūpa* in the early period was found in the compound. A stone slab with a drawing of a *thūpa* with letters *"niyamgam"* has been unearthed from the *thūpa* compound. The drawing shows the "three *pesava* (terraces) and the four cornered pile" (*caturassa caya*) and spire. As the letters belong to the 8-10th centuries, it is thought the drawing depict how the *thūpa* was seen during the 8-10th centuries. It helped to determine the design for the restoration to a certain extent. The copper tiles have been discovered during the excavations. Therefore it is clear that some of the buildings in the complex were roofed with copper tiles. The Archaeologists have observed in the course of their excavations that substantial work on the *Vihāra* had seen executed during 8-10th centuries A. C.

Three inscriptions belonging to the 2nd century A.C. had been discovered but they cannot be read due to their defacing. It is thought that they record contributions for paving stones in the compound, (*Salapatala Maluwa*).

A four inch Buddha image in the sedentary posture under an arch way (*torana*) made of gold sheets was discovered 20 ft. deep from the top of the *thupa*. during the excavations. It possibly belongs to the 12th century A.C.

A unique feature that the archaeologists have observed in the buildings of the unearthed monastery complex is its simplicity. Guard stones, Moonstones and *Korawakgal* are without usual decorations or adornments, reason for which is difficult to be determined. Sirisoma conjectures that the meditating monks were once residing here, which can be the reason for the simplicity (Sirisoma, *Loc. Cit*). The *Vihara* complex extends to an area of approximately 50 acres. Very little has been excavated so far and a larger area remains to be excavated. During the restoration process of 1979 the cover (*kañcuka*) built with funds provided by the Siamese prince had to be removed completely as it was not strong enough to build upon. The work progressed steadily. But unfortunately, the night before the enshrinement of relics in the super structure, the new construction completely collapsed (in 1988), the reason for which was thought to be the seepage of water into the interior. The construction work (restoration) had to be commenced once more, from the very beginning, in March 1991. The work progressed steadily, working round the clock. It was a combine effort of the State Engineering Corporation, Buildings Dept., The Dept. of Town and Country Planning, The Ministry of Buddhasāsana, Central Cultural Fund, The Ceramic Corporation and The Gemunu Watch (Sri Lanka Army). The work was successfully completed and the pinnacle was unveiled on the Poson Full Moon Day 4th June 1993. It is said that 12 million bricks were used for the restoration.

The restored Maricavaṭṭi Thūpa is 192 ft. high and the diameter of the dome is 141 ft., the spire measures 54 1/2 ft., the pinnacle is 12 ft. high and has a crest gem 1 1/2 ft. high on it. See PLATES LVII, LVIII, LIX.

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K. Arunasiri

MARRIAGE - Though the Buddha's main concern was to point out the path of liberation from *saṃsāra*, his teaching does not neglect how lay life may be lived so that it conduces to happiness, peace and prosperity, not only in this life but the next life as well. Such discourses were delivered to those who did not feel the urgency to exit *saṃsāra* but preferred to dally in the realm of existence with all its sense attractions, albeit they were basically ethical in outlook, like for instance the dwellers of Veludvāra (*S. V. 353 ff.*) and Dīghajhānū Byagghapajja (*A. IV* 281). The teaching for this class of persons do not come together in one collection in the texts but are scattered throughout the *Nikāyas*. They are loosely referred to as *Gihisukha vinaya* (the layman's code of discipline conducive to happiness). The term, however, does not appear in the texts. These teachings do not focus on the direct higher path to liberation but are full of advice concerning the ethical conduct one should adopt in living a lay life and are also termed *ānupubbhi kathā* (graduated instructions). They are productive of a gentle upward curve of progress from the plane of samsāric existence along the path of liberation, developing qualities of *dāna sīla* and *bhāvanā* while on the path. Such a course was never looked down on by the Buddha though it fell short of the *Pabbajjā's* (renunciate's) rigorous and speedy trajectory out of *saṃsāra*. *Ānupubbhi katha* includes *dānakatha, sīlakathā, saggakathā* and *maggakathā* (talks about charity, righteousness, the heavens and the path). Foremost among the *Gihisukha vinaya* are the *Maṅgala sutta, Metta sutta, Sigālovāda sutta, Parābhava sutta, Vasala sutta* and a number of short *suttas* found in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and elsewhere in the Buddhist canon. They contain among other topics, advice on marriage.

The most well known *sutta* which deals with the domestic and social duties of a layman are encountered in the *Sigālovāda sutta (D. III 189)*. This *sutta* is structured along the lines of a ritual involving paying homage to six directions. It was performed by a young householder, Sigala, after his early morning ablutions at a river. Perhaps it was a pre-Buddhist animistic rite. The commentary states that Sīgala refused to go and listen to discourses preached by the Buddha despite his parents' entreaties. However, his father, on his deathbed, made Sigala promise to perform the six directional homage every morning. The commentary adds that the deathbed wish of the father would have been expressed in the hope that the Buddha or one of his disciples would see Sigala performing the ritual and make of it an opportunity for the preaching of the doctrine. And this is exactly what happened. The Buddha gave a new meaning to the directions being honoured.

It is clear that each direction stands for the performance of a service to a specific category of persons by a householder. For example, the Eastern quarter is assigned to parents and symbolizes the duties and obligations between parents and children. The Southern direction is the preserve of teachers and children and their mutual obligations. The Western quarter is dedicated to marriage partners, the duties *visa vis* husband and wife and so on. With regard to the western quarter the Buddha says:

> In five ways should a wife as Western quarter be ministered to by her husband, by respect, by courtesy, by faithfulness, by handing over authority to her, by providing her with adornments.
>
> In these five ways does the wife, ministered to by her husband as the Western quarter, love him, her duties are well performed, by hospitality to the kin of both, by faithfulness, by watching over the goods he brings and by skill and industry in discharging all the business.
>
> Thus is the Western quarter protected by him and made safe and secure.

It is noteworthy that this passage begins with the husband's duties towards the wife which "protects" that quarter and makes it "safe" and "secure". His protective actions spell out clearly the affection and consideration due to a wife, which form the basis for her reciprocation.

The *Sigālovada sutta's* advice on the marital relationship and the egalitarian spirit pervading it, have a direct link with the sentiments expressed in the famous *Rgvedic Surya Sukta*. The following verse illustrates the point being made.

"I take thy hand in mine for happy fortune that thou mayest reach
old age with me thy husband.
God, Aryaman, Bhaga, Savitar, Purandhi, have given thee to be
my household's mistress.
"O Pushan, send her on as most auspicious, her who shall be
the sharer of my pleasures,
Her who shall twine her loving arms about me,
And welcome all my love and mine embraces.
(*Rgveda* Book x hymn 85, *vv* 37-38)

The Brāhmana literature which came after the Rgvedic period, had a very different outlook on marriage. It tended to demean the honored status conferred on the wife by the Rgvedic ṛsis (seers). Buddhism rejected the overbearing "ritual bondage" of women advocated in the Brāhmanas by Brāhmanic priests.

In the *Sigālovāda sutta*, the Buddha advises Sigāla to put away the four vices, which include the taking of life, theft adultery and lying. He also describes the six channels by which wealth is dissipated: addiction to intoxicating liquor, haunting fairs, gambling, associating with evil companions, idleness, frequenting the streets at unseemly hours because then he himself is without guard and protection and so also are wife and children.

In another text, we find an interesting reference about wives:

"Sussūsā seṭṭha bhariyānaṃ" (S. I.6)
"Best among wives is she that ministers best"

The word *sussusā* is derived from the verb *suṇāti*, to listen. *Sussusā* has the meaning of wishing to hear, obedience, attendance. It could also be interpreted as "lending an ear", in the sense of being a confidante, a counselor. This meaning is brought out in the following statement:

"Bhariyā ca paramā sakhā" (S. I p. 37)
"The wife is the comrade supreme" and the commentary adds "one to whom one may tell a secret that can be told to no one else."

Whatever the exact meaning of *sussūsā* in the context under discussion, without a doubt, the ideal wife is considered the best friend of the husband.

Among the factors that cause the downfall (*parābhava*) of a man is the following

Sehi darehi asantuṭṭho vesiyāsu padissati
Dissati paradāresu-taṃ parābhavato mukhaṃ"
(Sn. v. 108)

"He not satisfied with his own wives, is seen with whores and wives of others - that (to him) is a cause of ruin."

Again, behavior which brands a person as an outcaste is the following:

"Yo ñātinaṃ sakkhānaṃ vā dāresu patidissati
sahasā sampiyena vā taṃ jaññā "vasalo" iti"
(*Sn. V.* 123)

"He who is seen in the company of wives of relatives and friends by force or with (their) consent, he is known as an outcaste"

The *Maṅgala sutta (Sn. v. 262)* defines conduct which result in blessings. The ethical conduct mentioned includes the following:

Mātāpitu upaṭṭhānaṃ puttadārassa saṅgaho"
"Attending on parents and tender care of children and wife."

The Buddha once said that there are four ways of living together (as husband and wife) *(A. II. 59)*.

Chavo chavāya saddhiṃ saṃvasati chavo deviyā saddhiṃ saṃvasati devo chavāya saddhiṃ saṃvasati, devo deviyā saddhiṃ saṃvasati."

"A vile man lives along with a vile woman, a vile man lives along with a *devi* a *deva* lives with a vile woman, a *deva* lives along with a *devi*."

Elaborating on this, the Buddha explained that a vile husband is one who "takes life, steals, is a wrong doer in sense - desires, a liar, given to harsh, bitter speech and idle babble, one covetous, of a malevolent heart, a perverted view, a wicked man, an evil doer; he lives at home with heart soiled by the taint of stinginess, he abuses and reviles recluses and brahmins and his wife is of like nature."

A *devi* is a wife who is virtuous, of a lovely nature and abstains from all the vile actions and speech mentioned above. A *deva* has the same qualities.

An ideal married couple, Nakula māta and Nakula Pita once went to meet the Buddha (*A. II. 61*). They confessed to him that both of them had never transgressed against each other in deed or even thought and they wished to behold each other in the next life too. The Budddha replied that if both husband and wife desire to behold each other in this very life and the next also and if they are equally matched in *saddhā* (faith), *sīla* (virtue) *cāga* (generosity) and *paññā* (wisdom), they do behold each other in this very life and in the life hereafter. The discourse ends with the following verse in the text:

"If both believers, self controlled, well spoken,
living as *dhamma* bids, use
loving words one to the other-manifold
the blessings
that come to wife and husband, and to them.
The blessing of a pleasant life is born;
Dejected their foes, for both are good.
So in this world living as *dhamma* bids,
The pair, in goodness matched, i'the deva-world
rejoicing, win the bliss that they desire."

These qualities of *saddhā, sīla, cāga* and *paññā* are said to contribute to streamwining (*S. V. 395*).

We may understand from such passages that it is not the lay life *per se* or the *pabbajjā* life *per se*, that conduces to liberation but the living of life in an ethical manner, according to the doctrine, which tends to the destruction of defilements, without which liberation cannot be attained.

Apart from these passages which give advice to both husband and wife alike regarding mutual duties and obligations, there are passages in the canon which are meant exclusively for the wife. It seems very much as if the Buddha knew and understood with his deep insight into the phychology of the human mind, that the woman's lot, in the patriarchal society of his time, was particularly hard on women. Kisā Gothami in the *Therigatha* gives utterance to the kind of suffering women had to bear (*Therigāthā vv. 215-216*)

"Dukkho itthibhāvo akkhāto purisadhammasārathinā Sapattikaṃ pi dukkhaṃ....."

"Full of suffering is the woman's lot so has the tamer and guide of men declared. Painful it is when living with hostile wives....."

The Buddha seems to have taken cognizance of this situation with which woman had to cope and seems to have tried to empower them by making them develop certain ethical qualities and skills which would help them to transcend their particular lot.

If woman developed eight qualities, he advised, they would be born in heaven (*A. IV 263 ff.*) They are the following:

1. For him, to whom her parents gave her out of love for her, seeking her good, in loving kindness and fond regard, she should get up before him, retire after him, be obedient to his wishes, lovely in her ways and gentle in speech.
2. She should esteem, respect and offer hospitality to those her husband honors.
3. She should involve herself in whatever home industries being carried out in her husband's house with dexterity and organize such with an inquiring mind. This no doubt refers to entrepreneurial skills.
4. She should know the capabilities of the servants and work people in her husband's Home. She should know their strengths and weaknesses, what they have to do and what has not been done. She should divide the food among them justly.
5. When her husband brings home money, corn, silver or gold (in modern terms we could interpret this as wealth in liquid cash, in kind or in the form of capital) she should protect that and not rob.
6. She should go to the three refuges.
7. Observe the precepts
8. Be charitable

There is much worldly wisdom in this charter of empowerment. It helps to develop skills and wisdom and self confidence. It would not only make her rise above her personal afflictions but make her indispensable to her husband as well, thus ensuring her place in her home.

The same kind of advice was given to Visākhā (*A. IV. 266ff*). Here, the Buddha tells Visakha that women endowed with four qualities win power in the world: "Herein, Visakhā, a woman is capable at her work; she manages the servants; in her ways she is lovely to her lord; she guards his wealth."

"By these qualities she wins power in this world. By four more qualities she wins power in the next world, *viz*. faith, virtue, charity and wisdom."

What is meant by wisdom is explained in the same discourse:

"She is wise and is endowed with wisdom into the way of the rise and fall of things, with aryan penetration of the way to the utter destruction of ill. Such is her wisdom."

It is obvious that partners who are well matched in qualities of industriousness and economy make their marriage successful in a material way. According to the discourse such a life is brought to fulfillment only if the married couple base their lives on ethics such as faith, virtue, generosity and wisdom which qualities result in a good life hereafter also.

On another occasion, the Buddha was invited by Mendaka's grandson, Uggaha, for an almsgiving and was requested to advice his daughters who were getting married. Accordingly, the Buddha gave them the same advice *(A. III. 36)*. Mendaka was Visākhā's grandfather, according to *Visākhāyavatthu* (*DhpA*). The advice given by the Buddha was the same as that conduct advocated which if observed by wives would result in their being reborn among the fairies of lovely form (*A. IV. 263*).

The advice the Buddha gives Anāthapiṇḍika's daughter-in-law (*A. IV. 91*) can also be considered a piece of skillful counseling, based on his knowledge of psychology. It said that when he went to Anathapindika's residence on one occasion he heard a great din, uproar and noise. On asking Anāthapiṇḍika what the din was about he replied that it was caused by his daughter-in-law, Sujāthā. Apparently she was very rich, coming from an exceedingly weaħthy family and did not respect her parents-in-law or husband. Nor did she venerate the Buddha. On hearing this, the Buddha called her and by means of a small lecture, made her see herself rather than rebuking her with strong words.

The Buddha told Sujāthā that there were seven types of wives. One like a slayer, one like a robber, one like a mistress, one like a mother, one like a sister, one like a companion and one like a handmaid (*dasi*) and wanted to know to which category she belonged, whereupon she requested the Buddha to explain more fully the categories he had mentioned. Having elaborated on the categories the passage ends with the following:

"Now sђe who's called: a mistress, slayer, thief,
Who's harsh, immoral, lacking in respect,
When cometh death-
Will wander in the miseries of hell
But mother, sister or companion, slave
In precept long established and restrained,
When cometh death-
Will wander in the happy heaven world."

At the end of the discourse Sujāthā chose the category of *Dāsi* for herself. It is possible that the discourse had created in her a fear of going to hell. It is also possible that she had recognized herself in some of the ugly categories in the mirror the Buddha had gently held up to her, and felt sorely ashamed of her past conduct and resolved to reform herself.

Sujāthā is an exception with regard to the general position accorded to women. Her sister, Visākhā, known also as Migāra Mātā, too held such a special status in her marital home, though Visākhā was far wiser and more restrained in her conduct. It is implied that wealth bestowed on them a status of equality with their respective husbands and parents-in-law. However, the Buddha did not give wealth or birth a privileged place in his egalitarian world view. Both Visākha and Sujāthā came in for his special attention and he sought to make them see the wisdom of his ethical code of conduct which originated from the correct view. We see very clearly in the canon that he did not condone the Brahmanical repression of women. Both husband and wife were exhorted to honor and be faithful to each other. Whatever the social conventions of the time, monogamy was upheld and decency in conjugal relations.

Suvimalee Karunaratna

MATERIALISM, dialectical. The many systems of religion and philosophy throughout the ages would seem to have had but one single goal which is both their final cause and the cause of their origion: to find

a satisfactory explanation of, and a solution to, the problems and conflicts which constitute human life. The age long conflicts between man and man, between man and his surroundings, between man and the universe, have, of course, been observed from time immemorial. Explanations have been offered, such as natural selection, struggle for survival of the fittest, but they have not tried to solve the proble. There have been attempted solutions, which did not offer explanations as they were not based on understanding; these solutions were not to be sought in this life itself, as they were said to form part of a greater supernatural plan. "It is the function of religion", said Roger Lloyd, Canon of Winchester, "to provide an explanation of the wholeness of man's experience of the universe, and of his life, and to relate it to the essential mystery which underlies it all".[1] This inclination to see "mystery" in daily life is both a refusal to understand the problem and also an a *priori* rejection of the possibility of a solution. And yet such is the idealistic explanation of man's relation to the universe. "In the plan of the Creator society is a natural means means which man can and must use to reach his destined end ... Man's obligations toward civil society are divinely imposed."[2] Here, no solution is offered, the problem is merely shifted to a higher plane, the supernatural, where it remains shelved for an eternal future, above the reach of any human understanding and natural solution, based on an equally mysterious and supernatural origin like revelation and divine authority, manifested in further mysteries, miracles and prophesies.

The materialistic viewpoint tries to explain and solve life's greatest problem of conflict in this life itself, by showing the origin thereof to lie in material conditions where actuality conflicts with reality, and by pointing out to a solution through realisation of actual world - and-salf value. This is done, although in different terminology, by Dialectical Materialism as well as by Buddhism. And hence a short comparative study of their main tenets must find a place here.

We are here, therefore, concerned only with a comparison of two ideologies and not with comparing the two actual systems as they are found in practice in different parts of the world. Neither ideology is at present fully practised; one has seen already periods of decay and revival, and the other is not full grown yet.

It is perhaps the most controversial point in a comparative study of Buddhism and Materialism that Buddhism with all its distinctive marks which set it apart from all other religions, is still considered a religion, whereas Materialism definitely rejects the need of religion as a mere ideological theory which has grown out of conditions of life, fear, ignorance and suffering together with a desire to find a rational justification therefor. It is, of course, willingly admitted, that ignorance and fear are frequently employed both in religious and other connections for the purpose of maintaining a state favouring the selfish purposes of a small minority. In Buddhism, however, ignorance is recognised as the root of all evil conditions, the closing link in the fetters, *sañyojana* of *saṃsāra*, the most effective hindrance to progress (*nirvāna*), the most stupefying of all drugs (*āsava*). And fear is shown to be self-reproach (*hiri*), scare of public opinion (*ottapa*), dread of consequences, anxiety of the way of woe.[3] Instead of trading on these existing conditions as is done in other religions, where "fear of the Lord" is shown as "the beginning of wisdon,"[4] the chief concern of Buddhist ethics is the total and final eradication of these fundamental errors which are the roots of all conflict and suffering in the world. For, Buddhism as well as Materialism is primarily concerned with the ending of conflict.

The credit for discovering the existence of struggle in society is due neither to the Buddha nor to Karl Marx. The latter clearly wrote: "No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society. Long before me, historians and economists had described the development of this class struggle and the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did was to prove that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; and that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.[5]"

1. *Revolutionary Religion* p. 63.
2. Pope pius XI Encyclical Letter *"Divine Redemptoris"* 1937.
3. A. iv. 13. *Sutta* 121.
4. *Proverbs*, IX, 10.
5. Correspondence of Marx: *Letter to Weydemeyer*, 5 March, 1852.

Likewise the Buddha does not claim to be the discoverer of the true facts of conflict (*dukkha-sacca*). These were proclaimed by many previous pathfinders (*Tathāgata*) and sages of old. But he does claim to have found anew the psychological causes with which the conflict within the individual and of the individual with society are bound up (*dukkha-samudaya*): the relationship between the individual and society which leads necessarily to conflict as long as the individual does not visualise himself as a product of society rather than the creator thereof; and the cessation of this conflict (*dukkha-nirodha*) which can be brought about only through the abolition of that individuality distinction which is the root-cause of all opposition, conflict and struggle. It is this abolition of individuality-distinction which forms the basic goal of both systems, conveniently referred to as Buddhism and Communism. It is this individuality-distinction and the endeavour to abolish it which form, therefore, the first and most essential points of contact.

"Men begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence."[6] The manner in which these means of subsistence are produced is, of course, not the same as the process of individual reproduction of physical existence, and depends on the nature of the actual means at their disposal. Individual productivity, both the actual product of existence and the means of production, is dependent on the material conditions in which individuals have to express their lives. And so we find in Buddhist Philosophy a large volume, the *Paṭṭhāna*, devoted to conditional relations in 24 modes, such as causal relation (*hetupaccaya*), dominance (*adhipati-paccaya*), contiguity (*anantara-paccaya*), co-nascence (*sahajāta-paccaya*), reciprocity (*aññamañña-paccaya*), dependence (*nissaya -paccaya*), antecedence (*purejāta-paccaya*), consequence (*paccajāta-paccaya*), presence (*atthi-paccaya*), continuance (*avigata-paccaya*) etc. The entire *Paṭṭhāna* is devoted first to an enquiry into these 24 ways in which A is related to B, and secondly into illustrating how in things material or mental each kind of relation and groups of relations originate.[7] From this two conclusions are evident, first according to Buddhist as well as Marxist philosophy whatever arises, arises in dependence on conditions (*ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetu Tathāgato āha*),[8] and second, that whereas the Buddha always speaks of mind and matter (*nāma-rūpa*), to the Marxist there are only material conditions. Material does not mean made from or composed of matter, for purely material conditions in that sense would be purely mechanical and become absolute causes instead of influencing conditions. Under purely mechanical conditions history could be written in advance, whereas the most we can do is to point to some driving force which largely determines the course of history. "Even the most thorough and extreme materialist will never maintain that a thought is a composition of chemicals, or of physical elements. But he will hold that force and matter are intrinsically linked up, interchangeable, and even identical, although understood from a different viewpoint. There can be no matter which does not exercise some energy by pressure, resistance, extension, and which, therefore, in that sense is energy. Likewise there can be no energy seprate from matter".[9]

"Violence, war, pillage, rape and slaughter, etc., have been accepted as the driving force of history".[10] But conquest in itself is not a driving force, for conquest itself is forced upon the group by its need of finding new means of existence for its increasing population. Conquest as a result of war is, therefore, only a symptom of the prevailing conditions in which the group can express its means of production. It is therefore, not correct to write history in terms of warfare. History should be the story of human development, of the developmet of its means of existence, and the development of its means of production, from private property of feudal ownership of land and corporative property of trades. The chief pre-requisite to history is life, and life involves before anything else, food, clothing and shelter. It was the Buddha who pointed out, however, that although all life subsists on food (*sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhitikā*)[11], this nutriment is not strictly material (*kabaliṅkāra*), as there is also the nutriment of contact (*phassa*), of volition (*cetanā*) and of consciousness (*viññāṇa*).[12]

6. Marx and Engels: *The German Ideology*, p. 7.
7. B. C. Law: *A History of Pali Literature*, pp. 334-335.
8. *DhpA*. I. 75, *Vin*. I.40.
9. Bhikkhu Dhammapala: *Burning Questions* p. 24.
10. Marx and Engles: *The German Ideology* pp. 10-11.
11. *D*. III. 211.
12. *M*. I. 261.

Matter and Mind: Lenin too realised that materialism must have its boundaries and he treated this problem exhaustively in his chief philosophical work, Materiallism and *Empirio*-Criticism, which are critical notes concerning the reactionary philosophy of the *Empirio-Criticists* such as Mach and Avenarius. There he draws the dividing line between materialism and idealism, "as a wall which separates the mind from the outer world". A materialist is one who "takes matter as the *primus*, regarding consciousness, reason and sensation as derivatives." The idealist point of view is shown as clining to the opposite, taking sensation as the primary entity. The Empirio-Criticists hoped to establish a synthetic point of view.

Buddhist philosophy does not see the problem from the same angle. There is no mind as an opposite to matter. But there is a physical action on a physical organ of sense. The reaction, which comes into play, is called sensation. When this reaction becomes divorced from the action, i.e., when ideations or mental concepts are formed, or in other words, when sensations are moulded in the classifications of a deluded individuality or ego-experience, then such concepts begin to assume a self-acquired reality of their own, whereas they are only aspects of actuality, of an actual process without any real entity, either of matter or of mind. This agrees with Lenin's definition of matter as "that,which acting upon our sense organs, produces sensation',[13] but not with the same author's: "matter is the objective reality given us in sensation, existing independently of the human mind and reflected by it."[14]

It is this actuality of the materiality process and the mental reactionary process, which form the basis of Buddhist philosophy. All things are in action, although not all action is mechanical. Action is reaction, and that means interpenetration of the opposites, which presents the appearance of unity, of individuality, of entity, of substance. It is only through analysis of this apparent unity that reality will be understood as mere actuality. Such analysis will even reveal the basic laws of the evolutionary proces, the arising of the I-concept from the opposition to the flow of impermanence through the grasping of and clinging to sensations in the process called memory, the retentive process by which a passing experience can be appropriated. In recognising the actual factors of this process, one may even forecast certain events as resultants from existing conditions; or by influencing these conditions it would be possible to some extent to control and direct these future events, due to the interpenetration of "matter" and "mind".

But it is impossible to draw sharp lines of demarcation; for which reason, however, it cannot be correct on the other hand to completely ignore the mental aspect of the problem and call the entire process material unless the word is used in a very special accommodating sense. "Mind" and "Consciousness" are used in Buddhist terminology not in the sense of a spiritual or immaterial entity, for they are never treated in an absolute sense. There is no mental process apart from the meterial one, and frequently *nāma-rūpaṃ* is treated as one compound; mentalised matter. It is on this mind-body that the six bases of sense depend (*nāma-rūpa-paccayā saḷāyatanaṃ*). And again the mind is one of those senses. Sight is not possible without a reflecting thought - process. This, however, does not make the mind an independent organ, for no thought arises which has not entered thorugh one of the five sense doors (*pañca-dvār-āvajjana*). The treatment of the mind in Buddhist psychology does not detract from its materialism on the one hand, as the mind is not considered as an immaterial entity, but is supplements on the other had the mechanic world-aspect, providing the driving force of volition which not merely sees to nature's reporductivity, but also to the many and complicated social relationships which are at the bottom of every conflict and struggle. "For the animal, its relation to others does not exist as a relation",[15] unless in a very undeveloped form, as the herd-instinct, which even than is largely, if not exclusively, self-centred. It is the mental grasping of the environment which forms the food and gives the driving force to the continuation of the process whihc cannot be explained on purely mechanistic lines. Pure matter is even more fictitous than Kant's pure consciousness (*critik der reinen Vernunft*), for pure matter cannot have any relationship with thought and cannot be known, whereas matter which is being thought about becomes food for thought and is thereby subject to the process of assimilation: mentalised matter (*nāma-rūpa*), or matter conditioned by thought, and thought conditioned by matter. The two, as separates, are unknown and unknowable. Only the conditioned effect is the world

13. As quoted in *Moscow Dialogues* p. 122.
14. *Materialism and Empirio Criticism*. 1908 Collected Works, X. p. 116.
15. Marx and and Engels: *The German Ideology*, p. 19.

as known to us. A supernatural order, believing in mind as separate and independent from mater, is denied by both Buddhism and Materialism, whcih have no room for the ideas of God and Soul, make no attempt to deify man's own nature, and are hence opposed to all idealistic systems of thought or religion.

Materialism in Buddhs, however, does not give to matter and independent status either. It does not recognise a substance in matter any more than it would accept a soul in mind. This view is corroborated by the latest findings of experimental science, where mater is proved to be essentially motion. Motion, however, means esssentially change. Matter is not a substantial being to which change comes as something accidental, leaving the intrinsic thing -in-itself identical and eternally the same. Matter is not a static entity with a mechanical equilibrium at absolute rest. For this concept would lead to a motionless state of matter, which again would require some external force by which motion was introduced. Motion, however, need not be introduced, for it is inherently present in matter, whihc remains static only for so long as its dynamic force is counteracted; and even then its state of suspended energy is only relative.

The many modes of relationship between indivjdual events greatly influence, condition and modify the effects resulting from such relatioship. Rngels reduced these general laws of dialectics to: (1) the law of transition whereby a change of quantity affects the quality. Mass-production reduces the value. The individual behaves differently from the group. (2) the law of interpenetration of opposites, which is the law of life, in which life and death are inseparable. Production and consumption form such a unity that a disturbance of their equilibrium seriously affects social and international relations. (3) The law of the negation of negation, which is the law of higher synthesis in mathematics, in logic, as well as in the reproductive process of organic life, where the seed has do die in order to produce more seeds. A double negation constitutes an affirmation in logic, a positive in algebra.

Now these laws are applicable equally to the working of the mind and were as such formulated by the Buddha about 25 centuries before Karl Marx discoverd that "my relation to my environment is my consciousness".[16] For the Buddha said: "that which we will and that which we intend to do and that with which we are occupied, - this becomes an object for the support of consciousness. If there is an object, there is a foothold for consiousness."[17] Consciousness arises as a resultant of contact with the environment, for "dependent on contact arises sensation" (*phassa - paccayā vedanā*);[18] and sensation (*vedanā*) is the embryonic stage of the receptive thought-process, which must evolve thorugh perception (*saññā*) and conception (*sankhāra*) to the state of full grown consciousness (*viññāṇa*).

Thus far we find perfect agreement between Buddhism and Dialectical Materialism. There is, however, a difference in the way in which it is thought that matter is presented to become a mental object. "Matter is the objective reality, give to us in sensation. There is nothing in the world but matter in motion, and matter cannot move save in space and time", said Lenin,[19] for "the fundamental forms of all being are space and time; being outside of time is just as mush an absurdity as being outside of space". Thus it would appear that Dialectical Materialism is based on a clear and definite conception of matter. However, space and time are mental concepts into which the mind categories certain experiences as events. An event is conceived of as a personal experience and thereby made static and localised in time and space. Thus the process of experiencing is killed for the purpose of retention which is a strengthening of the self-misconcept. Time and space are not forms in which beings move, but forms in which the mental process moulds its experiences, a device to retain selected effects of experience, as we endeavour to retain or call back a pleasurable feeling by giving it a name. Hence it is not matter, which moves in space and time, but space and time are mental concepts recording the movement of matter. This process of conception is not to be understood as another "form" or matrix, which finally will produce the formed product, for there is no "mind" apart from the process of thinking which is conditioned in its arising and cessation by the many factors which range from cause to influence.

16. *Moscow Dialogues* p. 100.
17. *S.* II, p. 64.
18. Formula of Dependent Origination (*paticca samuppāda*).
19. *Materialism and Empirio Criticism* 1908 Collected Works X p. 116.

If there is nothing but matter, it is impossible to define matter, for no other inclusive generic concept would be found. Yet, if "matter is the objective reality, given to us in sensation," as Lenin said, it is not matter which is known, but only the sensation, which again cannot tell us anything of this objective reality. Hence, that "matter is all that exists" is from its very nature a categorical statement, not less imperative than Kant's concept of God.

In Buddhism matter is materiality, i.e., a characteristic state proper to whatsoever has the characteristic of being affected (*ruppana*),[20] i.e., an objective actuality.

In Dialectical Materialism matter is "a philosophic category for designating objective reality".[21] It is nature acting upon the senses and calling forth perception, which does not mean that it must be tangible matter as popularly understood. Hence any change or new discovery bearing on the nature of matter may be accepted so long as its objective existence is not denied.

Process: What Marx understood as the chief defect of all materialism, viz. that the object, apprehended through our senses, is understood only as an object, and not as sensuous human activity,[22] is not found in the materialistic ontology of the Buddha. For here the constant stress is laid, away from the thing-in-itself, on the action of the object together with the reaction of the subject. It is the comprehensive knowledge of this mutual subject-object activity, which constitutes actuality. The thing-in-itself, substance, essence soul and similar terms do not find a place in Buddhist terminology, where the accent throughout is on non-entity (*anattā*) and action (*kamma*).

Objective truth, therefore, is eschewed in Buddhism as much as subjective truth. Truth is not static, is not theoretical, but is a "practical question".[23] Truth is a fact, an event, which arises and ceases, which is not a static reality, but an actual process, the truth of which lies in its contradiction. "Contradiction is what actually moves the world." This central idea of Hegel's dialectical logic became the weapon of his revolting pupils, first of Feuerbach, then of Marx and Engels.

Ludwing Feuerbach in his treatise *Das Wesen des Christentums* (The Essence of Christianity) advocates a frank religious humanism, or materialism, in which there is nothing outside nature and man. All religious values are human values, and the beginning of philosophy should not be "I", but "I and You". But in breaking away from idealism, one should equally avoid that kind of materialism in which the old metaphysics are presented as physics. Feuerbach was not a mechanistic materialist of the type which flourished in France in the age of physics and which knew little of the biological sciences. "French materialism in general was incapable of representing the universe as a process, as one form of matter assumed in the course of evolutionary development".[24] In other words, it was still metaphysical and static. Feuerbach preferred to call his philosophy "organistic". It is a dialectical naturalism in which there exists only organic life, organic activity, organic thinking. Man himself is a part of nature and is controlled by the same laws as those which govern the processes of nature. Yet Karl Marx refused to follow Feuerbach's abstract cultus of man which was the kernel of his religion. "Feuerbach does not see that the religious temperament itself is a social product and that the abstract individual whom he analyses, belongs to a definite form of society."[25]

"Marx grasped the important truth that history is a process, that all phenomena of nature, including man and society, are interrelated, that nothing is permanent, that every thing moves and continually changes".[26] The important question at this stage becomes whether this universal process, this continuity of evolution, proceeds according to set laws. Hegel saw in these dialectical laws the absolute spirit of the universe, the unity of Espinoza's substance (or nature torn away from man) with Fichte's self consciousness (or human mind torn away from nature), the unity of these two contradictories: actual nature and actual mankind. Hegel accepted the absolute principle, existing from the beginning of time and composing the true life-giving soul of all beings. Passing through all the stages

20. Engels: *Anti Duhrign*, 4th Russian ed. P. 39.
21. *Vism*. III, 14, 34.
22. Julius F. Hecker, *Moscow Dialogues* p. 722 Quoting Leninn.
23. 1st thesis on Feuerbach.
24. *ibid*, 2nd thesis.
25. Engels as quoted in *Moscow Dialogues*, p. 80.
26. *Seven theses on Feuerbach*.

of development contained within itself, it appears unconsciously in nature, assuming the guise of natural necessity. In man it again becomes conscious and proceeds upwards until the absolute concept finally returns to itself. This is the typical idealist attitude, reading and projecting its own thought process in the universal process of evolution.

Engles turned Hegel's dialectic upside down. Real things are not pictures of the absolute idea, but ideas are pictures of real things and hence materialistic. The dialectics of the idea is merely the conscious reflex of the dialectic evolution of the real world. It is knowledge of the universal laws of motion, of the outer world as well as of inner thought, which accomplish themselves unconsciously in nature and in history in the form of external necessity through an endless succession of apparent accidents.

The Buddhist attitude towards existence is not a mere denial of real things, of being, substance, soul, entity, which would be its opposite, i.e., non-existence, nothingness, void. The thesis of being and its antithesis of nothingness are united in the synthesis of becoming. For becoming *(bhava)* is of the nature of a process which neither is nor is not, which essentially is arising, and in arising also ceases. This process of arising and ceasing is the basic conception that underlies the philosophies of the Buddha and of Marx. It is this process of becoming which gives rise to conflict: a psychological conflict between the ever-changing process of life as a whole and the desire for permanency of the individual resisting the passing flow; an economic conflict between the owners of the means of production, and those who by selling their labour have become part of those means of production; a historical conflict between individuals and various classes of society in their endeavour to retain or acquire the means of production, slaves, lands, tools or modern production-plants.

The solution of this conflict, which is one and the same although apparently fought on such different battlefields, is offered in Buddhism and in Dialectical Materialism in the only possible way by removal of the dialectical nature of the conflict. In the psychological realisation of the non-existence of an "Ego" the foundation of the conflict is removed. In the acquisition of the means of production by the entire community the distinction and opposition between classes will have been abolished. In the absence of opposition, this process of becoming or historical dialectics will continue without being a conflict. Whether either ideology will ever be completely successful in its achievement is a fruitless speculation. All one can do is to take the road that leads to the goal, once that has been clearly discerned.

As regards the main philosophical problems we may summarise Buddhism that ontologically it has taken the side of materialism against idealism, which is clearly proved by its denial of substance, soul, entity, ultimate cause, absolute existence, reality of time and space, eternal life, and by its substitution of these by a process of becoming, evolution, dependent origination, conditioned arising and ceasing of phenomena only, dependence of the mental process on material environment and its definite and uncompromising doctrine of no soul.

Epistemologically the cognitive activities are not taken by themselves, and are not separated from the other experiences inseparably bound up with them. The knower is above all an intelligent act of volition: he acts upon the thing known, moves and moulds it, and is at the same time moved and moulded by it. There is no knowledge without feeling and experiencing the effects upon ourselves and our object. Knowledge is action and reaction, and all the factors of this activity form together the act or process of cognition. Feeling, perception, ideation together with the material impression are essential constituents in the process of consciousness whether this be in its simplest possible position as awareness, or in more complex processes as ratiocination, whether the main spring of action is simple emotion, or the involved course of volition. This process is kept alive by its intrinsic dialectical nature of attraction and repulsion, love and hate, desire and fear, projection into a permanent self and rejection of the impermanent stream of life. And this dialectical process of the delusive thesis of a permanent "self" and the antithesis of the impermanent process of becoming is dissolved in the synthesis, is "withering away" in the realisation of "no-self", as the withering away of the state in a class-less society.

Psychologically the mind is not treated as an entity but as a forming process, subject to a conditioning environment and reflecting the absorbed tendencies acquired from those surroundings.

Ethically also Buddhism avoids the usual foundations of idealistic religions such as eternal reward or punishment, salvation of an individual soul, etc., by

its [illegible] and reaction which is not individualistic. [illegible] does not derive its sanction from a [illegible] given, but from society and life in [illegible].

Ethics: [illegible] ethical system as a practical applica- [illegible] religious ideology seems to fail in all its attempts [illegible] approach of these two schools of thought. Even religions with such vastly different theological bases as Hinduism in its purest Vedantic form and Christianity as developed in Paulinian dogmatism, still find a common ground and many points of contact in the ethical field. But Dialectical Materialism does not seem to have an ethical problem at all and certainly does not seem to feel the need of stimulating an ethical consciousness. Comparing this with Buddhism one may equally wonder whether this stimulation of an ethical consciousness is an essential part of early Buddhism, although, no doubt, the present religious practical attitude in this respect is not very different sometimes from that of theological religions. In the original text, unadorned by commentarial "improvements", we find hardly a trace of an ethical code, apart from advice to avoid evil and to do good.[27] Even the so-called precepts are no commandments forming part of an ethical law. They are rules of conduct which do not require a supernatural sanction either as to origin or to application, for they are natural rules following from a natural environment in a normally developed society. The laws of karma are not laws of retribution or destiny, sentences of judgement with reward or penalty, but formulas of actuality, constituted in much the same way as the laws of science, which do not bind but which generalize individual behaviour with regard to cause and effect. The law does not make society, but social life makes the law. And the development of social life in its various aspects will thereby produce corresponding laws of behaviour, of morality, of ethics which are, therefore, not divinely inspired, but dictated by one's own conscience which is another word for public opinion.

Engels is quoted[28] as having said: As a matter of fact. every class as well as every profession has its own system of morals, and breaks even this when it can do so without punishment. Religious feeling is itself a product of society". There is no doubt that the great world teachers and reformers were thrown up by the need of the times in which they lived. Their movements were like avalanches, starting perhaps from a most insignificant event which necessitated action. But once that action, which was, therefore, a product of society at the time, was initiated, its ideological notions developed immensely, gathering material on the *way while retaining its conservative force. And so it* happens that those great religious movements after some time become out of date and lose their vitality, until a revival or reform becomes necessary, another symptom of the dialectic nature of the process. Religions which refuse to grow are dogmatic and dead, and will never be able to give the eternal life they promise. Buddhism has no dogmas, and its standards of morality are only fixed in so far as they are based on the natural exigences of the human constitution, physically and socially. Society is the extension of the individual, and is, likewise, as a living organaism in a continuous process of growth. Such growth may be viewed by some at certain times as progress, by others at other times as a cankerous excrescence, but it can never be a mechanical sequence of arbitrary combinations of social elements. In other words, morality may grow, for better or for worse, but cannot be made. Morality must be an expression of life and not a mould into which life is impressed and suppressed. Such natural morality without any shadow of the supernatural is found in Buddhism. There are no commandments, no supreme lawgiver, no threats of punishments, but only appeals to reason, to one's social obligations, to one's natural, not acquired conditions. In this light, acts of murder, theft, debauchery, untruth and intemperance become unnatural and are, therefore, shunned by any reasonable individual. Summing up, such a life will be harmless, incapable of exploitation, and viewing others as having equal rights. It is a morality of action and not of dogmatic standards.

Action: This Buddhist morality of action or *karma* does not make an exception to the law of dialectics. In Hinduism and in Buddhism as it is misunderstood in countries which have not fully arisen from the feudal conditions of living, the teaching of *karma* received mostly the interpretation of fate and destiny. It was and still is the interest of the ruling class or caste to perpetuate the prevailing state of affairs, preventing less fortunate ones to advance. A typical illustration is the strong opposition of denominational schools against free education which would result in grater influence (or as they call it, interference) by Government. The teach-

27. *Moscow Dialogues*, p. 88.
28. Julius F. Hecker, quoting Engels in *Moscow Dialogues*, pp. 65-711.

ing of *karma*, interpreted as a rigid law of cause and effect, naturally produced in the masses that apathy which would retain everybody in his place. It is true, Buddhism teaches that *karma* is the cause, an action in some past life, producing effects in this present life But it is not said that this is an external cause unconnected with the effect. Neither did Karl Marx say that economic forces are the only ones which rule social life. "According to the materialistic view of history, the factor which in the last instance is decisive in history is the production and reproduction of actual life. More than this neither Marx not I have ever asserted,. But when anyone distorts this so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element, he converts the statement[29] into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase."

Similarly the view that life is inexorably regulated by the laws of *karma*, makes of life a mechanistic process. Karma, however, was never meant to be the feudal vassal of the lord of Fate. *Karma* is action, i.e., the controlling power in the present, but that controlling power is controlled itself or, as we say, conditioned by previous actions, the material forces of the past, which make their presence felt as results (*vipaka*) and which are, therefore, the generators of the present environment and social atmosphere. *Karma* is new action, but it will work according to individual tendencies. Thus the present is conditioned by the past, and contains elements of the past. That does not mean that the present is a mere development of the past, which would be an effect from a cause as found in idealistic theism. Buddhism teaches conditionality instead of causality. The actions of the past are important influences; they do not, however, necessarily produce the effect, but only if the social conditions are favourable. Thus there will be the constant struggle of action (*karma*) to produce its natural reaction (*vipāka*) according to its own nature, which reaction, however, is subject to external conditions which may be favourably supporting (*upatthambhaka*), adversely counteracting (*upapīlaka*), or even destructive (*upaghāthaka*). In this we see the dialectic elements of karma, which are tendencies grown from conflict and which produce in themselves further conflict of attraction and repulsion, of greed (*lobha*) and aversion (*dosa*).

Karma or man's action is essentially a social and co-operative process because action is conditioned in its arising and cessation. Hence it is impossible to say what and how much any single individual has produced in a single individual act. It is evident that man acts not always mechanically, but intentionally, whether his intentions are good or bad It is this intention (*cetanā*) which makes his action moral or immoral. But in order to explain such an intentional act, it is not enough merely to state the fact of his evil intention. A man steals, because he wants to steal. The problem, however, is: why should he want it? Obviously, to satisfy some internal need. Thus the existence of that need will be the real cause of his act. And whoever has produced that cause is partly at least responsible for the evil act which finally followed. If a man steals to satisfy his craving for pleasure, which he cannot do with his honestly earned income, then all those who have created in him that hunger by advertising pleasure, by setting him an example of sense satisfaction without giving him the means thereto, by refusing to impart to him that knowledge of pleasure which is not craving of the senses, but leads to understanding and insight of the truth, all those are responsible for the evil deed. An immoral act should not only be condemned in the culprit, but blame should go to the whole society which produced him. Crime, poverty and illiteracy are not just individual shortcomings, but slurs on the reputation of the nation, of society, of the whole human race.

The doctrine of *karma*, if well understood, does not lead to individualism. If there is no "self" (*anattā*), action cannot be individual, and hence the effect of such action, merit or demerit, will not be individual either. All action bears a social responsibility; the effect or the produce belongs to the community. Like the economic system, so the moral system is essentially one. Like economic profit should go to the community of workers instead of being withheld from them by exploitation, so moral profit or merit should not be a personal reward as is promised to individual souls in an eternal heaven according to idealistic theistic religions, but moral profit too should be owned by the community. That is the Buddhist doctrine of morality, where virtue is practised for the sake of virtue, for the sake of the good of all, not for the purpose of acquiring merit for oneself, just because there is no "self" to reap the fruits in another life. Rebirth there is, but a soulless one. It is the rebirth of action under the influence of conditions, the present being the father of tomorrow. The yield of present action is having made the future. Having obtained the satisfaction of having

29. *Dhp*. xiv 183.

done one's duty towards the community, the sum-total of the good effect will go to the moral, social or economic improvement of the society with whose operation the good action was performed.

An objection is sometimes raised that in a classless society, where all men will have not only equal opportunities, but even equal remunerations according to their needs, the law of *karma* as moral retribution will have no field of application. In other words, the Buddhist doctrine of *karma* giving to everyone according to his deeds, seems to contradict the communist ideal of giving to everyone according to his needs. In answer it may first of all be pointed out that the very fact of a group of certain people striving together towards a common ideal indicates equality of action, which, therefore, will yield equality of effect. The firm establishment of an ideology all over the world would then merely indicate that the common action of millions had produced an effect, affecting all. And that would be quite according to the law of *karma*. Yet, even a solution of the class conflict by the institution of a classless society, even the eradication of disease by scientific progress, will not abolish the disease of old age which, however much deferred, finally must end in death. And the more comfortable life is being made, the more difficult it will be to part with it, the greater will be the mental conflict. It is then that the inequality of mental action will find a most fruitful field to harvest retribution according to one's deeds, according to the law of *karma*.

It is an injustice to Buddhism to point to the law of *karma* as a law of predestination. That may by the idea of *karma* in Hinduism with its many gods, with its reincarnation of souls, with its unknown and unknowable Brahman. That might still have been the necessary outcome of an India in bondage, economically enslaved by foreign exploitation, politically fettered by a feudal system of princely rule, intellectually shackled by a degrading caste-system, religiously trammelled by superstition and priest craft. But Buddhism which does not acknowledge caste-distinction, which has no priests and sacrifices, which condemns blind faith and encourages free thought, - Buddhism with its selfless doctrine of "no-soul", where even action is not of self, where heaven and hell can be made and unmade in this world itself, where the highest freedom of *Nirvāna* must be sought in freedom of mind in a human form, - that Buddhism is free from superstition, free from fear, free from serfdom in any form.

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MĀTIKĀ The Pali term *mātikā* is equivalent to *mātrkā* in Sanskrit. The *Pali - English Dictionary* (*PED*) gives its meaning as 'summary'. This term is found used in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* to denote its table of contents which is a summary of the whole text. Two sets of *Mātikas* are given there as *Abhidhamma Mātikā* and *Suttanta Mātika*.

Contents or *Mātikā* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* seem to be the *mātikā* of the whole *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. It is quite appropriate to have these *mātikā* in the first book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. The number of *Suttanta Mātikā* is 40 and *Abhidhamma-mātikā* is 124. The *Suttanta mātikā* must have been taken from suttas of the *Dīgha*, the *Majjhima*, the *Samyutta*, the *Anguttara* and the *Khuddhaka Nikāyas* and the *Abhidhamma mātikā* must have been taken from early *Abhidhamma* works or from *Dhammasangani* itself. All these *mātikās* were considered to be the topics suitable for *Abhidhamma*.

The Theravada Buddhist tradition maintains that the *Abhidhamma* was a later development, but its *mātika* were taught by the Buddha and hence the whole

Abhidhamma Piṭaka has been considered to be the Buddha's teaching. Buddhaghosa in his *Atthasālilni* (q.v.) says: "When the supreme Buddha, who taught us the seven treatises of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* came to the *Kathāvatthu*, he began with an eight faced inquiry into the theory of person (or soul).... Those showing the eight aspects and their respective refutation, the table of contents has been laid down by the teacher (*Expositor*, London, 1985). This is how the commentarial tradition of the Mahāvihāra monks of Sri Lanka justified that the *Abhidhamma* was taught by the Buddha himself.

According to *A-yu-wang-King* Mahākaśyapa after the recitation of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* recited the *mātikā*, which is not corroborated by the account of the first council in the *Cullavagga*. But this canonical text refers, in another context, to a thera called Revata who was well versed in the *Sutta*, the *Vinaya* and the *Matika*. (*Cullavagga* 12.1; 9-10). The *Cullavagga* must have been compiled during the period between the second and the third Buddhist Counicls as it contains reports of the first and the second Councils. So it is to be datable to the second century of the Buddhist Era. It is evident that the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* were recited at the first council and at that time the *mātikā* were not known. But according to *A-Yu-Wang-King*, after the first Council Mahākaśyapa recited the *Mātikā*. The Buddhist tradition connected with this source attributes the authorship of the *mātikā* to the leader of the first council, *Thera* Mahākaśyapa who lived at least several years after the conclusion of the first council. Since the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* were the subjects of the first council, it is not certain whether Mahākaśyapa recited or prepared the *Dhamma mātikā* or the *Vinaya mātikā* or both. In this case it is necessary to find out whether the *Vinaya mātikā* existed earlier.

The *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Haimavata Buddhist Sect contains five works or sections i.e (1) *Bhiksuprātimokṣa* (2) *Bhiksunīprātimokṣa* (3) *Kaṭhina* (4) *Mātrkā* and (5) *Ekottara*. The five sections of the Pali *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Mahāvihāra Sect contains (1) *Pārājikā Pāli* (2) *Pācittiya Pāli* (3) *Mahāvagga Pāli* (4) *Cullavagga Pāli* and (5) *Parivāra Pāli*. It is thus clear that the early Buddhist *vinaya* did not contain a section called *mātikā*, but they have a later work called the *Mātikaṭṭhakathā* which is the commentary to the *Pātimokkha*. This indicates that even the Mahāvihāra Sect preserved the term *Mātika* of the *Vinaya* in addition to the *mātikā* of the *Abhidhamma* and the *Suttanta*. So, it is reasonable to accept that the *Vinaya* also had its topics or table of contents in the same way as the *Abhidhamma*.

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MATTER See RŪPA

MAUDGALYĀNA See MOGGALLĀNA, MAHĀ

MĀYĀ (1): The *PTS* Pali-English Dictionary gives the following meanings for *Māyā*. I. Deceptive appearance or illusion, fraud, deceit, hypocrisy. 2. Mystic formula, magic trick. 3. Jugglery, conjuring. Mayākāra is a conjurer, a magician. *Māyā* as an illusion is often combined with the word *marīcī* (mirage).

The word *māyā* appears in many *suttas* in the meaning of guile, hypocrisy, deceit or craftiness. On one occasion, the Buddha observed that a true samanera should not possess qualities such as covetousness, malevolence, wrath, a grudging nature, hypocrisy, stinginess, treachery, craftiness (*māyā*), evil desires and wrong views. (*M.* 1. 281 ff)

Māyā appears in many stanzas of the Sutta Nipāta also in the sense of hypocrisy, guile and deceit:

"Sacco siyā appagabbo amāyo rittapesuno
Akkodhano lobhapāpaṃ veviccham vitare muni"
(*Sn.* v. 941)

"Truthful, having little to do with company, guileless, free from slander, well-disposed, the silent sage must cross over evil greed and multifarious wants".

Another stanza in the *Sutta Nipāta* states:

"Dukkhavepakkaṃ yad atthi kammaṃ
uddhaṃ adho ca tiriyañ cā pi majjhe
parivajjayitva pariññacāri
māyam mānam atho pi lobhakodhaṃ
pariyantaṃ akāsi nāmarūpaṃ
tam paribbajakam ahu pattipattan ti" (*Sn.* v. 537)

"The deed resulting in sorrow shunned
above, below, across, between,
deceit, pride, greed and wrath,
clearly understood, he tramps about.
Him they call a wandering mendicant
Who has attained the highest to be attained."

The deep philosophical content in the word '*Māyā*' comes out in the texts when it is used to describe the phenomenal world. Very often it is synonymous with *marīci* (mirage). The *Dhammapada* states:

"Pheṇūpamaṃ Kāyamimaṃ viditvā
maricidhmmaṃ abhīsambuddhāno
chetvāna mārassa papupphakāni
adassanaṃ maccurājassa gacche." (Dhp. v. 46)

"Knowing that this body is like froth and unsubstantial as a mirage, one should destroy the flower shafts of Māra, the tempter and pass beyond the sight of Māra."

The same idea is echoed in yet another stanza of the *Dhammapada*:

"Yathā bubbulakaṃ passe-yathā passe marīcikaṃ
Evaṃ lokaṃ avekkhantaṃ maccurājā na passati"
(Dhp. v. 170)

"He who sees the world a bubble,
he who sees the world a mirage
that one who sees thus,
him, Māra, the King of Death, sees not."

A fine set of similes are found in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* on this same theme:

"Phenapiṇḍūpamaṃ rūpaṃ
vedanā bubbulūpamā
marīcikūpama saññā
saṅkhārā kadalūpamā
Māyūpamañca viññāṇaṃ
Dīpitādicca bandhunā" (S. III. 142)

Form is like a mass of foam
And feeling-but an airy bubble
Perception is like a mirage
And formations a plantain tree
Consciousness is a magic show
A juggler's trick entire

All these similes were made known by the "Kinsman-of-the-Sun".[1]

A further elaboration of māyā in the Buddhist texts is found in the following passage:

"Seyyathāpi bhikkhave māyākāro vā māyā kārantevāsī vā
mahāpathe māyaṃ vidaṃseyya taṃ evaṃ cakkhumā puriso
passeyya nijjhāyeyya yoniso upaparikkheyya. Tassa taṃ passato
nijjhāyato yoniso upaparikkhato tucchakaññeva khāyeyya
asarakaññeva khāyeyya kinhi siyā bhikkhave māyāya saro."

(*S.* III *v* 142)

"Again, bretheren, suppose a juggler or a juggler's apprentice should make appear (a magic show) on the high road and a keen sighted man should see it, observe it, look close into the nature of it. So seeing, he would find it empty, he would find it unsubstantial, he would find it without essence. What essence, brethren, could there be in a magic show?

Buddhism's correct view is seeing with a penetrative insight the actual nature of the psycho-physical aggregates of the "being" consisting of the physical body, feelings, perception, mental dispositions and consciousness. However, the cognitive process of the ordinary person, with a mind tainted with defilements, produces only a blurred vision of reality, an illusion - *māyā*. This, as the texts clarify, results from the grasping of the five aggregates of existence as an abiding entity (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*) which results in thoughts based on *rāga, dosa* and *moha* (attachment, aversion and ignorance).

The idea of *māyā* is contained in the explanation of the cognitive process in many a text of the canon. The earliest formula describing it runs as follows:

'Cakkhuñc' āvuso paṭicca rūpe ca uppajjati
cakkhuviññāṇaṃ tiṇṇaṃ saṅgati phasso
phassa paccayā vedanā, yaṃ vedeti taṃ sañjānāti.
Yaṃ sañjānāti taṃ vitakketi,
yaṃ vitakketi taṃ papañceti, yaṃ papañceti tato

1. Translation found in Bhikkhu Ñanananda's *The Magic of the Mind, BPS*, Kandy, 1974.

nidānaṃ purisaṃ papañcasaṅkhā samudācaranti atītānāgatapaccuppannesu cakkhuviññeyyesu rūpesu" (M. I. 111-112)

"Dependent on the visual organ and the visible objects, O brethren, arises visual consciousness; the meeting together of these three is contact; because of contact arises feeling when one feels, one perceives; what one perceives, one reasons about; what one reasons about, one is obsessed with. What one is obsessed with, due to that, concepts characterized by such obsessed perceptions assail him in regard to visible objects cognizable by the visual organ, longing to the past, the future and the present".

This passage and similar passages that occur in the canon are relevant to the discussion of *māya*. This is because a thorough understanding of *papañca* provides an insight into the Buddhist meaning of *māyā* taken in its wider philosophic sense of delusion. E.R. Sarachchandra points out in *Buddhist Psychology of Perception*[2] a very plausible meaning of *papañca* which comes out in the *Sutta Nipāta*:

"Anuvicca papañca-nāmarupaṃ
ajjhattaṃ bahiddha ca rogamūlaṃ
sabbarogamūlabandhana pamutto
anuvidito tādi pavuccate tathattā" (Sn. v. 530)

"He who pierced the delusion (arising from) *nāmarūpa*, (the psycho-physicality) of the existent being, internally and externally-the root of "sickness" - he is liberated from all roots and bonds of "sickness". Such a one may be called one who has known reality."

Sarachchandra points to the usage of the compound word *papañca-namarūpa* along with *ajjhattam* and *bahiddhā* and explains:

".... the term *nāmarūpa* meant both the empirical individual, made up of physiological and psychological factors, as well as the entire world including himself, components of mind and matter. The belief that the normal thinking consciousness is the real individual is the internal sickness (*ajjhattaṃ*). It is for this thinking consciousness that an external world exists. The idea of the external world is therefore, the sickness outside. (*bahiddha*). He who has pierced the veil (*anuvicca*) is called the (*anuvidita*), for he has attained to the true understanding of things as they really are tathattā"

The stanza quoted above is a succinct expression of the deep doctrine of *anatta*. The individual falls into the error of delusion when he looks upon himself (*nāma-rūpa*) as a permanent entity distinct from the external world, when, in actual fact, the perceiving individual and the world perceived, both arise from *papañca* mind construct, based on the notion of an "I".

Buddhism therefore considers that cognitive knowledge falls short of the correct knowledge of actual reality as that vision arising from sensory perception is corrupted by *papañca* which results in *māyā*, which obstructs insight into the true nature of things as they have come to be (*yathābhūtañaṇadassana*).

It should be noted that *māyā* in Buddhism differs from the meaning of *māyā* found in the monist philosophy. What is meant in the monist idea of *māyā* found in the later *vedanta* doctrines is the unreality of the phenomenal world as contrasted with the one reality, the one unity, the Brahman-atman. In early Buddhism what is meant by *māyā* is the faulty vision that clouds the unsubstantial nature of existence, the faulty perception that veils the absence of a permanent abiding reality in the empirical world. The correct view, according to Buddhism, is seeing the empirical world as *aniccato, asārato* and *suññato* (impermanence) absence of an abiding essence and the emptiness in all phenomena of any underlying substratum.

It is interesting to note that in the Rgveda, the word *māya* was used in the simple sense of guile, deceit, hypocrisy etc., as the word was used in certain Buddhist *suttas* as we have seen. But in the *Vedanta* it is applied to the illusion of the multiplicity of the empirical universe produced by ignorance (*avidyā*), when in reality, so they asset, there is only the One, the Brahman-ātman.[3] There is a foreshadowing of the vedantic meaning in certain stanzas of the Rgveda in the words *"ekam sad viprā bahidhā vadanti". That which is One the sages call by many names"*. (Rgveda CLXVI - 46). This concept comes to the fore in the Upanishads with the development of the pantheistic doctrine of

2. E. R. Sarachchandra, *Buddhist Psychology of Perception*, Buddhist Cultural Centre, Nedimala. 1994.
3. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* ed. By James Hastings.

the all pervading *atman* which was believed to be the only reality. This resulted in the view of the empirical world as unreal which was considered *māyā*-illusion. The pantheistic view finally developed into the philosophy of non duality which regarded the phenomenal world not as an aspect of the *Brahman-atman* but as absolutely unrea like a mirage.

These concepts of course differ categorically from the Buddhist philosophic usage of the word *māya*. A permanent abiding substratum in the phenomenal world and a permanent ground of all being are completely antithetical to early Buddhism. Thus the poet-philosophers of the Buddhist texts may well say:

> *"Aniccato sabbabhavam vipassaṁ*
> *adittato' haṃ samatehi yutto*
> *suññato asārato avekkamāno"*

Suvimalee Karunaratna

MĀYĀ(2) See MAHĀMĀYĀ

MEDICINE See BHESAJJA

MEDITATION. The English word meditate is derived from the Latin *meditari* which connotes deep, continued reflection or a concentrated dwelling in thought. The Oxford English Dictionary gives the meaning "continuous thought or musing upon one subject or series of subjects; serious and sustained reflection or mental contemplation" for the word meditation.[1] In the context of religious discourse meditation means "That kind of devotional exercise which consists in the continuous application of the mind to the contemplation of some religious truths, mystery, or object of reverence, in order that the soul may increase in love of God and holiness of life."[2] These connotations of the English word meditation are compatible with the monotheistic traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In these traditions meditation is considered preparatory and contributory to the achievement of contemplation. "Meditation is usually rumination on a particular religious subject, while contemplation is a direct intuitive seeing using spiritual faculties beyond discursive thought and ratiocination."[3]

The English term 'meditation' is often used with reference to Buddhism as the equivalent of the Pali term *bhāvanā*. Therefore, in any discussion of Buddhist meditation it is considered appropriate to clarify the Buddhist concept of *bhāvanā*. It is important to point out some significant differences between the connotations of the English term 'meditation' and the Buddhist term *bhāvanā* in order to clarify the unique features of the Buddhist theory and practice of mental culture. Despite the widespread belief that meditation and *bhāvanā* are the same, from the Buddhist point of view, meditation is rather a partial requisite of *bhāvanā* than its exact equivalent. Most contemporary writings on Buddhist meditation, however, do not recognize any such distinction. Greater clarity regarding this issue can be gained by a closer examination of the family of Buddhist concepts usually associated with the Buddhist theory of mental culture, placing it in the context of the general Indian contemplative traditions of mental or spiritual development. The theory and practice of Buddhist meditation itself cannot be said to be uniform, for, during the long history of Buddhism, numerous alternative theories, methods and practices have developed within the different Buddhist traditions. All of them attempt in some way to relate these theories, methods and practices to the goals and objectives of the teachings of Gotama Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist teaching. There is reason to believe that the original message of the Buddha regarding methods of mental culture could be reconstructed by a study of the Buddhist scriptural sources that belong to a period preceding the development of sectarian Buddhist teachings. The Buddhist teachings contained in the *Sutta* literature preserved in a large part of the texts of the Theravāda canon in the Pali language, seem to correspond closely with the teachings contained in the *āgama* literature preserved in Chinese in the four main *āgama* collections and other minor works. Both literary sources appear to contain Buddhist ideas belonging to a period in which the Buddhist tradition was not affected by sectarian division. Therefore, this body of scriptures can serve as the principal source of information for a reconstruction of the original teachings of the Buddha on the subject of meditation and mental culture. In the discussion that follows there will be heavy dependence

1. Prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989, Vol. ix, p. 553.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Mircea Eliade (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Simon & Schuster, Macmillan, New York 1995, Vol. 9, p. 325.

on the teachings preserved in the *Sutta Piṭaka* of the Pali canon for the elucidation of the Buddhist concept of meditation.

A considerable part of the Buddhist theory and practice concerning meditation and mind development is related to methods of training the mind resulting in a transformation of consciousness. The final goal of all such exercises is liberation from the miseries of existence. Buddhism traces the miseries of existence to two fundamental causes, delusion (*avijja*) and craving (*taṇhā*). Human beings cease to produce misery for themselves and others when delusion and craving are eradicated and a profound self-transformation is brought about in respect of the cognitive and emotive structures of personality. The term *bhāvanā* has a wider connotation than meditation and signifies all aspects of personality development or cultivation. The development or cultivation envisaged is not confined to the development of the mind or the intellect, but to all aspects of personality including speech and bodily action. *Bhāvanā* involves an active, willful, and deliberate exercise that seeks to alter the unreflective and mechanical flow of mental, verbal and bodily behaviour. According to the Buddhist theory of human behaviour, causal inter-connections can be observed between the mental, verbal and bodily processes of personality. Inner mental states and processes determine overt verbal and bodily activity and overt bodily and verbal activity in turn condition inner mental states and processes. The Buddhist scheme of meditative transformation of personality has been developed with due recognition of these causal connections.

The term 'meditation' applies to the various psychological or mental devises adopted to develop or cultivate the mental, verbal and bodily aspects of personality with a view to attaining liberation from *dukkha*. All such development of cultivation may be referred to as *bhāvanā*, implying that the scope of the term *bhāvanā* is wider than that of meditation. The cultivation of the threefold training, *sīla* (moral practices), *samādhi* (mental composure), and *paññā* (insight), the eight factors of the noble path, the four bases of psychic power (*cattaro iddhipada*), the four types of ethical endeavour (*cattāro sammappadhāna*), the five faculties (*pañcindriya*), the five powers (*pañcabala*) or the seven factors of enlightenment (*sattabojjhaṅga*) are instance in which a person may be engaged in the activity referred to as *bhāvanā*. All these qualities to be developed are later enumerated as the thirty seven enlightenment qualities (*bodhipakkhiya dhammmā*). The development of some of these qualities may be considered to involve meditation, whereas others may involve the application of bodily or verbal restraints or the cultivation of wholesome bodily or verbal habits. Contemplative or meditative practices apply mainly to the *samādhi* and the *paññā* stages of the threefold training. The *sīla* stage of the practice is considered in Buddhism as an indispensable preliminary in one's progression to the next two stages of the path of training. *Samādhi* effects an initial and tentative transformation of consciousness at the emotive level, facilitating the development of *paññā*, which occurs at the cognitive level. *Paññā* stabilizes the gains of *samādhi* bringing about ethical perfection, and delivering the individual from all *samsāric* misery which amounts to a fulfillment of the ultimate goal of the Buddhist way of life.

According to the early Buddhist scriptures, the Buddha claimed to have attained the incomparable full enlightenment (*anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ*) only when he fully comprehended the Four Noble Truths by his own higher knowledge without relying on the authority of a sacred revelation.[4] He also maintained that what he had realized could not be understood by means of rational speculation.[5] Like in the case of some of his contemporaries, the foundation of the higher life (*brahmacariya*) that the Buddha taught was claimed to rest on certain truths realized by his own higher insight.[6] Buddhism emerged at a time when various world-views were being propounded and action-guiding principles of life were being laid down by a host of teachers who claimed to have had insight into ultimate reality and the highest good of human beings. The teachers who subscribed to the Brahmanical tradition believed that the principles of truth and goodness were to be known in terms of what was laid down in the sacred Vedic scriptures (*anussavika*). There was also a class of teachers who believed that such principles should be sought by the exercise of the rational powers of the intellect (*takkīvimaṃsī*). A third class of teachers claimed that they obtained extra-ordinary insight into truths not contained in the sacred revealed traditions by the ex-

4. *Pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu* - *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. V, p. 422.
5. *Adhigato kho myayaṃ dhammo gambhīro..... atakkāvacaro* - *Vinaya* Vol. I, p.4.
6. *Pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu sāmaṃ yeva abhiññāya* - *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. II. p. 211.

ercise of their own higher powers of cognition (*pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu samaṃ yeva dhammaṃ abhiññaya*). The Pali Nikayas also refer to sixty-two world-views, among which are mentioned several theories based on some kind of meditative training of the mind.[8] The Buddha claimed to belong to the class of thinkers who based their theories on meditative experience. This shows that Buddhism, like some of the other Indian systemes of thought, recognized the validity of judgements made regarding the nature of reality on the basis of meditative training of the mind.[9] Judgements made by the untrained mind are considered to distort the nature of reality because they are affected by numerous unwholesome emotions, mental biases and prejudices. Meditative training of the mind is considered necessary in order to overcome the perversion of perceptions, views and thoughts that occur under the ordinary untrained condition. The untrained mind is affected by hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*), and in order to see things as they really come to be in accordance with the principle of conditioned arising (*paṭiccasamuppada*), the mind should be purified of the hindrances and defilements (*upakkilesā*) that affect unbiased and clear comprehension.

Techniques of meditative training of the mind, and rapturous experiences attained by such training appear to have been known in India before the emergence of Buddhism. According to the Pali canonical scriptures, the Buddha, in his quest for the highest good, and emancipation from the ills of existence approached renowned teachers of such techniques who lived during his time. Having applied himself rigorously to the contemplative practices taught by them, he attained within a very short time the rapturous states of mind aimed at by those practices. However, he was dissatisfied with those attainments, for according to him, those experiences were not the final solution to the ills of existence.[10] Nevertheless, it becomes evident that the Buddha utilized the contemplative practices known at the time in order to achieve his own objective of a final end to suffering. The Pali canonical Suttas give accounts of the methods taught by the Buddha for the systematic meditative development of the mind by a gradual process consisting of regulation of bodily and verbal conduct (*sīla*), the cultivation of sense-restraint (*indriyasaṃvara*), and the development of mindfulness and awareness (*satisampajañña*).[11] These scriptural sources reveal that among many of those who renounced worldly life and adopted the life of recluses during the time of the Buddha, there was keen interest in matters related to meditative experiences. The Buddha was once called upon to present his views in the midst of a gathering of Paribbājakas headed by the teacher Poṭṭhapāda on the higher perceptions and experiences associated with the meditative development of the mind (*abhisaññānirodha*).[12] The Buddhist claim is that the Buddha made a distinctive contribution in the history of Indian thought to the theory of meditation and its ultimate objectives. This contribution could be elucidated in terms of the Buddhist distinction between tranquility meditation (*samatha*) and insight meditation (*vipassanā*).

It is reasonable to assume that the different stages of tranquility (*samatha*) meditation mentioned in the Buddhist canonical literature were a result of a development and systematization of the meditative techniques that were already in existence in pre-Buddhist ones, the Buddha appears to have radically modified the theory and practice of meditation in accordance with his own view of the nature of reality and his distinct goals and objectives. The Buddha was not in favour of using the meditative experience in order to construct metaphysical theories about the nature of reality. According to the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, some teachers during the Buddha's time attempted to derive answers to certain metaphysical questions left aside

7. *Ibid.* Also see K. N. Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. p. 171.
8. In *Dīghanikāya* Vol. I, p. 22 for instance, it is said that some recluses and Brahmans (*samaṇabrāhmaṇā*), by means of effort, zeal and endeavour and proper contemplative direction of the mind (*ātappaṃ anvāya padhānaṃ anvāya anuyogaṃ anvāya sammāmanasikāraṃ anvāya*) attained a state of mental composure, within which they had certain perceptions about the nature of reality.
9. This however, does not imply that the Buddha did not think that meditative experiences could sometimes be misinterpreted resulting in erroneous conclusions.
10. This is evident from the account in the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* where the Buddha mentions how he followed the practices of the two teachers Ālārakālāma, under whose guidance he attained the rapturous experience of the sphere of nothingness (*akiñcaññayatana*) and Uddakarāmaputta, under whose guidance he attained the rapturous experience of the sphere of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*) - See *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 164.
11. See *Dīghanikāya* Vol. I, p. 63ff (*Samaññaphalasutta*) for a full account.
12. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. I, p. 179-180.

by the Buddha as unanswerable by means of meditative experience.[13] From the fact that they had a meditative experience of a world, which is finite or infinite, they concluded that the world is really finite or infinite. Reference is also made to persons who were able to develop certain forms of supercognition like the ability to remember their previous existences, and on the ground of such experiences, concluded that there is an enduring self (*atta*), which is distinguishable from the body that perishes.[14] The Buddha considered the construction of such metaphysical views as an abuse of meditative experience. According to him such views are a consequence of misdescribing one's experience due to one's enthusiasm to affirm certain dogmatic positions regarding the ultimate nature of the universe. Buddhism does not seek to attain through meditation, insight into a different order of reality. What it seeks to attain is insight into the characteristics of this very empirical world of mind and matter, without being duped into a perverted perception of that world as consisting of the characteristics of permanence (*nicca*), happiness (*sukha*), and enduring substantial reality of the nature erroneously attributed to the metaphysical Self (*atta*). Buddhist meditation does not aim at knowing the reality of God, Self or Brahma, or knowing some extra-empirical transcendental reality in a different realm of Being, but seeks to liberate the mind from greed, hatred and delusion that give rise to the defilements or influxes (*āsava*) that produce misery (*dukkha*).

The theory and practice of Buddhist meditation is closely linked to the Buddhist concept of Dependent Origination, which according to the Buddha, is the philosophical middle way. The philosophical middle way of the Buddha rejected both eternalism (*sassatavāda*) and annihilationism (*ucchedavāda*). The Buddha considered both these views about the nature of reality as extremes. The first was sometimes expressed as the view that 'everything exists' (*sabbaṃ atthi*) and the second as the view that nothing exists (*sabbaṃ natthi*). Those who adhered to the first view were engaged in the search for eternal essences. What they pursued in their practice of meditation was the liberation of the eternal Self from its bondage to the transient body or the merging of the individual self with the eternal cosmic Self by rejecting the illusion of duality and realizing the non-dual nature of reality. The second was sometimes expressed as the view that 'nothing exists' (*sabbaṃ natthi*). Those who held the latter did not recognize the continuity of things depending on causal conditions. Both views entailed a philosophical position about the nature of a person. According to the first view, the real person is an eternal and indestructible essence. One form of this view subscribed to a strict dualism of body and soul as in the Sankhya system of philosophy. According to the second view, the person is nothing but the body. When the body perishes the person is also annihilated. The Buddha described the first as the view that the body is a reality which is distinguishable from the soul (*aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ*) and the second as the view that the body is identical with the soul (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*). According to the Buddha, both these erroneous views are consequences of being tied to attachment, clinging and dogmatism (*upāyupādānābhinivesavinibandho*).[15] The right view of the nature of reality can be expressed only in terms of the principle of dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*). Buddhist meditation aims at insight into this principle. What Buddhism refers to as the insight into conditionality of phenomena and their dependent arising (*idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo*), insight into the three characteristics of existence, (*anicca, dukkha* and *anatta*) and insight into the four noble truths (*dukkha, samudaya, nirodha* and *magga*) are essentially the same kind of insight.

The Buddhist tradition grants that methods of attaining altered states of consciousness by reaching meditative raptures were known among pre-Buddhist teachers, but denies that the highest good can be attained by experiencing such meditative raptures alone. They may involve highly blissful experiences but the incorruptibility of the mind of a person who comes out of those rapturous states of meditative experience is not assured. They are temporary experiences of calm, bliss and happiness that can be enjoyed by a person who has developed the skill to attain them. This is supposed to be the reason why the Buddha, in his

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13. It is said that some recluses and brahmans, attained a certain concentrated and rapturous state of mind consequent upon a deliberate direction of the mind with resolute effort (*ātappaṃ anvāya padhānaṃ anvāya anuyogaṃ anvāya appamādaṃ anvāya sammā manasikāraṃ anvāya tathārūpaṃ cetosamādhiṃ phusati yathā smāhite citte antasaññī lokasmiṃ viharati*) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 22.
14. *Ibid.* p. 14 f.
15. *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. II, p. 17.

search for the highest good, was not satisfied with the meditative attainments that he mastered at the two teachers Ālārakalāma and Uddakarāmaputta. He left those teachers and attempted to experiment on his own regarding the possibility of attaining full liberation, so that one is assured of not reverting to a corruptible state of mind. According to the Buddhist tradition, the Buddha made an original contribution by utilizing the mental development secured by means of higher levels of mental composure (*samādhi*) to attain insight resulting in the eradication of all corruptions of the mind. In order to attain the Buddhist goal of liberation it is necessary to practice methods of mental training that lead to tranquility (*samatha*) as well as methods of mental training that led to insight (*vipassana*). Although the two may in principle be practiced separately, the Buddhist theory draws attention to the greatly beneficial effects of practicing them side by side in such a way that they mutually support each other. Insight is facilitated by a mind that is free from the disturbances of the unwholesome emotions. The mental prejudices and biases have to be removed for the proper direction of the mind of insight. For this purpose a high degree of equanimity (*upekkhā*) and mindfulness (*sati*) have to be established. Tranquility meditation fulfills this task.

The *Poṭṭhapāda* and the *Sāmaññaphala Suttas* of the *Dīghanikāya* contain two significant accounts of the meditative process. The *Poṭṭhapāda Suttha* account gives the progressive stages of *samatha* beginning with the first meditative rapture (*paṭhamajjhāna*) and ending with the highest attainment of meditative rapture known to the Buddhist system of meditation, namely, the cessation of perception and sensation (*saññavedayitanirodha*). The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* account initally introduces the preliminary training of conduct necessary for someone who wishes to attain the higher fruits of meditation in the life of a recluse, and subsequently goes on to describe the successive meditative raptures up to the fourth *jhāna*. The characteristic of the fourth *jhāna* is that, with its attainment, equanimity and mindfulness get firmly established. The *Samannaphala Sutta* states that at this point in the meditative process the mind becomes composed, pure, clean, stainless, free from defilements, soft, pliable and steady, enabling a person to direct it for the purpose of gaining insight.[16] The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* does not mention the four formless attainments (*arūpasamapatti*) and the attainment of cessation (*nirodha*) mentioned elsewhere in the Pali canonical sources. The *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* too, like the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* describes the meditative process from the first *jhāna* to the fourth *jhāna*, but does not speak of directing the mind to insight after the attainment of the fourth *jhana*. Instead it describes how one could progress to the formless attainments and finally attain the cessation of perception altogether.

The objective of the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* account is to show that the various progressive degrees of subtlety acquired in perceptual experience in the meditative process does not enable us to reach the experience of an absolutely subtle and eternal essence. When one has reached the highest degree of subtlety the option is open to reach the cessation of perceptual experience altogether. This Buddhist view of the nature of meditative experience is in accordance with the Buddhist denial of eternal essences and its rejection of all eternalist theories of the nature of reality. A clear contrast between the objectives of pre-Buddhist and the Buddhist systems of meditation can be noted here. In the pre-Buddhist systems of meditation the attempt was to discover through the application of meditative techniques some subtle eternal reality. Buddhism, however, maintains that no matter how subtle a meditative experience may be, as long as it is conditioned, it cannot be eternal. Buddhism warns against the attachment and clinging that might develop towards subtle meditative experiences, for they can only prolong the process of becoming resulting in the continued arising of misery. Thus, according to the Buddhist theory, meditation is not a means by which one could experience some eternal essence as the reality. Meditation is used in Buddhism as a means of gaining insight into impermanence, unsatisfactoriness and soullessness of all phenomena resulting in the calming of all passions or the destruction of the threefold craving, craving for sense pleasures (*kāmataṇhā*), craving for existence (*bhavataṇhā*), and craving for annihilation (*vibhavataṇhā*).

The objective of the eternalist philosophers who followed non-Buddhist systems of meditation was to attain a certain state of deep *samādhi*, which they described as the integration of the individual soul with the Supreme Being or the cosmic Spirit. The Yoga tradition of India systematized by Patañjali makes evident the marked distinction between the aim of Buddhist meditation and meditation in the non-Buddhist

16. *Evaṃ samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte...Dīghanikāya* Vol. I, p. 76.

metaphysical systems. The *Yoga* philosophy of Patañjali that derived its metaphysical basis from the Sānkhya doctrines considered that the ignorance that leads to suffering consists of the confusion of the spirit with our psychomental experience. Yoga philosophy maintained that "it should be a metaphysical knowledge that supervenes to end this (metaphysical) ignorance. This metaphysical knowledge leads the disciple to the threshold of illumination, that is, to the true 'Self'"[17] In the early Buddhist scriptures the term Yoga does not have any metaphysical connotation, but simply means 'effort' or 'application'. In the Indian philosophical school that came to be known as Yoga, it was given the meaning "the union of the living self with the supreme self".[18] There are similarities between the early Buddhist teachings on meditation and classical Indian Yoga in respect of methods of calming the mind and attaining one-pointedness and deep levels of mental composure. Despite these similarities, early Buddhism radically differs from the latter in respect of the ultimate goal of the practice of meditation.

The eternalist metaphysicians who followed non-Buddhist systems of meditation considered the attainment of a certain state of deep *samādhi*, described as an integration of the individual soul with the Supreme Being or the cosmic Spirit as the sole aim of meditation.[19] The Buddha recognized the immensely blissful experience of deep states of meditative rapture involving the loss of the sense of duality of subject and object. Yet, from the Buddha's point of view such experience was considered to be within the sphere of the conditioned and dependently arisen. Due to the latent craving for survival (*bhavataṇhā*) that still persists in a subtle form, one becomes perturbed by the thought that the self might be annihilated. Therefore, one tends to interpret the blissful experience in such meditative states in terms of the presupposed metaphysical self. Buddhism does not presuppose such a metaphysical self. Consequently, the question of the annihilation of the self also does not arise. The stillness of mind (*samādhi*) attained by means of tranquility meditation is considered in Buddhism as a prerequisite for the skill with which the three characteristics of empirical reality, transience (*anicca*), unsatisfactoriness (*dukkha*) and selflessness (*anatta*) are to be observed. When the stilled mind is harnessed to see the rising and falling nature of all mental and material components of the empirical world, including the experiences gained in deep states of meditative rapture, knowledge that leads to the eradication of the cankers (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*) or emancipating knowledge and insight (*vimuttiñāṇadassana*) arise. Therefore, Buddhist meditation considers insight (*paññā*), but not *samādhi*, as its final goal. The Buddha advised his disciples to cultivate *samādhi* because when the mind is well composed (*samāhito*) one sees things as they have really come to be (*yathābhūtampassati*). Thus *samadhi* is used in Buddhism as an effective instrument to gain insight.

The first four meditative attainments, described as the first, second, third and the fourth *jhāna*, represent progressive stages of refinement of consciousness through a willful direction of the mind. The first *jhāna* represents a transcendence of the grossest form of consciousness consisting of sensuous desires (*kāma*) and unwholesome states of mind (*pāpakā akusalā dhammā*) experienced by most ordinary beings in their waking life. With the attainment of the first *jhāna* the meditator experiences joy and ease (*vivekajaṃ pītisukhaṃ*) that is born of such transcendence. However, at this stage the mind does not become fully composed because of the activity of applied and sustained thought (*vitakka vicāra*). At the stage of the second *jhāna*, the mind is freed from applied and sustained thought and the meditator experiences joy and ease born of perfect composure and onepointedness of mind (*samādhijaṃ cetaso ekodibhāvaṃ*). After this stage the meditator attempts to rid the mind of the attachment to joy (*pītiyā ca virāgā*) as well as to cultivate equanimity and mindfulness. Therefore, the meditator can be described at this stage of meditative culture as a person who is equanimous, mindful and abiding in ease (*upekkhako satimā sukhavihārī*). Finally the meditator transcends even any psychological tie with ease and disease, happiness and unhappiness (*sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā.... somanassa domanassānaṃ atthaṅgamā*) and attains an immensely heightened stage of purity of mind consisting of equa-

17. Mircea Eliade, *Yoga - Immortality and Freedom*, Princeton University Press 1958, p. 14-15.
18. *Samyogo yoga ukta jīvātmano paramātmanah*. See Christopher Johnson, *Yoga - The Method of Reintegration*, London, Alcuin Press 1949, p. 7.
19. The *Suttas* also refer to materialist thinkers who recognized such blissful meditative attainments but believed that even those who attain such states are annihilated at death. Their metaphysical position is described in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* as *diṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda*. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. I, p. 86 f.

nimity and mindfulness (*upekkhasatipārisuddhiṃ*). It is at this stage that the mind is considered to be fully prepared to move in the direction of higher knowledge.

Other than those mentioned in connection with the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* and the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta*, there are scattered references in the Pali Nikāyas to various *samatha* meditation practices and the meditative experiences acquired through them. Frequent mention is made of the four *Brahmavihāra*. As stated in these instances, the four *Brahmavihāra*, loving kindness (*mettā*), sympathy (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*) are considered as wholesome states of mind to be meditatively cultivated in the form of thoughts of loving kindness etc. In this practice the meditator is required to willfully generate these thoughts within one's own mind and spread them in all directions over the entire universe in an unrestricted and unbounded manner. The purpose of adopting these different subjects as the basis for meditation practice is the elimination of the unwholesome qualities of the mind and the cultivation of wholesome qualities. The cultivation of *mettā brahmavihāra* can be effectively applied for the elimination of hatred and the development of loving kindness. The *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* contains the rationale for the choice of such subjects for meditation. In this Sutta the Buddha speaks of his own experience of the way in which an inclination of the mind is produced by the preoccupation of the mind with a particular type of thought activity (*vitakka*). A person who constantly entertains thoughts of ill-will makes such thoughts habitual leading to the development of ill-will as a dominant character trait.[20] Therefore, the Buddhist meditation tradition has enumerated numerous topics considered to be suitable for the purpose of eliminating unwholesome psychological traits. The end in view is purification of the mind by removing greed, hatred and delusion. The topics are also chosen and recommended in accordance with the dominant character traits of the person concerned. The Buddha has been credited in the Buddhist tradition with an exceptional insight into the most suitable meditation topic to be recommended to a disciple. The *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa presents a detailed analysis of the different character types along with the most suitable meditation topic for each one of them.

The Pali *Nikāyas* refer to some subjects of meditation like the *kasiṇa* consisting of a material element like earth (*paṭhavi*), water (*āpo*), fire (*tejo*) or air (*vāyo*), a colour like blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), red (*lohita*) or white (*odāta*) circumscribed in some way in order to focus the attention of the meditator's mind for the purpose of gaining concentration.[21] One can attain states of *jhāna* through one or more of these *kasiṇas*.[22] There is also reference to reflection on the virtues of the Buddha, *dhamma* and *saṅgha*, the benefits of *sīla* (moral practice)[23] *cāga* (generosity), and *devatā* (the meritorious acts of individuals reborn as deities) each of them adopted as a subject of continued reflection (*anussati*). The ten *asubha* (unpleasant stages of a putrefying body) are also considered as suitable subjects for meditation.[24] Breath is one of the most important subjects mentioned in connection with Buddhist meditation. The Buddhist technique known as mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasati*) has been specially recommended by the Buddha as most effective in developing both tranquility and insight. Mindfulness of death and mindfulness of the body are also mentioned as separate subjects of meditation in the *Suttas*.[25] Buddhaghosa has put together the different subjects of meditation known in the Buddhist tradition describing them as the forty *kammaṭṭhāna*.

The term *vipassanā* does not occur in pre-Buddhist systems of meditation. Unlike in the *samatha* practice, *vipassanā* does not aim at merely attaining stillness of mind. The word *vipassanā* is derived from the verb *vipassati* which means "seeing in many ways" or "seeing penetratively" or "seeing with analytical insight". The most significant canonical discourse of the Buddha that represents *vipassanā* meditation is the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*.[26] At the very beginning of this discourse the Buddha emphatically states that the method proposed therein is a direct path that leads to the puri-

20. *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 114.
21. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. III, p. 268; *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. II, p. 14.
22. *Aṅguttaranikāya* Vol, I, p. 41-42.
23. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. III, p. 250; *Aṅguttaranikāya* Vol. III, p. 384.
24. *Aṅguttaranikāya* Vol. IV, p. 357. See also the reference to these stages of the dead body in the *Satipaṭṭhānasutta*.
25. See *Aṅguttaranikāya* Vol. III, p. 304 for *maraṇasati* and a whole discourse by the name *Kāyagatāsati Sutta* in *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. III, p. 89.
26. The *Sutta* is found both in the *Dīghanikāya* Vol. II, p. 290-315 and the *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I. p. 55-63 with only slight variation.

fication of beings, the overcoming of sorrow and lamentation, the disappearance of dis-ease (*dukkha*) and psychological depression, the attainment of understanding and the realization of *Nibbāna*. The emphasis in the Sutta is not on the attainment of any meditative rapture, but on the active harnessing of the mind to observe body and mind and penetrate into the realities, the characteristics and the processes connected with them. The practice involves tremendous mental effort (*atāpi*) and full alertness or awareness (*sampajāno*), and a mind free from the influences of attachment and repulsion (*vineyya loke abhijjhā domanassaṃ*). Four forms of intense abservation called *anupassanā* are proposed in the Sutta.

The first form of intense observation applies to the body and bodily processes (*kāye kāyānupassī*). The meditator is required to begin this practice with the intense observation of the flow of the in-breath and the out-breath, which is a bodily activity that unceasingly occurs in every living being. The body is to be observed in all its movements and postures with perfect mindfulness and awareness without leaving any room for clinging or attachment to any observed component. When mindfulness is firmly established the meditator is required to do a mental dissection of all the anatomical parts of the body bringing to consciousness all its concealed impurities. The meditator is also required to imaginatively contemplate the unsatisfactory nature of one's own body in comparison with the body of a dead person undergoing different stages of putrefaction. This intense attentive observation of the nature of the body is aimed at gaining insight into the way in which the body and its processes arise and pass away (*vayadhammānupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati samudayadhammānupassī vā kāyasmiṃ viharati*).

The second intense observation to be made is of the flow of sensations, pleasurable, painful and neutral (*vedanāsu vedanānupassī*). Mindfulness should be firmly established in such a way that every moment of change in the mode of sensation is clearly observed. Here too, the attempt should be confined to an act of purely knowing what is going on without any tendency to produce attachment or clinging to any element of the process (*yāvadeva ñāṇamattāya patissati anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati*).

The third intense observation concerns the flow of different modes of thought such as one that is lustful, free from lust, hateful, free from hatred, delusive, free from delusion and so on (*citte cittānupassī*). The purpose is the same as the above, leading to an understanding of the fickle nature of the mind as well as the dependent arising of thought processes.

The fourth intense observation is to be carried out by the meditator regarding the various mental and material categories identified in the Buddhist analysis of reality consisting of mind and matter (*dhammesu dhammānupassī*). This can be considered as the point at which one reaches the culmination of the practice by understanding thoroughly the mental hindrances, the five aggregates of personality, the six sense spheres and their respective objects, the psychological ties that arise due to the interaction between the senses and their objects, the presence or absence of the factors of enlightenment within one's self, and finally the four noble truths.

A striking feature of this account of insight meditation is that it does not have reference to any mystical or metaphysical phenomena. The method adopted is entirely psychological and therapeutic. It involves the close, detached observation of the whole of mental and material reality. The final outcome is insight that frees the mind from all defilements thereby putting a final end to the process of *dukkha*. Buddhaghosa deals with *vipassanā* under the name of *paññābhāvanā* interpreting the Buddhist path of *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā* in terms of the seven purifications mentioned in the *Majjhimanikāya*.[27]

In the later Theravāda tradition systematized mainly in the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa, new concepts and new technical terms relating to meditation were introduced. *Kammaṭṭhāna* for instance is such a term used to denote both the subjects of meditation and the methods of practising them. The term *ārammaṇa* is used in the sense of an object of concentration in meditation. The concept of *nimitta* acquired great significance in Buddhaghosa's description of meditative experience. Other terms like *parikammanimitta*, denoting the object selected for meditation such as the *kasiṇa* devise, *uggahanimitta*, denoting a mental image grasped out of the former, and *paṭibhāganimitta* denoting an abstract idea or after image of the object that develops after continued practice, have been introduced by Buddhaghosa. They are also related to other new terms that describe the progress of mental composure (*samādhi*).

27. *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 149-150.

Parikammasamādhi is explained as preliminary concentration. The *uggahanimitta* is said to appear under a developed stage of concentration called *upacārasamādhi* (access concentration). The concentration of the mind known as *appaṇā samādhi* is supported by the *paṭibhāganimitta*. According to the commentarial account it is *appanā samādhi* that leads up to the state of *jhāna*. The commentarial literature gives more elaborate techniques of practising meditation making use of new technical terminology, but all these techniques developed within the Theravāda tradition continued to remain within the domain of the psychological, being free from mythological and mystical associations. The emphasis on insight leading to the eradication of the roots of evil and the attainment of a final end to *dukkha* continued to be the ultimate goal.

In Mahāyāna Buddhism the whole discipline of meditation appears to have been radically restructured in the light of new Mahāyāna doctrines. With the emphasis of the Bodhisattva ideal in the Mahāyāna as opposed to the Arahant ideal of early Buddhism, the goal of Mahāyāna practice did not emphasize the urgency of self purification and the attainment of freedom from *saṃsāric* suffering. Tibetan Buddhism that absorbed the principles of Tantra introduced many new techniques as ritual, mythical, mystical or magical aids for the ultimate realization. It combined techniques of visualization and *mantra* repetition with the practice of meditation. Representations of various demons, gods, Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas were utilized as aids for mental culture. However, they were not considered as ultimately real, but as visualized forms of the basic psychic forces good and bad, within the meditator himself or herself. The Tibetan methods, combined with other visualizations, encouraged the meditator to cultivate the Buddha awareness within oneself by consciously visualizing the inclusion of the Buddha's characteristics into one's own person.[28]

Later forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism that spread in China and Japan also introduced many innovations in the Buddhist practice of meditation. Although early Buddhism does not have any place for the grace of a deity for the achievement of salvation, the Pure-Land (*Ching-t'u*) school of Buddhism practiced the repeated chanting of the name of Amitābha as an effective method of realizing the goal through divine grace. *Chan* (Zen) Buddhism, however, like early Buddhism emphasized personal enlightenment through intense and rigourous meditation. Various new devices like the *Koan* that produces instant enlightenment were introduced in the Zen tradition. Interchanges between meditation masters and their pupils were called *Koan*. *Koan* took the form of a puzzle introduced by the teacher to the student as an aid to the final intuitive understanding of ultimate truth. *Rinzai* meditation developed the utilization of *Koan* in novel and highly imaginative ways with the aim of unifying one's own mind with the Buddha mind, which was considered to be the ultimate goal of the practice.

Buddhist meditation has now become part of the global spiritual culture due to the close interaction between Eastern and Western spirituality. Numerous forms of meditation belonging to both Theravāda and Mahayāna appear to draw increasingly many enthusiasts, young and old, who wish to experiment with the practice in their own mental lives. In Eastern as well as Western countries great centres of Buddhist meditation seem to be growing, and there is reason to believe that at least some of these centres, effectively cater to the needs of spiritual seekers.

P. D. Premasiri

MENANDER See MILINDA

MERIT See PUÑÑA

METTĀ is derived from the root *mid* to love, and the word *mitra* (*Vedic*) or *mitta* (Pali) friend. It denotes love, amity, sympathy, friendliness and active interest in others.

The word *mettā* occurs frequently in Pali texts in connection with the path to emancipation. Thus, the following phrases are very common: *Mettā sahagathena cetasā* (with a heart full of love) *Mettaṃ karoti* (to be friendly or to sympathise with) and *"metta cittaṃ"* (with a kindly thought) *"mettā vihārim"* (abiding in kindliness) and *"mettaṃsa"* (being sympathetic; showing love towards).

An interesting meaning of *mettā* is given in the *Sutta Nipāta Aṭṭhakathā* as *hita - sukha - upanaya - kāmata* i.e. "desire of bringing welfare and good to one's fellowmen". *Sutta Nipāta*, stanza 73 states the following:

27. See *The Encyclopedia of Religion, Ed.* Mircea Eliade, Simon & Schuster, Macmillan, New York 1995, Vol. 9, p. 325 f.

"Mettaṃ upekaṃ, karuṇaṃ, vimuttiṃ
āsevamāno muditañca kāle
sabbena lokena avirujjhamāno
eko care khaggavisānakappo"

"Love, equanimity, compassion, release
Pursue, and timely sympathetic joy,
at odds with none in all the world
fare on as lonely as a rhinoceros".

The mental state of *mettā* embraces all beings. *Karuṇa* embraces sufferers. *Muditā* is that state of mind which extends kindly thoughts to those who are happy and prosperous. *Upekkhā* includes in its embrace humanity whether pleasant or unpleasant, good or bad, lovely or ugly, loved or unloved.

The practice of *Mettā Bhāvana* has been advocated in many *suttas* as a stage in the path of deliverance. For instant, in the *Udumbarika Sīhanāda Sutta*, (*D*. III. 49-50) Nigrodha asks the Buddha, "In what way, Lord, does austerity win topmost rank and reach the pith?"

In reply, he is told that one should take upon oneself the fourfold restraints and sitting down in solitude, meditate, letting his mind fraught with love pervade one quarter of the world, and so, too, the second quarter, the third and the fourth. Thus the whole wide world above, below, around and everywhere should he continue to pervade with thoughts of loving kindness sublime, beyond measure, free from hatred and ill will. He should then do the same with *karunā, muditā* and *upekkhā* in turn.

"So ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalī-karaṇe mettā-sahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, thathā tatiyaṃ, tatha catutthaṃ. Iti uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ metta-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamānena averena, avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati..."

At *D*. III. 247, the following is categorically asserted:" Emancipation of the heart through love, brother, this is how you become, delivered from malevolence."

"Nissaraṇam h'etaṃ āvuso vyāpādassa, yadidaṃ mettā ceto-vimutti."

And in the *Tevijja Sutta* (*D*. I. 250 ff) the identical passage quoted above ends with the following words.

"Verily this, Vāseṭṭha, is the way to a state of union with brahmā."

"Ayaṃ pi kho Vāsettha brahmānaṃ sahavyatāya maggo."

The Buddha also pointed out in the *Udumbarika Sīhanāda Sutta* that meditation on *mettā* alone would not be enough to gain supreme insight. To do so one should, having pervaded the whole world with love-filled sublime state of mind, direct the mind to one's former births and then with a pure *deva* vision observe how beings come into existence and pass away according to their deeds. This is a reference to *pubbenivāsānussati ñaṇa* and *cutūpapāta ñaṇa* which, besides *āsavakkhaya ñāṇa* are the characteristics of an emancipated person. It is clear from this passage and other passages in the text that the cultivation of *mettā, karuṇā, muditā*, and *upekkhā* is a necessary means for the attainment of insight but does not constitute the goal of emancipation itself.

In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A*. V. 344) the following is stated:

"Then again, house fathers, a monk, by the calming down of the thoughts and directed and sustained, enters upon the second musing, that calming of the innerself, that one-pointedness of mind apart from thought directed and sustained that is born of mental balance, zestful and easeful, and having attained it abides therein. Likewise he attains the third musing.... the fourth musing.... He thus ponders: This fourth musing is just a higher product: it is produced by higher thought. Then he comes to know: Not even that which is a higher product... is impermanent, of a nature to end. Fixed on that he wins destruction of the cankers.... he passes utterly away, not to return (hither) from that world.

"This one condition, housefather, has been clearly enunciated by that Exalted one....whereby a monk....wins the unsurpassed peace from bondage not yet won".

The practice of *mettā bhāvanā* is seen as a means of suppressing the *nīvaraṇas* by cultivating the opposite of *vyāpāda* gradually eliminating them. For instance, in the *Cakkavatti Sīhanāda Sutta* (*D*.III) the Buddha asks: "What is the meaning of wealth for a brother (monk)? and the reply is the same as quoted above:

"Herein that a brother abides letting his mind fraught with love pervade one quarter of the world, and so too the second quarter. and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere and altogether does he continue to pervade with love-burdened thought, abounding, sublime and beyond measure, free from hatred and ill will."

In the final passage in the *sutta* the Buddha asks, "And what is the meaning of power for a brother? Herein, that a brother by destruction of the deadly taints, enters into and abides in that untainted emancipation of mind and of insight, which he by himself has both known and realized. This is power for a brother".

Regarding the *Brahmavihāras* it is stated at *D.* III. 223 ff.

"Herein, brethren, a brother lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of love...pity....sympathy in joy....equanimity, and so the second quarter, and so the third and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere does he continue to pervade with heart....far-reaching, grown great and beyond measure, free from anger and ill-will....".

"Idh'āvuso bhikkhu mettā sahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthiṃ. Iti uddhaṃ 'adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ, lokaṃ metta-sahagathena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjena pharitvā viharati....."

And the *Maha Sudassana suttanta* (*D.* II. 186) states: "Then, Ānanda, the great king of glory went out from the chamber of the great complex, and entered the golden chamber and sat himself down on the silver couch. And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of love; and so the second quarter and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere did he continue to pervade with a heart of love, far reaching, grown great and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will...."

It is said that after this meditation, the great king of glory, Mahāsudassana, entered the world of Brahmā.

"So cattāro brahma-vihāre bhāvetvā kāyassa bhedā paraṃ maraṇā brahmalokūpago ahosi."

We note here that the great king of glory, Maha Sudassana, did not attain Nibbāna after this practice of the *brahmavihāras* but he did access the world of Brahma. *Sanyutta-Nikāya (S.* V. 119) develops this argument further. Here it is stated that for the one who aspires for heart't release by cultivating the limb of wisdom that is mindfulness accompanied by goodwill (*mettā*) has as its highest attainment the beautiful for one who has not penetrated still higher:

"Subhaparamāhaṃ bhikkhave mettācetovimuttiṃ vadāmi, Idha paññassa bhikkhuno uttariṃ vimuttiṃ appaṭivijjhanto."

Heart's release by cultivating mindfulness accompanied by compassion (*karuṇā*) has, as it's highest aim the sphere of infinity of space of one who has not penetrated still further.

Heart's release by cultivating mindfulness accompanied by sympathy (*muditā*) has as its highest attainment the sphere of the infinity of consciousness for one who has not penetrated still further.

As for the heart's release by cultivating mindfulness accompanied by equanimity it has as its highest attainment that sphere of knowledge of the existence of nothing, for the one who has not penetrated still higher:

"Ākiñcaññāyatana paramāhaṃ bhikkhave upekkhā cetovimuttiṃ vadāmi. Idha paññassa bhikkhuno uttariṃvimuttiṃ appativijjhanto ti."

The limits attainable by cultivating the Brahmavihāra are apparently the above and do not go beyond to *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* or the attainment of *nibbāna*.

In the *Saṅgīti-suttanta* (*D.*III. 229) salient points of the doctrine are presented in numerical groupings as in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. The concept of *mettā* is stated in several of these numerical categories. An example is the following:

"Cattāri dhamma-padāni: Anabhijjhā dhamma-padaṃ, avyāpāda dhamma-padaṃ, sammā-sati dhamma-padaṃ, sammā-samādhi dhamma-padaṃ."

That is to say, four items of the doctrine (vital for the attainment of the highest goal) are: 1. Disinterestedness or non-attachment, 2. Amity 3. Perfect mindfulness and 4. Perfect concentration.

The plan of classifying important items of the doctrine in numerical groupings has a mnemonic objective. Here, the four chief points to remember (in connection with the attainment of the highest goal) are non-covetiousness or *cāga*, non-hatred or *mettā*, mindfulness or *sati* and concentration or *samādhi*. The first two hindrances in the five hindrances (*Nivaraṇas*) are *kāmacchanda* and *vyāpāda* the opposites of which are respectively, *anabhijjhā* and *avyāpāda*. The opposites of the other three hindrances may be easily subsumed under *sati* and *samādhi* viz; *thīnamiddha, uddaccha kukkuccha* and *vicikiccā*. *Avyāpāda* or *mettā* is therefore a very vital element in the doctrine for suppressing and finally eliminating the five hindrances.

There are many other instances where *mettā* is mentioned in this *sutta* which sets itself out to highlight important points of the doctrine. Kindness and love are mentioned in the numerical category of two's. (*avihimsā ca soceyyñca*).

In the numerical category of the three's the three good roots are mentioned viz.disinterestedness, love, intelligence (*alobha kusala mūlaṃ, adosa kusala mulaṃ and amoha kusala mūlaṃ*). Three kinds of good thoughts are of renunciation, of amity and of kindness:

(*Tayo kusala-vitakkā: Nekkhamma - vitakko, Avyāpāda-vitakko, avihiṃsā-vitakko*).

In the numerical group of sixes there is a significant reference to *mettā* where a full definition of its dimensions are given. It runs as follows:

"Six occasions of fraternal living. Herein friends, where a brother's kindly act towards his fellow disciples has been attested, as wrought publicly and in private, that is an occasion of fraternity, causing affection and regard and conducing to concord, absence of strife, harmony, union. The second and third occasions are those of kindly speech and kind thoughts. In the next place, when a brother who has honestly, righteously, obtained gifts distributed these impartially among his fellow disciples and has everything in common with them, even to the contents of his alms-bowl, that is an occasion of fraternity, etc. Next when the character and the moral habit of a brother are without rupture or flaw, are consistently practised, unblemished making a man free, commended by the wise unperverted, and conducing to rapt concentration, and he, so virtuous dwells openly and privately among his fellow disciples that is an occasion of fraternity, causing affection and regard, and conducing to concord absence of strife harmony, union. Lastly, when a brother lives with his religious life (guided by) that aryan, safe guarding belief which leads him who so lives to the perfect destruction of sorrow, - when thus equipped lives among his fellow disciples publicly and privately, that is an occasion of fraternity....like the "foregoing":

> "*Cha sāraṇiyā dhammā. Idh' āvuso bhikkhuno mettaṃ kāya kammaṃ paccupaṭṭithaṃ hoti sabrahmacārīsu āvi c'eva raho ca, ayaṃ pi, dhammo sāraṇiyo piya karaṇo garu karaṇo saṅgahāya avivādāya sāmaggiyā ekibhāvāya saṃvattati. Puna ca paraṃ āvuso bhikkhuno mettaṃ vacī-kammaṃ....mettaṃ mano-kammaṃ paccupaṭṭhitaṃ hoti sabrahmacārisu āvi c'eva raho ca ayaṃ pi dhammo sāraṇiyo piya-karaṇ garu karaṇo saṅgahāya avivādāya sāmaggiyā eki bhāvāya saṃvattati....*"

Further evidence of the importance of *Mettā* in the Buddhist doctrine is supplied in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (A. V. 209):

"Monks that Ariyan disciples thus freed from coveting, freed from malevolence, not bewildered but self-possessed and concentrated, with a heart possessed of amity, abides irradiating one quarter of the world, likewise the second, third and fourth quarters of the world; likewise above, below, across, everywhere, for all sorts and conditions he abides irradiating the whole world with a heart possessed of amity that is wide spreading grown great and boundless, free from enmity and untroubled.

"He comes to know thus: Formerly, this heart of mine was confined, it was not made to grow; but now my heart is boundless, well made to grow. More over what so ever deed belongs to a limited range, now it stays not in that range, it stands not still in that range.

"Now what think ye, monks? If from his youth up this young man should make the heart's release by amity to grow, pray would he do any wicked deed?"

"Surely not, Sir"

"Pray, can any ill contact one who does no wicked deed?"

"Surely not Sir. How shall ill contact such a one?"

"Indeed, monks, this heart's release by amity must be made to grow whether by a woman or a man. A woman or a man cannot take this body and go away. This mortal being, monks, is but a between thoughts. He comes to know thus: I have done here with this body [illegible] all of that must be left here. Then it will [illegible] me and come to be, hereafter.

Thus made to grow, monks, the heart's release by amity conduces to no returing for the monk of insight even in this life, but he has not yet penetrated release beyond that"

In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (A. V. 382) is found a passage familiar to many Buddhists for it has been included in the *Khuddhakapāṭha* as a *paritta*:

"Monks, eleven advantages are to be looked for from the release of heart by the practice of amity, by making amity to grow, by making much of it, making amity a vehicle and basis, by persisting in it, by becoming familiar with it, by well establishing it. What are the eleven?

"One sleeps in comfort, one wakes in comfort one sees no evil dreams. He is dear to human beings; he is dear to non-human beings. *Devas* guard him; fire, poison or sword cannot harm him. He is able to concentrate quickly. His countenance is serene. At death he is not confused in mind and if he has not attained the highest in this life, he will be born in the Brahma-world."

Mettāya bhikkhave cetovimuttiyā āsevitaya bhāvitaya bahulikataya yānikatāya vatthukatāya anuṭṭhitāya paricitaya susamaraddhaya ekādasanisaṃsa paṭikaṅkhā katame ekādasa?

Sukhaṃ supati, sukhaṃ paṭibujjhati, na pāpakaṃ supinaṃ passati, manussānaṃ piyohoti, amanussānaṃ piyo hoti, devatā rakkhanti, nassa aggi va visaṃ vā satthaṃ vā kamati, tuvaṭaṃ cittaṃ samadhiyati, mukhavaṇṇo vippasidati asammulho kalaṃ karoti, uttariṃ appaṭivijjhanto brahmalokūpago hoti".

Metta is regarded as a "maturing force" which brings into fruition merit. It directs the mind to a state of composure, the necessary foundation for the development of mindfulness and *paññā*. *Mettā* has the result of overcoming one's self-interest so that one may identify one's interest with the interest of others, universally.

In the well-known *Metta Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* the first three stanzas stipulate how one should conduct oneself if one wishes to attain that ultimate state of calm. These stanzas talk of *sīla* or morality such as what is set out in the *Samaññaphalasutta* but in great brevity. In the last two lines of the third stanza is sounded the theme of the *Metta Sutta*, viz., "*sabhe sattā bhavantu sukhitattha*" (May all beings be happy!).

The theme exfoliates in the following stanzas in great detail. Verses 49, 150, & 151 build up the practice of radiating *metta* to all beings:

As a mother would protect her
only child with her own life
so must one develop a heart of unbounded love
Above, below and across
Unhindered by hatred or enmity".

The limit of the practice of *mettabhāvanā* is explained in stanza 151:

"Whether standing, sitting or lying down
one should establish, free from torpor,
a state of mindfulness and this it is said
is living with Brahma".

The view expressed here is that the highest attainable by the practice of the *Metta Bhavana* is the Brahma world. It is in the last stanza (v. 151) that the goal unique to Buddha is stated.

"Having given up all views,
virtuous and possessed of insight
attachment to sense desires discarded
for certainly, he will not return to another birth".

This is the ultimate stage reached, i.e. *Pañña* which is bereft of views and desire for sensual existence. It is seen that the whole *sutta* is designed along the lines of *sīla, samādhi, paññā* in a graduated unfolding of the path to Nibbana for the *saṅgha* as well as the laity.

Stanza 507 of the *Maghasutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* states:

So vītarāgo pavineyya dosaṃ
mettaṃ cittaṃ bhavayaṃ appamāṇaṃ
rattimdivaṃ sataṃ appamatto
sabbha disa pharate appamaññaṃ".

"With passion gone and hate expelled
Let him in boundless measure then
Quicken a heart of amity
Everyday and night with zeal suppress
All quarters to infinitude".
See also BRAHMAVIHĀRA

Suvimali Karunaratne

METTEYYA (MAITREYA), BALAṄGODA ANANDA, an erudite and highly venerated bhikkhu of Sri Lanka who passed away on the 18th July 1998 aged 102 years. What is significant about this bhikkhu is that he lived an active and illustrious life until his death.

He was born on the 25th of August, 1896, in Kirindigala, a hamlet in Balangoda in Sri Lanka. His parents were N. A. Methias Appuhami and B. Heenmenike, and as a child he was named William Punchi Mahattaya. His mother died two weeks after his birth and he was fostered thereafter by his mother's elder sister.

He received his primary education at the Kumāra Vidyalaya in Balangoda and was ordained as a novice at the age of 14 years, at the Sri Nandārāmaya in Udumulla, Balangoda, and he was named as Balangoda Ananda Maitreya at the Ordination Ceremony.

From early childhood he evinced deep interest in learing classical Pali Buddhist texts in addition to learning Sanskrit and Sinhala literary works, and was a mature student of Buddhist Philosophy of the Southern and the Northern traditions even as a young bhikkhu.

In July 1916 he received his Higher Ordination (*upasampadā*).

Ananda Maitreya thero joined Ananda College in Colombo to follow a higher course of English for bhikkhus under the direction of P. de. S. Kularatne, one of the leading revivalists of Buddhist education in Sri Lanka in the 20th century. Kularatne recognized the extraordinary potentialities of this young bhikkhu and appointed him as a member of the teaching staff of Ananda College in 1922. When Nalanda College in Colombo was started subsequently he joined its staff as a teacher.

Ananda Maitreya thero started his Buddhist missionary career in Kerala in 1926 and subsequently he made many visits to the United Kingdom, France, Sweden, America, Canada, Malaysia, Burma, Japan, India and Thailand on invitation for Dhammadūta activities. He was the author of several books on Pali, Buddhism and Buddhist literature, the first of them being a life of the Buddha titled *Sākyasinhavadānaya*.

In July 1930 he founded the Dharmānanda Pirivena. He was elevated to the position of Sanghanayaka of the Sabaragamuwa Saddhammavaṃsa Nikāya in 1954.



When the Vidyodaya University in Sri Lanka was founded in 1959, Ananda Maitreya thero was appointed Professor and Head of the Department of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He was elevated to the position of Dean in 1963 and in 1966 he was appointed as Vice-Chancellor of the same University.

Ananda Maitreya thero was elected in 1969 as the first President of the Unified Amarapura Mahā Sanghasabhā. He was the recipient of two extremely rare distinctions as a bhikkhu conferred by the Government of Burma. He was one of the eminent Buddhist scholars selected to represent Sri Lanka in the Chaṭṭha Sangāyana (the sixth Buddhist convocation) held in Burma for the 2500th Buddhajayanti in 1956. At the conclusion of the convocation Ananda Maitreya thero was conferred the title of *Aggamahāpaṇḍita* (Great Learned Scholar) by the Government of Burma and several years later he was decorated with the highest title conferred to a bhikkhu by the Government of Burma, namely *Abhidhaja Mahā Raṭṭhaguru* (The Supreme Spiritual Preceptor of the Land of Burma).

In recognition of Ananda Maitreya thero's extraordinary contribution to the world of learning the Vidyodaya University and the Vidyiankara University of Sri Lanka conferred on Ananda Maitreya thero the Degree of Doctor of Letters (D. Litt).

Five years before Ananda Maitreya Maha thera passed away Ven. Ittäpane Dhammaiankara thero, a pupil and a great admirer of the Maha thera compiled and published a biography of the Maha thera. The compiler of the biography in his foreword says: "From the 24[th] of March 1991 I had the opportunity of meeting the Mahā thera daily at his monastery for twenty days. Without grumbling or without showing any sign of fatigue the Mahā thera kept on describing incidents of his life from his childhood, for nearly five hours daily".

The biography of Ananda Maitreya Māha thera, running to over 208 pages and published in Sinhala as well as in English was first published in 1993 and up to the year 2001 ten editions of the biography have been published.

Chandra Wickramagamage

METTEYYA (MAITREYA), the future Buddha, the fifth and the last in the present *kappa* (*Buv.* XXXII, 21). At the present time the future Buddha is living in the Tusita *deva*-world (*Mhv.* XXXII, v. 73). There is a tradition that Nātha is the name of the future Buddha in the Tusita *deva*-world. It is suggested that Metteyya is the clan (*gotta*) name of the future Buddha (G. P. Malasekera *DPPN.* II. p. 661).

According to the *Cakkavatti-sīhanada-sutta*, he will be born, when human beings will live to an age of eighty thousand years, in the city of Ketumati (present Benares), whose king will be, Cakkavatti Saṅkha. Saṅkha will renounce all household pleasures and will himself enter the Order under Metteyya (*D.* III, p. 75f).

The *Anāgatavaṃsa* gives further particulars. It says that Metteyya will be born in a very eminent Brahman family and his personal name will be Ajita. For eighty thousand years he will live the household life in four places Sirivaḍḍha, Vaḍḍhamana, Siddhattha and Candaka. Candamukhi will be his chief wife and Brahmavaḍḍhana his son. Having seen the four signs, while on his way to the park, he will become disgusted with household life and will spend a week practising austerities.

Then he will leave home accompanied by the fourfold army, his ministers, relatives and friends. At the head of this gathering will be eighty-four thousand *khattiya* maidens. Along with a large following he will go forth from home into homelessness. Once he has entered the homeless state eighty-four thousand learned brahmans, too, will enter into homelessness after him. Thereafter the two brothers Isidatta and Purāna, Jātimitta, Vijaya, Suddhika, Sudhanā, Saṅgha, Saṅgha, Saddhara, Sudatta, Yasavati and Visākha, each with eighty-four thousand companions, will become his followers. He will arrive at the bodhi-tree on the very same day that he leaves the household. On the same day he will attain Enlightenment and preach in Nāgavana. King Sankha will later ordain himself under this Buddha.

According to the *Anāgatavaṃsa* Metteyya's father will be Subrahmā, the chaplain to king Saṅkha, and mother will be Brahmavatī. His chief disciples will be Asoka and Brahmadeva among monks, and Padumā and Sumanā among nuns. Sīha will be his personal attendant. Sumana, Saṅgha, Yasavati and Saṅghā will be the chief patrons. His bodhi-tree will be the Nāgatree. After the Buddha's *parinirvāna*, his teachings will continue for one hundred and eighty thousand years (*Anāgv.* p. 46 ff.).

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* king Kākavaṇṇatissa and Vihāramahadevi, parents of Duṭṭhagāminī, will be Metteyya's parents, Duṭṭhagāmani himself will be his chief disciple and Saddhatissa his second disciple, while prince Sāli will be his son (*Mhv.* xxxii, *v.* 81 ff. *Miln.* p. 159).

The worship of bodhisatta Metteyya seems to have been popular in ancient Sri Lanka. Dhatusena adorned his image with all the paraphernalia of a king and ordained a guard for it within a radius of seven *yojanas* (*Mhv.* xxxviii, *v.* 68).

Dappula I, made a statue in honour of Metteyya, fifteen cubits high (*Mhv.* xlv. *v.* 62). It is believed that Metteyya spends his time in the Tusita *deva*-world preaching the *dhamma* to the gods, and, in emulation of his example, king Kassapa V, used to recite the Abhidhamma in the assemblies of monks (*Mhv.* lii, *v.* 47). Parakkamabahu I, had three statues built in honour of Metteyya while Kittisirirajasiṅha erected one in the Rajatavihara and another in the cave above it (*Mhv.* lxxiv, *v.* 75; *v.* 248, 259).

The belief in Metteyya, the future Buddha is widely prevalent among the Buddhists of Sri Lanka and almost all temples contain his statue. It is the common wish of all Buddhists that they may meet Metteyya Buddha, listen to his preaching and attain Nibbana under him (*J.* vi, p. 594; *MhvA.* 687, *DhsA.* p. 430.) See PLATE LX.

S. K. Nanayakkara

MICCHĀDIṬṬHI. In discussing the concept of *Micchadiṭṭhi* it behoves to discuss it in relation to *Diṭṭhi* (q. v.) and *Sammadiṭṭhi* (q. v.). Taken by itself the word *diṭṭhi* means a philosophical standpoint, religious belief or dogma, a heretical view, and is generally associated with a derogatory meaning. The *Metta Sutta* (*Sn.* p 26, *v.* 152) says: A virtuous person should not be led by dogmatic views, but should be guided by insight into the true nature of things (*diṭṭhiñca anupagamma sīlavā dassanena sampanno*). From the Buddhist standpoint the viewing of phenomena in terms of *anicca* (tranciency), *dukka* (unsatisfactory), *anatta* (soulless) and *paṭiccasamuppanna* (dependently arising) constitute *dassana* (insight). The *Paramaṭṭhaka Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipata* (*Sn.* p. 156, *v.* 796) says: Disputes in the world cannot be avoided when a person clings (dogmatically) to a view and calls it alone is the Truth and all else is false (*Paramanti deṭṭhīsu paribbasāno yad uttariṃ kurute jantu loke, hina ti añña tato sabbamāhu, tasma vivādani anītivatto*).

Sammādiṭṭhi is the first limb of the Noble Eightfold Path in Buddhism. The *Mahācattārisaka Sutta* (*M.* III, 71-8) which contains a wide and detailed discussion of the Eighfold Path points out that there are two levels in *sammādiṭṭhi*, the mundane level (*lokiya*) and the supra-mundane (*lokuttara*). According to the *sutta* the mundane level of *sammādiṭṭhi* is tainted with inflows (*sāsava*), leading to meritorious activities (*puññabhāgiya*) and leading to saṃsāric continuity (*upadivepakka*).

Then there is the higher level of *sammādiṭṭhi* which is noble (*ariya*), free from inflows (*anasava*) and supramundance (*lokuttara*), and which forms a limb of the Path (*maggaṅga*). In the mundane or the lower level, to believe in charity (*atthi dinnaṃ*); to believe in the efficacy of sacrifice (*atthi yiṭṭhaṃ*); to believe in the efficacy of oblations (*atthi hutaṃ*); to believe in the efficacy of good and bad actions (*atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammanaṃ phalaṃ vipākaṃ*); to believe that there is this world and a world beyond (*atthi ayaṃ loko, atthi paro loko*); there is mother, father and beings who are of spontaneous birth (*atthi mātā, atthi pita, atthi sattā opapatikā*); there are in the world recluses and brahmins who are on the correct path who have personal experience of this world and the world beyond, through their own wisdom and who declare that knowledge to others (*atthi loke samaṇa brāhmaṇā sammaggata sammāpaṭipanna ye imañca lokaṃ parañca lokaṃ sayaṃ abhiññā saccikatvā pavedenti*) are reckoned as the ten Right Views (*dasavatthuka Sammadiṭṭhi*). The opposites of these ten things are reckoned as the ten fold wrong views (*dasavatthuka micchādiṭṭhi*). The above two groups are called *sammā* and *miccha* not in the sense of absolute truths or absolute falsehoods. Their veracity cannot be proved until one develops *abhiññā* or higher knowledges. But when one accepts these 10 'right' views tentatively, one becomes inclined to follow the path of morality thereby ensuring one's own well being and happiness, while at the same time contributing to the welfare and happiness of others as well. On the other hand when one disregards and rejects the 10 'right' views, one becomes inclined to follow the path of immorality thereby bringing about one's own peril and downfall, while at the same time causing much harm to others as well.

The *Cakkavattisīhanada Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D.* III, pp. 70 ff.) which depicts the evolution of the humankind, says that *micchādiṭṭhi* is one dependent cause among others for the degeneration of human society. Due to *micchādiṭṭhi*, not only evil proliferate among human beings but their life spans, too, become short. Even immoralities such as lack of filial piety and disrespect for holy men and heads of the community become rampant in society as a result of harbouring *micchadiṭṭhi*. Further it is said that those who harbour *micchadiṭṭhi* are reborn in woeful states (*M.* III. p. 52), in hell or the world of animals (*apāyaṃ duggatiṃ tiracchānayonim vā-M.* I, 388, *D.* I, 228). The *Dhammapada* admonishes us not to resort to mean work, not to be heedless and not to harbour false views (*micchādiṭṭhi*) as these prolong the saṃsaric life (*Dhp.* *v.* 167).

In the *Saṅgīti Sutta* (*D.* III. p. 246) *micchādiṭṭhi* is reckoned as the fifth of six roots of contention (*vivādamulānī*) that makes a disciple irreverent and insolent towards the *Buddha*, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha* and such a disciple will not accomplish the training. Though this reference is made regarding *bhikkhus*, it applies equally well to the laity also.

Micchādiṭṭhi is again referred to as the 10th of the 10 channels of sinful deeds (*akusalakammapatha*). Again *micchadiṭṭhi* is mentioned as the first of the eight wrong factors of character (*micchatta* - *ibid* p. 254; cf. 287).

Buddhaghosa in the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism*. p. 469) asserts that wrong views (*micchādiṭṭhi*) is the most reprehensive of all evils. His assertion implies the importance of being free from wrong views for the spiritual well being and progress of society.

In the *Micchādiṭṭhi Sutta* (*S*. IV. p. 147) the Buddha points out the way to abandon wrong views. He says: 'It is by knowing (*jānato*) and seeing (*passato*) sense organs, their objects, the cognitions and contacts as impermanent (*anicca*) that wrong views (*micchādiṭṭhi*) can be got rid of.

A. M. Ruwan Bandara Adhikari

MIDDLEPATH See MADHYAMAPRATIPAD

MIGADĀYA See ISIPATANA

MIHINTALE, the sacred hill to the east of Anuradhapura, perpetuates its name, the memory of Mahinda Thera, the saint and teacher who left his native land to work for the spiritual well-being of the people of Sri Lanka. This place is situated about eight miles away from Anuradhapura, at the junction of the North Road and the road from Puttalam to Trincomalee. The word Mihintale is equivalent to the Pali word Mahindatthala. Ambatthala and Missaka are other names by which this place has come to be known.

It was here that Mahinda, the missionary prince, son of Emperor Asoka, first set foot when he came to Sri Lanka in the reign of Devānāmpiyatissa (307-267 B.C.) to convert the people of Sri Lanka to Buddhism. It was also here that the sacred relics of the Buddha, which at his instance (Mahinda-thera's) were later brought over from India, originally rested till such time as suitable structures were raised up elsewhere to enshrine them. It was here that Mahinda Thera took up his residence, when he journeyed daily to the capital to preach the Buddhist doctrine.

It was also here that his first convert, king Devānāmpiyatissa embraced the Buddhist faith. It was here that he laid the first foundation of that far reaching influence "the efficient cause of all the constructive energy which the Sinhala people displayed in the construction of their towns and monuments" - in the building of those colossal, stupendous edifices, which are today the most eloquent witnesses bearing testimony to the past might and glory of the nation.

According to the unanimous tradition of the Sinhala Buddhists, the first meeting of the then reigning king of Sri Lanka took place at Missaka-pabbata on the full moon day of the month of Jeṭṭha (May-June: Sinh. *poson*) in the 18th year of the reign of the Indian Emperor Asoka (This date is regarded as equivalent to 236 years after the passing away of the Buddha). This was a day of national festival in Sri Lanka at that time. The historical chronicle of Sri Lanka, the *Mahāvaṁsa*, devotes seven chapters (i.e. 14-20) to narrate the events beginning with the meeting of Mahinda Thera and the king.

Mahinda Thera is said to have first come to Sri Lanka (by miraculous means), alighting on the 'silā peak', which is the northern peak of the Mihintale mountain. Immediately below it lies a little tableland, upon which was later built a *stūpa*, to enshrine the corporeal relics of Mahinda Thera. Ambatthala, as recorded in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, is so called because of a mango-tree which grew near the first meeting place. Mahinda Thera, while being engaged in conversation with the king wished to test the latter's capacity for instruction and pointed to a tree growing close by and asked:

"What name does this tree bear, O'King?"
"This tree is called a mango-tree, sir".
"Is there yet another mango-tree besides this?"
"There are many mango trees".
"And are there yet other trees besides this mango-tree?"
"There are many such trees".
"And are there, besides the other mango trees and those which are not mango trees, yet other trees?"
"There is this mango tree, Sir".
"Thou hast a shrewd wit, O' ruler of men".

Even at the present day, there are mango trees planted near the Ambatthalacetiya, in memory of the event.

The Thera again asked the king:
"Hast thou kinsfolk, O' king?"
"They are many, Sir".
"And are there also some, O'king, who are not kinsfolk of thine?"
"There are yet more of those, than of my kin"

"Is there yet anyone besides the kinsfolk and the others?"

"There is yet myself, Sir"

"Good, thou hast a shrewd wit, O' king of men".

Mahinda Thera was accompanied by four other *theras* named Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasala. Along with these *theras* also came a samanera (novice) named Sumana and a lay disciple named Bhanduka. When Mahinda Thera realised that the king was a keen-witted man, he preached to him the *Cullahatthipadopama-sutta*. At the end of the discourse, the king, along with his retinue, came to be converts to Buddhism. When the evening meal was brought to the king, the *bhikkhus* were invited to partake of it but the offer was politely refused with the necessary explanations. The king promised to send a waggon to bring them over to the city (of Anurādhapura), the following day. Before taking leave of the monks, the king took Bhandu (the lay follower) aside and asked him what the monks intended to do. Bhandu explained everything and the king became overjoyed when he heard about the *thera's* relationship with his friend Emperor Asoka and also about the mission with which he was entrusted with. When the king had departed, the *theras* who formed a chapter, performed according to *Vinaya* rules, the first *saṅghakamma* (Act of the Order) by conferring ordination on the lay disciple. Bhanduka Thereafter they spent the night at Mihintale and preached the *Samacitta-sutta* to those who assembled. The next day, the *thera* arrived at the capital (Anurādhapura) and spent there a month, preaching to the people. During this month, religious activities were undertaken by the king, including the donation of the Mahāmegha park to the Order. This became known in later times as the Mahāvihāra. At the end of the month, the *bhikkhus* retreated to Mihintale to spend the *vassa* (rainy season) there. The king followed them to that hill and initiated the work necessary to prepare caves as abodes for the monks. A second monastery was thus established at Anurādhapura.

Historical: The chronicles credit Devānampiyatissa and his immediate successors with the building of a number of *stupas* in various parts of the island, including the monument enshrining a portion of Mahinda Thera's relics on the summit of Mihintale hill. None of these stupas can be correctly identified today-with the exception of the last named monument, and that too, in the form in which it assumed after a subsequent restoration.

The story of the way in which, from the time of the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka, successive rulers of this island built up or contributed to the grandeur of Mihintale, is a most interesting one, as narrated in the chronicles. According to the *Mahavaṁsa*, for instance, Devānampiyatissa, to commemmorate his conversion, built a monastery for the use of monks at Mihintale, where he first met Mahinda Thera. Devanāmpiyatissa was succeeded by his younger brother Uttiya (267-257 B.C.), whose historicity is proved by some inscriptions indited in caves at Mihintale. Mahinda Thera expired in the 8th year of Uttiya. His relics were enshrined in a number of stupas, including the one at Mihintale. King Lañjatissa (119-109 BC.), spent three hundred thousand pieces of money and built three stone terraces for offering of flowers to the Maha-cetiya on the mountain. He is also said to have enlarged the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya.

Kūṭakaṇṇatissa (42-20 B. C.) built upon the Cetiya mountain, a great building for the *uposatha* festival and to the east of the building, he raised a *stūpa* of stone, and in that place on the Cetiya mountain, he planted a Bodhi tree. Bhātikābhaya (20 B. C. - 9 A. C.) constantly bestowed food (as alms allotted) by tickets to a thousand *bhikkhus* in the *vihāra* of the Cetiya-pabbata. His younger brother Mahādāthikamahānāga (9-21 A. C.) contributed immensely to the glory of Mihintale. He is credited with the building of Ambatthala-thūpa to enshrine the relics of Mahinda Thera. The *Mahavaṁsa* gives some more information regarding the building of this *stūpa*.

"Since the building (Ambatthala-cetiya) was not firm, he (the king) lay down in that place, bethinking him of the merit of the Sage (Buddha), risking his own life. When he had thus made the building firm and had completed the *cetiya*, he set up at the four entrances four bejewelled arches that had been well planned by artists and shone with gems of every kind, To be fastened to the *cetiya* he spent a cover for it of red stuff and golden balls thereto and festoons of pearls.

> "When he had made around the Cetiya-mountain a tract of land measuring a *yojana*, and had made four gateways and a beautiful road round about the mountain; and when he had then set up traders' shops on both sides of the road and had adorned the road here and there with flags, arches and triumphal gates, and had illuminated all with chains of lamps, he commanded mimic dances, songs and music.

"That the people might go with clean feet on the road from the Kadamba river to the Cetiya mountain, he had it laid with carpets-the gods themselves might hold a festival assembly there with dance and music. Over the whole island he put up chains of lamps without a break, nay over the waters of the ocean within a distance of a *yojana* around. At the festival of consecrating of the *cetiya*, these beautiful offerings were appointed by him: the splendid feast is called here (in the country) the great Giribhaṇḍa offering".

An inscription of about the 1st century A. C. at Mihintale refers to images of Mahinda Thera and three of his companions. The damaged part of the record no doubt contained the names of the other two companions also. Thus the tradition that Sri Lanka was converted to Buddhism by a *thera* named Mahinda and his companions is vouched for by documents only 200 years later than the date generally ascribed to that event.

Cases of dissension among the monks who resided at Mihintale and the vicissitudes in the history of that institution have also gone on record and it may be interesting to refer to one such unfortunate incident which took place as far back as the 1st century A. C. King Kanirajānutissa (30-33 A. C.) had to intervene in a case of monks at Mihintale and some who opposed him tried to capture him in person but he escaped. He later caught the culprits and had them hurled from a precipice called Kaṅira.

Vasabha (66-110 A. C.) had a thousand lamps lighted on the cetiya-pabbata. Kaṇiṭṭhatissa (165-193 A. C.) built a temple for the Ambatthala-stūpa which was subsequently repaired by Goṭhābhaya (254-267 A. C.). The successor of Goṭhābhaya (his elder son) Jetthatissa (267-277 A. C.) bestowed the Kālamattika-tank on the Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra. Sirimeghavaṇṇa (304-332 A. C.) had a golden image of Mahinda Thera made and held a great festival, carrying the statue in procession from Ambatthala to his capital, Anurādhapura. Dhātusena (463-497 A. C.) is credited with the building of the Ambatthala-vihāra on the cetiya-pabbata.

Aggabodhi I (564-598 A. C.) is on record as having provided a permanent water supply for the Nāgasondi tank (This is the bathing tank, now called Nāga-pokuṇa, situated just under the summit of the Mihintale mountain, where hewn in the rock face, the heads of a cobra seem to rise out of the water). The same king constructed the Mahinda-taṭa tank (at the foot of the mountain by which the present fields of the village Mihintale are irrigated) and ordained that the statue of Mahinda Thera should be carried in procession from its bund. Aggabodhi V (726-732 A. C.) restored whatever had fallen into decay at the Cetiya-pabbata at the cost of twenty six thousand gold pieces.

Senā, the queen of Dappula II (Udaya) (807-812 A. C.) is on record as having built a stūpa on the Cetiya mountain. The king himself, having had all the great trees on the Cetiya mountain clipped, gave brightly coloured flags and streamers as offerings and furthermore, restored, as it had been formerly, the *vihāra* Giribhaṇḍa which had gone into rack and ruin, and granted maintenance villages to the *bhikkhus* dwelling there. Then again, Sena, the Army Commander in the reign of Kassapa IV (912-929 A. C.) built on the Cetiya mountain, the *pariveṇa* called Hadayuṇda and made it over to the Dhammarucika *bhikkhus*.

Mahinda IV (956-972 A. C.) has to be credited with the installation of two slab inscriptions, also referred to as the Tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale. South of the Bhojana-sālāva (dining hall) are the remains of a *vihāra*, on either side of the doorway of which stand these well known slabs. H. C. P. Bell (the first Archaeological Commissioner) described them as being probably the finest example of a Sinhala inscription prior to the reign of Nissankamalla. The two inscriptions, taken together, bear a long record of temple regulations and privileges. Texts and translations of these inscriptions have been published in *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (1).

Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186), according to *Cūlavaṁsa*, restored all the important monuments at Anuradhapura as well as the entire Mihintale monastery.

A stairway, consisting of 1840 steps, leads the pilgrim or visitor from the base to the very summit of the mountain. G. E. Mitton in *Lost Cities of Ceylon*, described the flight of steps as "the beauty of a dream fulfilled, a stairway leading to heaven. Overhanging trees throw green shadows on the worn stone, and the shifting golden lights between may well be taken for the angel visitants. For twenty centuries or more, the uncovered feet of innumerable multitudes have ascended and descended, their owners filled with reverent awe, and seeing visions of the mighty Buddha overshadowing the island with his presence and of Mahinda, his apostle, alighting on the topmost crag which towers up into the azure sky far overhead".

Centuries of neglect had caused very serious and very extensive damage to these flights of steps and it was not only with considerable difficulty, but in some places even with grave risk of danger to life and limb that pilgrims and visitors till recently mounted to, or descended from, the shrine which was their particular goal as being the resting place of the sacred relics of Mahinda Thera. But restoration work done during the last few years, has obliterated the danger spots and appreciably eased the path of the pilgrim.

The flight of steps leads one in the first instance to the foot of the spur on which the Kantaka-cetiya stands. Next stage is the terrace on which are the remains of the refectory of a monastery and of an important structure now known as the 'bhojana-sālāva'. Only the stone base of the brick wall now remains. It is closed in all around. The interior arrangement of this structure is comparable to that of the Mahāpāli Alms Hall at Anuradhapura. There were in ancient days, two paths open to the visitor ascending the Mihintale hill, both of which converged at the 'bhojana-sālāva' terrace. The first is the much frequented flight of steps (which has already been referred to). The other was from the direction of the Kaludiya-pokuṇa, passing along the valley, between the main hill and the spur on which the Kantaka-cetiya stands. It is from the latter path that the flight of stone steps leading to the southern *vāhalkaḍa* (frontispiece) of the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya starts, and most of the original paving had more or less been obliterated in the course of time. This is the paved path which was later restored.

Kaṇṭaka-cetiya is one of the earliest religious monuments in the island and one remarkable, as displaying certan features which represent the earliest examples of the plastic art of the ancient Sinhala people. According to H. C. P. Bell, this monument was traditionally named Giribhaṇḍa. It was also popularly known as Kiribaḍapavu Dāgāba. The upper part of this monument had crumbled down centuries ago, burying the base and the lower part of the dome in the debris; and the mound thus formed, with huge trees growing on it, appeared (till restoration work commenced) as if it were part of the hill itself. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon started excavation work in 1934. Some Brahmi inscriptions of about the 1st century A. C., found on a rock near by, recording grants to the "Kaṭaka-ceta", made it clear that the mound concealed the remains of the monument referred to as Kaṇṭaka-cetiya in the ancient chronicles. This conclusion is strengthened by the statement in the *Mahavaṁsa* that Devanampiyatissa made a beginning with the work of building sixty eight rock cells about the place where the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya afterwards stood. Round about this monument are a large number of rock caves containing Brahmi inscriptions, some of which are datable to about the 3rd century B. C.

The chronicles are silent as to the date or time at which, or the person by whom the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya was first built, nor as to what relic it enshrined. However, the *Mahavaṁsa* has recorded that King Lañjatissa had a mantling of stone made for it. This reference is to the 1st century B. C. and therefore it becomes clear that its original foundation must have taken place a century or so earlier. Accordingly it is clear that it is one of the earliest monuments in the island, datable to a period about the 3rd to 2nd centuries B. C.

The *vāhalkaḍas* (frontispieces or altars at the cardinal points of the stupa) of the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya are more profusely ornamented than those found at Anuradhapura. On the cornice below the topmost one is a frieze of *gaṇas* (dwarfs), and on the one below is a frieze of *haṁsas* (geese). The brickwork above the facing contains arched niches between pilasters. In each of these there appears to have been the image of a deity made of stucco or terracotta, fragments of these figures being still in position. These images as well as the whole structure of the *vāhalkaḍas*, were originally painted in diverse colours, traces of which are still visible.

The friezes of *gaṇas* mentioned above are full of interest. Many of these dwarfish beings are portrayed in various lively attitudes - smme playing musical instruments, one sporting with a cobra, another standing on his head and so on. Some are animal headed. There is one with the head of a horse, another with that of a bear and yet another with that of a monkey. Particularly interesting is an elephant headed *gaṇa*, apparently with one tusk, attended by other *gaṇas* holding various objects. It is possible to conjecture that this is a picture of Gaṇapati, the various attributes of the deity being held in the hands of the attendants as the figure is provided with only two hands, unlike the later images which have four.

The sculptures on the stelae flanking the *vāhalkaḍas* are among the earliest examples of the plastic art of the ancient Sinhala people. They are mostly of a decorative nature and some of the motives employed are reminiscent of the decorative sculptures on

the pillars of the gateways at Sanchi. The commonest motif is a foliage design springing up from a vase and crowned by a Buddhist emblem or a *nāga* figure, and in one case, a goddess seated on a lotus. In one example, the foliaged scroll is so designed as to form five circular spaces, one above the other, in which are, respectively the figures of a cock, a lion, a bull, a man and an elephant. In another are pairs of men and animals standing back to back on either side of the stem. These decorative designs resemble those on stelae already found at Anuradhapura *stūpas*, but the stelae of the eastern frontispiece are decorated in a manner quite different from the others.

The whole surface of the broader side of the stelae is divided into four rectangular panels, which starting from the bottom, are occupied by a foliage pattern, an elephant, a second foliage pattern, a peacock with young and a decorated vase from which spring leaves and flowers with birds sporting among them. The narrow sides of the stelae are decorated with a tapering stem springing from a vase, with conventionally treated leaves spreading on either side. Besides these, *nāga* figures in human form are found on some of the stelae. The style of the sculptures is very archaic, and they should date, from the first or second century B. C. In some of the sculptures, a certain influence of the Amaravati school can also be detected.

The Kaṇṭaka-cetiya is of considerable size. At the base, it has a circumference of 425 feet and stands at present, about 40 feet high. Stylistically, the reliefs of the eastern and southern frontispieces of this *stūpa* are shallow and flat and appearing more like silhouettes. The figure of the *nāga* is stiff and presents a frontal aspect; in the face there is the smile characteristic of archaic work. There is no attempt at modelling the figure to depict movement. In these and other characteristics, it is akin to the work of the earliest indigenous school of Indian sculptors at Bhārhut and Sānchi.

From the quadrangular levelled area at which the upper and lower staircases to the summit of Mihintale hill meet, a path descends on the west and gradually trends westwards until it reaches the high road between the Rājagirileṇa hill and the Kaludiya Pokuṇa ruins, which lie at the foot of Ätveherakanda and the smaller hill known as Ānai-kuṭṭi-kanda. Immediately after leaving the stone walled half way terrace, a smaller enclosure occurs on the left. This enclosure had two successive platforms, at the south end of which is the well known Stone bath, also known as the Lion Bath. H. C. P. Bell spoke of it as perhaps the best executed piece of spirited animal sculpture to be seen anywhere in the island. A cubical bath was formed here by cutting out the live rock. Half of it was carved from the bed rock and half was made up of stones, worked to shape and smoothed inside. The rampant lion was found broken when the Archaeological Survey first came upon it. It has since been renewed as it stood of old.

Iñdikaṭusäya and Kaṭusäya are two stupas which should find mention in connection with the ruins at Mihintale. These two monuments lie almost close to each other within the same premises. These may be regarded as the most important of a group of ruins adjoining the high road, just south of the modern hospital premises. The two names Iñdikaṭusäya and Kaṭusäya are of modern origin, probably as a corruption of the old title. In the course of construction work carried out by the Archaeological Survey, 91 copper plaques were discovered. They contain extracts from Sanskrit Mahāyānist Buddhist texts. Forty five of these are short, agreeing with corresponding passages in the *Pañcaviṁśati-sahaśrikā-Prajñāparamitā* with some variations in reading, due to variant readings of manuscripts of the same work and copysts' errors. Sixteen of the plaques bear inscriptions containing extracts from the Mahāyāna scripture called the *Kāśyapa-parivarta*. The records were compared with the text of this scripture edited by Baron A von Stael Holstein from a manuscript found in Khotan. This text embodies a discourse delivered by the Buddha to Kāśyapa, one of his chief disciples.

These stupas which are definitely of a Mahāyānist character, exhibit an important development in this class of monument in Sri Lanka. The dome is elongated and the triple bern has become a series of bold stone mouldings. The dome itself is faced with stone up to a height of about two feet. The platform is square with flights of stone steps on one side, or on all the four sides. The retaining walls of the platform, as well as its paving, are of stone. The inscribed copper plaques were recovered from the masonry of the stupas during excavation work and on palaeographical grounds the script may be ascribed to about the 9th century. These stupas probably date from the reign of Sena I (846-866 A. C.). About this time, according to the chronicles, the heterodox element was very strong in Anuradhapura. The Buddhists of Sri Lanka, especially those with Mahāyānist leanings, had the prac-

tice of depositing in stupas, metal plates on which were inscribed short extracts from Sanskrit Buddhist writings.

Rājagirileṇakanda is situated about a quarter of a mile down the high road beyond the Iñdikaṭusāya. The near-by caves, according to tradition, were occupied by a king who had taken the vows of a monastic life. The name by which this hill is known, probably preserves this tradition. It has also been conjectured that *lihiṇiya-pavu* (a term which occurs in the Tablets of Mahinda IV), is identical with this hill. However that may be, the old caves on this hill represent the most interesting feature of the ruins round about. Most of the chief caves are situated about 100 feet above the ground under a spur of the hill, and have been occupied from time to time by forest dwelling monks. The brick and clay walls form, with the overhanging rock roof, well enclosed and fairly roomy shelters.

H. C. P. Bell says, "a better hermitage for Buddhist monks could hardly be selected than these airy caverns. They provided every facility for quiet retreat. These sylvan abodes command from their peaceful secluded elevation, an unimpeded restful view across many miles of dark green forest and silvery tanks". A considerable number of cave inscriptions occur here. Of the stone inscriptions in Sri Lanka, engraved in the Nāgari script, one is a slab found in the Rājagirileṇa. The script is of the 9th century and is too much effaced to be deciphered. The stanza *ye dharmmā hetu prabhavā* etc., brings the record to a close. Considering that Mihintale was, in the ninth and tenth centuries, much under Mahāyāna influence, this may be taken as a document of that school.

About 450 yards beyond a turn into the jungle which conducts the visitor to Rājagirileṇakanda and its caves, a short by-path rises on the left from the high road for some fifty yards, to a level area wherein the Kaludiya-pokuṇa group of ruins is located. This is one of the most beautiful spots in the North Central Province. H. C. P. Bell was highly moved when he visited this place. He says, "The first peep of this delightful glen, as it suddenly bursts on the charmed gaze, is entrancing in its quiet picturesqueness. A more perfect sanctuary for the 'sons of the Buddha' could not be found anywhere throughout the length and breadth of Sri Lanka. Lying in the valley between Ät-veherakanda towering to north-east and the detached Ānaikuṭṭi-kanda, this dell nestles happily in unmarred loveliness of its own". There were two gateways to Kaludiyapokuṇa, one to the north and another to the south. They were in a ruinous state and appeared as shapeless mounds when they were noticed by the Archaeological Survey. The reconstruction of these two gateways was carried out in 1941 and 1942, using the old material which was brought to light in excavating the mounds.

Near the remains of the monastery hard by is a bathing house, beneath a large boulder, which is of special attraction. It recalls the similar slab roofed dressing room to the shapely *pokuṇa* in the Magul Uyana (Royal Park of Anuradhapura). The boulder overhangs at a height of 13 feet to the drip line sufficiently to shelter an admirable dressing room. It was built of granite slabs and was attached to a bathing *pokuṇa* in front, now silted up. This structure was finished with much elaboration.

H. C. P. Bell was of opinion that Kaludiyapokuṇa monastery was of later construction than most of the Mihintale monasteries. He suggested that it was that "Hadayuṇha vihāra" (the heart warming vihāra) which Kassapa IV (912-929 A.C.) built at the Cetiya-pabbata and given over to the Dhammarucika brethren. He is also said to have prepared cells or caves-perhaps by improving some of those in the nearby hills - for the use of the priests who dwelt in groves. There is also the possibility that the beautiful lake is itself identical with the *Porodini Pokuṇa* which finds mention in the Tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale.

There are a number of inscriptions at Mihintale, in caves as well as on rocks. The early inscriptions are in the Brahmi script of the 3rd century B. C. The script is in most respects similar to those in the inscriptions of Asoka. These records number about 94 in all. On the Mihintale hill are 58 records, in Rājagirileṇakanda 9 and in Anaikuṭṭikuṭṭikanda there are 27. These are fairly short records and the contents give the names of the donors and in certain cases, the names which were allotted to the caves are also given. A few examples may be quoted (together with the relevant translations) to give an idea of the nature of the benefactions.

Mihintale (No. 34) Gamaṇi-Uti-maharajha (jhita Abi-Ti) śaya leṇe
daśa-diśaśa sagaye dine matapitaśa aṭaya

(The cave of princess (Abi) Tissa, daughter of the great king Gāmaṇī-Uttiya, is given to the Saṅgha of the ten directions, for the benefit of the mother and the father.

Rajagirilenakanda (No 64) Badakarika-parumaka-Senaha bariya upasika-Sumanaya lene sagasa

(The cave of the female lay-devotee Sumana, wife of the chief Sena, The Treasurer, (is given) to the Saṅgha

Ānaikuṭṭhikanda (No. 69)Pakara-adeka Śamudaha leṇe śagaśa

(The cave of Samudda, the Superintendent of Roads, (is given) to the Saṅgha

The above records belong to the pre-Christian centuries. There are 59 other records in Mihintale area which are in later Brahmi script and which may be ascribed to the 1st - 2nd centuries A. C. As examples may be cited the following:

Mihintale (No. 1107) Gamika-Udaha putaha Meḷa-Nakaha leṇe catu-diśa-śagaśa (The cave of Meḷa-Naka, son of the village councillor Uda, (is given) to the Saṅgha of the four quarters.

Rājagirileṇakanda (No. 1112) Upalavi-vasika Tisa-teraha pitaha Upalavi-vasika upasaka-Cuḍa-Hoṇaha leṇe sagasa (The cave of the lay-devotee Cuḍa-Hoṇa (Cūḷa-Soṇa), a resident of Upalavi, father of the elder Tissa, a resident of Upalavi, (is given) to the Saṅgha

However, there are some inscriptions belonging to the early centuries of the Christian Era which may be ascribed to the reigns of particular kings i.e. Mahādāṭhikamahānāga (9-21 A. C.). A few examples may be cited.

Mihintale (Āt-vehera rock inscription) (No. 17) The purport of the record was to state that the stupa, in the vicinity of which it is indited, was of the monarch named Bhātika Abhaya (20 B. C. - 9 A. C.); his younger brother and successor was Mahādāṭhika-mahānāga, to whom this record may be ascribed.

Rock inscription at Kantaka-cetiya, *Mihintale* (No. 20).

The beneficiary of the donations in his record was a shrine named Kaṭaka-ceta. This old Sinhala form of the name corresponds exactly to Kaṇṭaka-cetiya occurring in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (XVI-12). Here it is said that Devānampiyatissa made a beginning with the work of fashioning sixty eight rock caves at Mihintale about the place where the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya (afterwards) stood.

In this record, two donations, one by a king named Tissa and the other by a king named Naga have been placed on record. Two categories of revenue are referred to as donations.

Mihintale Rock inscription of Mahādāṭhika-mahānāga (No. 21).

This is a very long epigraph going into 19 lines of writing but unfortunately many letters have got effaced due to weather conditions. The epigraph contains a list of tanks, villages and other lands given to Cetagiri i.e. Cetiyagiri, the ancient monastery at Mihintale. Some of the villages granted are specially stated to have been for a particular purpose. One of these was connected with the images of Mahinda Thera and three of his companions i.e. Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya and Bhadrasāla. The expression *Sadhame cira-ciṭati* at the beginning of line 15 suggests that provision had been made for the copying of the Buddhist scriptures.

Rock inscription at Āt-vehera, *Mihintale*

The purport of the epigraph was to register a donation to the Paribhanda-cetiya (at Mihintale) by a king styled Naka-maharaja (Mahādāṭhika-mahānāga). The stupa which crowns the summit of Āt-vehera hill may be taken as Paribhanda-cetiya. In the well known tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale, the name of this stupa occurs as Kirbaṇḍ-pavu-dāgāb.

In the reign of Mahāsena (277-304 A. C.), when orthodox Buddhism came into conflict with the Vaitulyavāda (Mahāyāna), monks of the Mahāvihāra as well as of Mihintale, found themselves persecuted, as they refused to accept the Vaitulya doctrines. Mahasena (on the advice of the monk named Saṅghamitta), issued an edict forbidding the giving of alms to these monks. Deprived of the means of sustenance, the monks of Mahāvihara and Mihintale had to seek refuge in the highlands and the Rohana. The Dhammarucikas of the Abhayagiri-vihāra made use of this opportunity to seize for themselves, the historic monastery of Mihintale, the cradle of Buddhism. For nine years this unfortunate situation lasted, until the tide turned against the Vaitulyavādins, at the intervention of the Minister Meghavaṇṇa Abhaya. Civil war was averted and the main culprit Saṅghamitta was murdered. However the doctrines introduced by the Vaitulyavādins persisted as we notice from the monuments which have been left to posterity at Mihintale. The two Mahāyānist stupas named Iñdikaṭusāya and Kaṭusāya have already been referred to.

About fifty yards to the north east of the Ambasthala-stupa at Mihintale, there is a rock on the face of which has been engraved a long inscription of 21 lines, covering an area of 16 1/2 feet by 8 feet. The epigraph has been seriously damaged by the action of the weather and possibly also by vandals. As a result, large portions of the writing are now totally effeced. The script shows many affinities with the Pallava Grantha alphabet of South India. It is clear however that the epigraph is in Sanskrit verse. It has been found that the verses in question belong to the Trikāyastava (an eulogy) of the three bodies of the Buddha *(trikāya)*, accepted by the Mahāyana Buddhists.

The Trikayastava starts towards the close of the 16[th] line of the record and is continued in the next two lines and for about three fourths of line 19. The three verses are in the metre named Śragdhara. The contents of the three verses are given below in brief.

1. I worship that incomparable Dharmakāya of the Buddhas which, though not one is also not many, which is the support of the great prosperity, causing the welfare of one's own self as well as of the others.......

2. I here do worship that Sambhogakāya of the Buddhas which is transcendental and unthinkable......

3. I worship by all sorts of means that Nirmāṇakaya of the Buddhas which, for the purpose of ripening (the intellect of) beings, sometimes shines radiant as the fire......

The script of this record resembles that of the Tiriyāy rock inscription. Both records can be assigned to the seventh or eighth century A. C. From a study of the monuments at Mihintale, it becomes clear that there was much Mahāyānist activity at that monastery during the late Anuradhapura period, although orthodox Buddhism had its origin there in the pre-Christian centuries. See PLATES LXI, LXII, LXIII, LXIV.

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Nandasena Mudiyanse

MILINDA the king of Sāgala and the cheif character of the post canonical Pali treatise *Milindapañha (Questions of Milinda)*, the original of which is generally assigned to a period circa 1[st] century B. C, composed as a dialogue the king Milinda is supposed to have had with a celebrated Buddhist monk named Nāgasena. The historians are unanimous in identifying Milinda of the Pali literature with Menander, one of the greatest Indo Greek kings of north west India[1], assigned to a period circa 1[st] century B. C. and whose histriocity is established by archaeological evidence.

There are several sources extant for the study of king Milinda out of which *Milindapañha* is reckoned as the foremost. The writings of Greek historians such as Strabo (born circa 63 B. C.), Plutarch and the Roman historian Justin (probably lived during the age of Antonines) provide vital information on him. Further numismatic evidence as well as archaeological evidence, too, are available on Menander.

The Greek name Menandros is found adopted by ancient authors in different ways. As already stated in the Pali literature he is known as Milinda while the *Avadāna Kalpalatā* of Kshemendra, the eleventh century A. C. Sanskrit work, calls him Milindra, which is the same as that found in the *Bstan-Hgyur* collection

1. When Alexander's empire broke up on his death, Greek soldiers on the east of India founded separate states, and the names of about thirty of them and their successors are known by their coins. Of these the most powerful and successful was Menander.

(popularly known as *Tanjur* of the *Tibetan Tripiṭaka*. The "Shinkot" casket inscription in "Kharoṣthi" script gives his name as Menandra.

Historians have no consensus concerning the date of king Milinda or Menander. According to Vincent Smith[2] king Milinda flourished in the second century B. C while H C Raychoudhuri[3] places him in the first century B. C. According to *Milindapañha* he was born five hundred years after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha (*Parinibbānato pañcasata vasse atikkante*). *Jinakalamāli* written in Thailand (Siam) in 1516 A. C. says that "Milinda was reigning at Sāgala in India, when king Kūṭakaṇṇatissa was reigning in Anuradhapura. But as Kūṭakaṇṇatissa's regnal years are generally accepted as 16-38[4] A. C., the historians are reluctant to place Milinda to a period so late. However it is reasonable to assume that the Greek king Milinda reigned in north west India in or about the first century B. C.

The *Milindapañha* says that king Milinda was born at Alasanda (*atthi bhante Alasanda nāma dīpo tattha ayaṃ jātoti*). Apparently Alasanda refers to his country of birth and which is described as an island. The same source says that the village he was born in was Kalasigāma (*atthi bhante "Kalasigāmo nāma tatthā' yaṃ jātoti*) and the place was two hundred *yojanas* from Sāgala. Kalasi has not been identified, but *"dvīpa"* of Alasanda is taken to be a district of Alexandria under Caucaus, which appear to have been referred to as *Alasanda of the Yonas* in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[5] The "dvīpa of Alasanda has been identified with the country between the Panjshir and Kabul rivers in which ruins of Alexander's city have been recognized near "Charikar"[6]. Geiger[7] thinks that it was probably to be identified with the town founded by the Macedonian king in the country of Paropanisadoe near Kabul valley. Therefore Milinda/Menander is generally regarded to have reigned at Sagala which is identified as modern "Sialkot". But I. B. Horner. points out that he was not reigning at Sāgala but proceeded to Sāgala in order to meet the elder Nāgasena.

As usual *Milindapañha* commences the story of king Milinda, also that of the elder Nagasena from their previous births, when the king was born as a novice and the elder Nāgasena as a senior monk in the same monastery. According to the story, the senior monk gave the novice "a blow with the handle of the broom", when the novice did not obey his order to throw away the rubbish he has swept. The novice after carrying out the order, and being offended made a resolution, "Through this meritorious deed of throwing out the rubbish may I, wherever I am born successively until I attain *Nibbāna*, be of great might, and glory like the mid day sun (*Iminā kācava caddenapuññakammena yāvāhaṃ nibbānaṃ pāpunāmi etthantare nibbattanibbatta ṭhāne majjhantikasuriyo viya mahesakkho, mahātejo bhaveyyāmi paṭhama patthanaṃ ṭhapesi (Bāhirakathā Milindapañha)*.

After he had thrown the rubbish he (novice) went to the ford of Ganges to wash, and seeing the swirling surge of the waves of the Ganges, he made a second aspiration "May I wherever I am successively reborn until I attain *Nibbāna* be prompt with saying the right thing and prompt in answering the questions (carrying all before me) like this surge of water". (*yāvāhaṃ nibbānaṃ.... ayaṃ ūmi vego viya ṭhānuppattikapaṭibhāno bhaveyyaṃ akkhāyapaṭibhāno ti - Milindapañha Bāhirakathā*).

The senior monk too went to the ford of Ganges to wash, and hearing the novice's aspiration, he thought: "while he was merely instigated by me aspires thus, in what way do I not be successful"? And made the aspiration: "may I, wherever I am successively be re-born until I attain *Nibbāna*, be prompt in answering questions (carrying all before me) like the surge of the waves of the Ganges, and may I be able to unravel promptly and explain all the answers to the questions constantly asked me by this (novice) (*Yāvāhaṃ nibbānaṃ.....ayaṃ ūmi vegoviya ṭhānuppattika paṭibhāno bhaveyyaṃ iminā pucchitapucchitaṃ sabbaṃ pañhāpaṭibhānaṃ vijaṭetum nibbatthetuṃ samattho bhaveyyanti patthanaṃ paṭṭhapesi (Bāhirakathā Milindapañha)*.

2. *Oxford History of India* 2nd edition 1923 p 124.
3. *Political History of Ancient India* H. Raychaudhauri 6th edition Calcutta 1938.
4. *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* E. W. Adikaram Colombo 1946.
5. *Mahāvaṃsa* ch xxix 39.
6. *Cambridge History of India* vol. I p 496.
7. Geiger-*Mahāvaṃsa* Translation p 194 Note 3.

According to the *Milindapañha* the novice was born[8] as king Milinda of Sāgala and the (senior) monk as the elder Nāgasena. *Milindapañha* describes king Milinda's intelligence, education, training, valour, prosperity thus:

"He was wise, experienced, clever, able; he was one who acted conscientiously at the time of doing all the (magic) devices, ceremonies and observances concerning things past, future, and present. Many were the arts he had mastered, that is to say: the revealed tradition, secular lore, the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaisesika systems, accountancy, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas, the oral traditions, astronomy, conjuring, logic, spells, fighting, poetry, reckoning on the fingers, in a word, the nineteen (arts). A disputant hard to equal, hard to overcome, he was acclaimed chief of the leaders of the numerous schools of thought. In the whole of India there was no one like King Milinda in fortitude, speed, courage and wisdom. He was rich, of great wealth and great prosperity; his armed forces were without end" (*Milinda's questions* Vol. I. I. B. Horner *(PTS)* London 1961 p 5).

"Paṇḍito vyatto medhāvi paṭibalo atitānāgatapaccuppannānaṃ samantayogavidhā-nakiriyānaṃ kāraṇakāle nisammakāri hoti. Bahūni cassa satthāni uggahitani honti. Seyyatthīdaṃ suti sumati sāṅkhyayoga nayavesesikī ganitaṃ gandhabbaṃ tikicchī catubbedī purāṇa itihāsa jotisaṃ mayā hetumantā, yuddhaṃ chando sāmuddhivacanena ekūnavīsati vadi durāsado duppāsaho puthutitthakāraṇaṃ aggamakkhāyati Sakala Jambudipe Milindena rañño samo koci nahosi yadidaṃ thamena javena viriyena paññāya, aḍḍho mahaddhano mahābhogo anantabalavāhano" (Milindapañha Bāhirakathā).

It is clear from the above description that Milinda was a well-informed scholar and a keen debater. He was well versed in various branches of learning and an expert in argument. Further he was an expert in accountancy, medicine, music as well. Due to his Greek origin, he would have studied Greek philosophy though not specifically mentioned in the *Milindapañha*. It would have been the same background that made him interested in the Buddhist philosophy. He wanted to understand the true essence of Buddhism which raised for him several difficulties and knotty problems. He approached many teachers[9] but none could help him to solve his difficulties. Keen seeker of truth as he was, Menander was greatly disheartened by that. King Milinda extended an open challenge to all the religious teachers of the day: "Is there any learned ascetic or brahman or leader of a company, leader of a group or teacher of a group who perhaps claiming to be an "arahant" a perfect Buddha could converse with me and dispel my doubts" *Atthi koci paṇḍito samaṇo vā bhrāhmaṇo vā saṅghī gaṇī gaṇacariyo api arahantaṃ Sammāsambuddhaṃ paṭijānamāno yo mayā saddhiṃ sallapituṃ sakkoti kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinetuṃ (Milindapañha Bāhirakathā).*

In fact, as the *Milindapañha* says king Milinda used to harass monks with his talks and counter talks (So *diṭṭhi vādena pañhaṃ pucchitvā bhikkhusaṅghaṃ viheṭheti*). But there was none who could take up the challenge of king Milinda. The religious teachers of the day did not want to face the king and they were avoiding him. As *Milindapañha* says, the city of Sagala was devoid of religious teachers for twelve years. For, whenever the king hears that there is such a one he used to go and meet him. None could please the king. The religious teachers used to flee. *Milindapañha* says that the Buddhist monks took refuge in the Himalaya to escape from king Milinda's philosophied controversies.

It was at that juncture that the king exclaimed "India is indeed empty, India is void indeed. There is no ascetic or brahman able to converse with me to dispel my doubts" (*Tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo palāpo va bho jambudīpo natthi koci samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā yo mayā saddhiṃ sakkoti kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinetuṃ (Milindapañha Bahira kathā)*

8. As stated in the *Milindapanha*, when king Milinda used to haras monks in the field of debate the monks headed by Ven. Assagutta proceeded to Devaloka invited Devaputta named Mahasena whom Sakka king of gods describesd as a person capable of meeting the king's arguments, to be reborn in the human realm to take up the challange.
9. *Milindapañtha* confuses the readers when it says that the king went to "heretical" teachers such as "Makkhali Gosala" etc. who are regarded as contemporaries of the Buddha and are dead long before Milinda. However what the author of *Milindapanha* possibly meant was that the king went to contemporary adherents of the teachings of those heretical teachers or *vide* his statement that the king Milinda went to six traditional heretical teachers of the Pali literature, the idea that the author is trying to convery is possibly the king consulted the other philosophers of the day other than Buddhism.

The king was in a dilemma, when he heard of the elder Nagasena being described as: "wise, experienced, clever and able" (*pandito, vyatto, medhāvi vinīto visarado bahussuto*). Having heard of elder Nāgasena's reputation, king Milinda proceeded to "Saṅkheyya Pirivena" to meet him. According to the *Milindapañha* monks[10] ordained Nāgasena, educated and trained him and sent him to Sāgala to encounter king Milinda. The elder Nāgasena at the very outset was wise enough to propose that they should converse in the speech of the learned (*paṇḍitavāda*) not in the speech of kings (*rājavāda*) to which the king readiy agreed, saying: "Let the revered one converse unreservedly, as he converses with a monk or novice or lay follower or with a monastery attendant, Let the revered one converse thus, let him not be afraid" (Horner *op. cit p* 39).

Though the initial meeting of the two took place at Saṅkheyya Pirivena in the city of Sāgala, the formal discussion took place the following day at the king's palace. The king paid homage to the elder in a fitting manner and placed his difficulties one by one before the elder Nāgasena. In the course of the intellectual dialogue conducted in a friendly atmosphere, elder Nāgasena ably solved all the problems pertaining to the Buddha's teachings raised by the king, to the entire satisfaction of the latter. At the conclusion of the discussion the king expressed his satisfaction and gratitude to elder Nagasena. The *Milindapanha* finally states that king Milinda became a lay disciple of the Buddha and took refuge (in the triple gem) "*Upāsakaṃ maṃ bhante Nāgasena dhāretha ajjatagge pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gataṃ*" (Revered Nagasena accept me as a lay follower as one going for refuge from that day fourth as long as life lasts (I. B. Horner. *op. cit.* Vo II p. 304). The *Milindapañha* also says that the king put up a *Vihāra* named Milindavihāra and offered it to elder Nāgasena.

It is significant that according to the *Milindapañha* the king Milinda renounced worldly life and ordained himself as a Buddhist monk, having entrusted the kingdom to his son and finally attained the state of an "arahant".

Apart from the *Milindapañha* account, inscriptional and numismatic evidence also provide vital information on Milinda/Minander. The inscriptions and coins not only prove that he was a historical person but also gives the extent of his kingdom. It is clear that Milinda, the greatest of Indo-Greek kings, exercised his authority over a vast region in north west India, perhaps even beyond the north west. Apparently his dominions comprised of Peshawar, the upper Kabul valley, the Punjab, Sind Kathiawar and western Uttara Pradesh. His occupation of Gandhara with two great centers Puskalavati and Taxila is amply proved by the numerous finds of his coins. In the north he occupied Hazara and Swat valley. The discovery of the Bajaur casket inscription[11] proves that Swat valley was included in his kingdom. It is also thought that the king made some encroachments north of Hindukush mountain. But we know neither the exact boundaries of his kingdom nor how far he was merely overlord, rather than the actual administrative sovereign over the various portions of his vast domain. A. K. Narain[12] on king Milinda observes: "It is likely that it was the unsettled conditions of the time that produced a man of remarkable ability, who was destined to become the most famous of Yavana kings in India. He was Menander, the Milinda of the Indian tradition"

King Milinda was known as Menander to a number of classical Greek historians. Menander apparently belongs to the house of Demetrios II who ruled Sākala (Euthymedia, or Euthydemia) identifed with modern Sialkot. The Greek historian Strabo has referred to Menander on the authority of a reference made to Menander by Appolodorus. It is said that Appolodorus and Menander are mentioned in the list of *Bhāratiya Yavana* princes in the writings of Justin the historian. But his writings are now extinct and not available for verification. Plutarch the Greek historian also mentions Menander as renowned for his justice. He further states that his death (He died probably in 95 B. C. *ERE.* Vol. VIII p. 631) occurred in a camp and then there was dispute among several Indian cities, for the possession of his ashes which were subsequently divided and memorials erected in each of the cities.

10. According to *Milindapanha* he was ordained by Ven. Rohana of Vattaniya Hermitage. His other teachers were Ven. Assagutta of the same Hermitage and Ven. Dhammarakkhita of Asokarāma of Pataliputta.
11. It records the establishment of the relics of the Buddha by one Vijayamitra during the reign of king Menander on the 14th day of the month of Karittikeya-*New Indian Antiquary* II 1939-40 p 647 and *Epigraphia Indic* xxiv 1937-38 p 7.
12. Narain A. K. *Indo Greeks* Oxford 1957.

Ananda Maitreya[13] points out that burning of dead bodies is not a European custom, but an Indian custom. In addition, in the case of Menander, there has been a dispute to share his ashes, as happened after the *Parinirvāna* of the Buddha, where the kings quarreled over the ashes. It is also said that those who got shares of ashes built memorials enshrining them. All these facts indicate that Menander was no ordinary king but a holy person. This takes us very close to the *Milindapañha* report that Milinda/Menander became a Buddhist monk and finally attained the Arahant state.

The coins of Menander/Milinda also provide some indication about his religion. There are strong facts among the coins to prove that he was a Buddhist. Among the twenty coins discovered at a place called Sudur during the first half of the last century, there were two types of coins belonging to Menander. One type of coins had a figure of a Greek god (Greek God Athena) on one side and on the other side a figure of a young person like a king. Also there was the sentence *"Basileos Dikion Menandrow* scribed on one side and on the other side *"Mahārājasa Dhammikasa Mehanderasa"*. The other type of coins discovered at the same time had a figure of an old person similar to a king and the Dharmacakra[14] on the other side. On this data found in the said coins it is reasonable to assume that Menander was an adherent of Greek gods during his young days and a follower of Buddhism in his old age.

But W. W. Tarn[15] does not agree that Menander became a Buddhist. He argues that Menander embracing Buddhism is found not in the old strata of the *Milindapañha* but in the latter part which is considered as a subsequent addition. He further points out that the story of embracing Buddhism was told in respect of Kaniṣka too.

Tarn also points out that Menander did not entrust the kingdom to his son and retired to become a Buddhist monk, but died when his son was yet a minor and his queen Agatliocleia became the regent for his son.

Milinda or Menander whose histriocity is not contested, was possibly born out of a Greek father and an Indian mother, the union that is supposed to produce genius off-springs, appear to have been a rare combination of an invincible warrior, victorious conqueror, able administrator, unwavering upholder of justice, a philosopher who mastered the philosophies of the west as well as those of the east, sharp debater and as stated in the *Milindapañha* a saint who attained the state of an "arahant". He is the only one of those Greek or half Greek potentates whose memory has survived in India, and he is there remembered characteristically enough, not as a political ruler, nor as a victor in war, but as an intelligent and sympathetic inquirer into the religion and beliefs of his subjects (*ERE.* Vol. viii p. 630-31)

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13. *Milindapanho* edited Ananda Maitriya (Sinhala Script) Colombo 1962 preface p. iv.
14. But according to Tarn (*Greeks in Bactria and India*-Cambridge 1938 p 263) Memander's association with the Dharmacakra has nothing to do with Buddhism. He has used it to proclaim himself "universal king (Cakravarti) but Chattopadhyāya (*Early History of North India,* Culcutta 1958. p. 41) refutes Tarn's view. He says "such a strong tradition cannot be set aside so lightly and in our view, it is quite safe to hold that Menander had embraced Buddhism. Bapat P. V. observes "It is also significant that the coins of Menander bear the Buddhist wheel (Dharmacakra). This is an unmistakable sign that he was a devout Buddhist. The 'Shinkot inscription proves beyond a doubt that the Greek king helped in the propagation of Buddhism in the region between Hindukush and Sind (P. V. Bapat, General editor *2500 years of Buddhism*, Govt. of India, Delhi 1987, p. 175).
15. Tarn W. W. *Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1938, p. 262 f. Tarn rejects the belief that Menander was a Buddhist on the ground that on his coins he adopted Athena, the one deity who was never practically equated with anything orient. But this view cannot be accepted in view of the fact that king Kaniska of the Kushāna dynasty in spite of his deep attachment to Buddhism used in his coins many non Buddhist figures. But no one denies his alleged conversion to Buddhism. It is the same case with Menander who adopted Buddhism as his personal faith (Kanailal Hazra *Royal patronage of Buddhism* - Delhi 1984 p. 116).

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MILINDAPAÑHA. The *Milindapañha* is the post canonical Pali treatise that deals with the dialogue a Bactrian Greek King Milinda supposed to have had with a Buddhist monk named Nāgasena, on controversial points of Buddhist philosophy. The extant *Milindapañha* is in Pali, and scholars[1] believe that the original was either in Sanskrit or some North Indian Prakrit, written in North India or Kashmir by an author whose name has not come down to us. The original is supposed to have been lost and the extant *Milindapañha* is believed to be a Pali translation made in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) at a very early date from where it had been taken to other countries such as Burma and Siam (Thailand)[2], etc.

Rhys Davids[3] considers it as the only treatise of the northern Buddhists which is regarded with reverence by the orthodox Buddhists of the Southern School of Buddhism and also the only one that survived among them. As the places referred to in the *Milindapañha* including rivers, are in Punjab and adjacent countries and a few places to the sea coast such as Surat and Bharukaccha. B. C. Law[4] infers that the author of the original *Milindapañha* lived in Punjab in North West India. It is not possible to ascertain the exact date of the composition of the *Milindapañha*. The author often quotes from various books of the canon, i.e. he refers to the recitors (*bhāṇakas*) of all the five *nikāyas* and also refers to *Vinaya* and all the seven books of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. Therefore it is clear that it was written after the closing of the canon.[5] The Chinese translation of the *Milindapañha* has been made between 317-420 A. C. Buddhaghosa the celebrated commentator of the 5th century A. C. attach high authority to the *Milindapañha* and quotes it heavily in his *Visuddhimagga* and his Pali commentaries. Thus *Milindapañha* is anterior to *Visuddhimagga* and Buddhaghosa. Scholars point out that the *Milindapañha* dialogues differ little from the canonical dialogues and could be compared only with the best dialogues of the *Suttapiṭaka* which suggest a higher antiquity for the treastise. Scholars are of opinion that it is not essential to think that it was written during the life time of King Milinda. Mrs. Rhys Davids says[6] that it was written during the reign of Demetrius, the successor of Milinda, having obtained the records of the dialogue preserved in the king's palace. According to Ananda Maitreya,[7] *theras* who heard a debate composed the dialogues in the form of verses and brought down in the oral tradition by the monks of their lineage. Winternitz thinks the author of the *Milindapañha* had lived at a time when people's memory of the Greek king was still fresh. But as there was an end to the Greek rule in India soon after the death of Memander it can hardly be presumed that he would have been remembered for more than one century. In the light of the above data the majority of scholars generally assume that the original *Milindapañha* was written circa 1st century A. C.[8]

1. Law B. C. *History of Pali Literature* Vol. II. London 1933. p. 353.
2. *ibid op. cit*
3. *Questions of Milinda*, Tr. Rhys Davids (*SBE*) Vol. XXXV. Introduction, p. XII.
4. Law B. C. *op. cit.* p. 354.
5. Burma includes *Milindapañha* in the canon (*Khuddaka Nikāya*).
6. *Milinda questions*, Mrs. Rhys Davids 1930.
7. *Milindapañha*. ed. Ananda Maitreya, Colombo 1962, Intro p. v. (Sinhala Script).
8. Mrs. Rhys Davids has a theory of her own regarding the author of *Milindapanha*. She thinks that the recorded conversations of Milinda and Nagasena were edited in the New Book form after Milinda's death by a special commission by a Brahmana of Buddhist collegiate training named Manava. She points out that the author was not a convinced Buddhist and that he detached the first portion of *Milindapañha* and is in no way to be matched in style or ideas with the quite different dilemmas and the following portions (Law B. C. *History of Pali Literature*, Vol. II. p. 354).

The *Milindapañha* occupies a unique position among the non canonical Buddhist treatises. As I. B. Horner correctly points out the basic approach of the *Milindapañha* is intellectual when compared with Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* which has followed a meditative instructional approach or practical side of the Buddhist philosophy. The *Milindapañha* elucidates the main tenets of the Buddhist philosophy making the best use of similes or parables. The elucidation of controversial points is presented in the form of a dialogue a king named Milinda supposed to have had with a Buddhist monk named Nāgasena.

According to *Milindapañha* king Milinda was a well-informed scholar and a keen debater. He was well versed in various branches of learning and was an expert in argument. He wanted to understand the true essence of Buddhism which had raised for him several difficulties and knotty problems. He approached many teachers but none could help him.[9] As stated in the *Milindapañha* the Buddhist monks of the day were afraid of him and were reluctant to face him and retreated to the Himalaya mountain. This was the situation when king Milinda met the elder Nāgasena.

At the initial meeting of the two at Sankheyya pirivena, and after exchanging customary greetings the king inquired the name of the elder. The elder Nāgasena instead of a possible short answer, gave a philosophical answer.

"Oh great king, I am known as Nāgasena and my fellow monks call me Nāgasena. The parents when they name their children call them Nagasena, Sūrasena, Virasena, Sihasena etc. But those are only denotations, appellations, designations, a current usage, for Nāgasena in only a name. Since there is no person in reality."

The king replied "If revered Nāgasena, there is no person in reality who then is it that gives you the requisites of robe material, alms food, lodging and medicine for the sick, who is it that makes use of them, who is it that guards moral habits, practices (mental) development, realizes the paths, the fruits, nibbāna.... etc."

The king proceeded with the argument further "if you say friends address you as Nāgasena what here is Nāgasena. Are the hairs of the head are Nāgasena."

"Oh no, Great King"

"are the hairs of the body Nāgasena".

"Oh no"

"are the nails.... teeth, the skin....."

"Oh no"

"Is Nāgasena the feelings (*vedanā*) perception (*saññā*)....." etc.

"Oh no"

It was at this juncture that the elder Nāgasena brought forward the famous simile of the chariot and questioned the king whether the axle is the chariot etc. for which the king answered in the negative.

Thus the elder Nagasena explained to the king that even as different component parts individually do not make a chariot and that there is no chariot apart from the component parts, there is no person apart from material shape (*rupa*) feeling (*vedanā*) perception (*saññā*) habitual tendencies (*saṅkhāra*) and consciousness (*viññāṇa*) but they collectively make a person.

The king was thoroughly satisfied with the answer. With this preliminary discussion the king understood that he had met a teacher who could clear his doubts, and proposed to have the formal discussion at the palace the following day. The Elder said he was agreeable only if the king would have the dialogue not in the royal way (*rājavāda*); but in the academic way (*paṇḍitavada*). It is clear the elder Nāgasena wished to have the dialogue similar to a diaogue between equals. As *Milindapañha* says the king was so humble and said "be confident, you can talk to me as if you are talking to a novice or a person at your monastery."

The formal dialogue was arranged for the following day in the king's palace at Sāgala. It is said that the king received the Elder with due respect, provided alms and having taken a low seat, took up all his dilemmas one by one with the thera. The fundamental teaching of Buddhism is the theory of No Soul (*anattavāda*). In place of a soul that migrates from birth to birth Buddhism presents ever changing physi-

9. *Milindapañha* says that king Milinda visited the famous "six heretical teachers" such as Pūrana Kassapa etc. who were contemporaries of the Buddha and who had died long before the birth of Milinda. However it is possible the author of *Milindapañha* meant the contemporary teachers who followed the teachings of Pūrana Kassapa etc. at the time.

cal and psychical phenomena. The deepest spiritual problem with which the king was confronted with was his difficulty to understand the theory of *kamma* and *rebirth* in the context of ever changing physical and psychical phenomena without a transmigrating soul. The elder Nagasena solved the dilemma in a masterly way with the help of the 'simile of an infant and a grown up man', and the simile of a lamp that burns continuously during the first watch, middle watch and the final watch of the night, to the entire satisfaction on the king. The nature of *nibbāna*, Buddha's omniscience, whether the Buddha had ever lived, why the Buddha admitted Devadatta to the order (without looking into the problems he would create) are some of the problems discussed. Similarly the apparent contradictory statements in the canon were also taken up and discussed.

With regard to the points discussed in the *Milindapañha* I. B. Horner observes: "its avowed aim is to dissipate occasions for doubts that may arise from the apparent inconsistency of various canonical or other statements, and to resolve these inconsistencies and these doubts so that future generations may be in possession of the true answers to such perplexing dilemmas, and further contentions about them be avoided. It is a remarkable thing that a compiler at the end of the early or classical period of Pali Literature faced these difficulties with courage, clear sightedness and intelligence. He must have either recorded conversations that had actually taken place, or were believed to have taken place between the determined and extremely acute and able king (who was probably a Greek Bactrian or, better, a Bactrian Greek, *Yavana, Yona)* and equally able monk Nāgasena; or else he must have thought out the conversations himself, collecting and adding to them down the years, perhaps with the aid of colleagues and pupils, and then making them the substance, core and pivot of the comprehensive work he and or his successors finally compiled".[10]

Rhys Davids[11] sees a similarity between the points discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* and *Milindapañha* and also agreement among their views:

"There are a number of points raised in Tissa's discussions which are also discussed by the author of the *Milindapañha*. In every instance the two authors agree in their views. Nagasena in the Milinda always advocates the opinion which Tissa puts as that of Theravādins." Thus the *Milindapañha* may also be discussed as an attempt of the Theravādins to meet the criticisms of the opponents.

The book consists of seven books or chapters or parts. The first part named secular talk (*Bāhira kathā*) deals with personal history of king Milinda and the Elder Nāgasena, commencing from their previous births and it forms the background to the dialogue to follow. The dialogue proper begins with the second book. Many scholars do not think that the *Milindapañha* consisting of seven books or parts as a unified product of a single author and they divide the book into earlier part and the later parts. It is the terse style of the earlier part of the work and the developed literary skill of later parts that formed the basis for their division.

M. Winternitz[12] thinks "Only a small portion of the introductory book and book III are old and genuine. Even in book III some later additions have crept in. By far the largest portion of the book, more than five sixths has been added in Ceylon (Sri Lanka)."

As already stated the *Milindapañha* has been translated into Chinese[13] and two Chinese translations are extant. In the Chinese Buddhist literature it is known as *"the book of bhikshu Nāgasena Sūtra"*. The absence of the books IV-VII in the Chinese translation possibly confirms the opinion that the original had only three chapters.

It is also seen even in the context of the contents, there is a marked difference between the earlier part and the parts identified as the later parts. Though the earlier part takes up the dilemmas pertaining to the theory of *anatta, kamma*, whether the person who is

10. *Milinda's Questions*, Tr. I. B. Horner, Intro. p. XXI.
11. *Questions of Milinda*, Tr. Rhys Davids 1849, Intro. p. XX.
12. Winternitz M. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, (Motilal Banarsidass), Delhi 1993, p. 171.
13. Nanjio B. *Catalogue of the chinese Translations of the Buddhist Tipiṭaka*, Oxford 1883, Entry No. 1358. Apparently there are more than one Chinese translations. Rhys Davids speaks of two, one long and one short (*ERE*, VIII, p. 632). Schrader F. O. (who translated *Milindapañha* into German to be completed By Nyanatiloka) p. 119 is of the view that there is only one Chinese translation. According to Rhys Davids (*ERE*. VIII. 682) the original Indian work which formed the basis for the Chinese translation had seven books. But the translator droped the last three books (dealing with "Arahanth" concept) because he had no interest in Arahant concept. Rhys Davids also refers to a Tibetan translation (*ibid*) yet to be examined. Rhys Davids (*ibid*) further admits that the puzzle with regard to *Milindapañha* is yet to be settled.

reborn is the same or different from the person who died, later parts takes up petty matters such as the purpose of venerating relics of the Buddha, why Buddha admitted Devadatta to the *sāsana* etc.

As regards the contents of book II, Winternitz[14] observes: "If in some of his earlier births of which *jātakas* speak, Bodhisatta had mistakes and vices, then, the author of book V of the *Milindapañha* endeavors to purify him by washing it off, because for him the Bodhisatta is quite identical with the perfect Buddha.

On his opinion that the original *Milindapañha* had only three chapters. Winternitz further states: "the end of the third book constitutes also a good conclusion to the work which everyone would consider to be complete if books IV-VII did not follow".[15]

There exists a mystery or a puzzle as regards the sources quoted by the author of the *Milindapañha*. He draws on innumerable canonical sources for illustration of points. He often identifies the source by its name i.e., names of *suttas*, names of the canonical work etc. But there are a large number of quotations where he has not divulged the source which Horner calls "silent" references. However Rhys Davids and also Horner[16] have been successful in tracing the sources which the author of the *Milindapañha* has not given. Out of 316 entries that fall into the category of the 'silent' references Rhys Davids is successful in tracing the source except for 88 which he has left out as 'untraced'. Horner has gone further and was successful in tracing the source of some of the quotations left out by Rhys Davids as untraced. According to her (Miss Horner) approximately sixty references still remain to be traced.

The puzzle is further aggravated with regard to some verses attributed to a number of well known *theras* such as Sariputta, Moggallāna the Great, Anuruddha, Upali, Rāhula Vangīsa, Cullapanthaka, Mogharāja, Upasena and Vangantaputta. The sources of these verses remain untraced and are named 'Extra Canonical *Thera* verses' by Mrs. Rhys Davids.[17] Here, too, Horner[18] has traced a couple of references out of 34 verses which Mrs. Rhys Davids has not been successful in tracing the source, Horner has observed that a couple of those verses are attributed to some other persons elsewhere i.e. to the Buddha, and one or two verses in the *Milindapañha* attribution has been confirmed. In addition to 'extra canonical thera verses' some verses of extra canonical lay-women followers are also noted namely Cula Subhadda.

As regards the inability to trace the sources of some of the quotations in the existing Pali canon, Horner offers several possibilities (1) whether there was more Pali canonical literature than has come down to us; (II) whether we are tracing them in the wrong cannon (i.e. those quotations might have been taken from the Sarvastivāda canon); (III) whether there was, from early days, a "stock, a common fund of verses" floating about from which the author or a compiler drew for his use as the occasion seemed to him to demand; (IV) whether the compiler himself coined the verses and attributed them to well known theras (For a detail discussion pl. refer to translator's introduction to *Milinda's questions,* Vol. I. Horner I.B. *PTS.* London 1963. p. x. ff).

However Rhys Davids has observed some weaknesses in the logic of the *Milindapañha*. "The favourite method is to invent an analogy to explain some position and takes for granted the analogy, proves the position taken to be true and quite often when the right answer to a dilemma would be a simple matter of historical criticism, the answer given savours casuistry or is a mere play on the ambiguity of words. Then the author though he naturally avoids the blunders so often repeated in European books against Buddhism - that 'Nirvana' eg. is a state to be reached by a "soul" after it has left the body or a state not attainable except by 'a priest' or 'a monk' - does not stand on the ancient path".[19]

"*Milindapañha* has a marked style of its own. Its language is most elegant and studied against the background of ancient Indian prose. It is simply a masterpiece of writing. The charm of the style is captivating and there are passages that are eloquent in their mean-

14. Winternitz *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 172.
15. *Op. cit.*
16. Rhys Davids, *Questions of Milinda,* Introduction Vol. I and Horner I. B. Milinda's Questions Vol. II-Introduction.
17. Rhys Davids Mrs. C. A. F. *"Psalms of Brethren"*, p. 424.
18. Horner I. B. *op. cit.* Introduction XIII f.
19. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. VIII (Article on Milinda by Rhys Davids) p. 631.

ing and gesture. The perorations with which the long discussions are often closed are supreme inventions by our author. Its style and diction bear a close resemblance to and are some what matured than those of the famous 'Hastigumpa' inscription (of Khāravela) which is assigned by Dr. R. M. Barua to the second quarter of the first century A. C." observes B. C. Law.[20]

"The *Milindapañha* is a comprehensive exposition not only of Buddhist metaphysics, but also of Buddhist ethics and psychology. As such it is indispensable for the student of Buddhism. Apart from its importance as a Buddhist text the *Milindapañha* is, also, to be valued as a historical document and a literary achievement of great eminence. The *Milindapañha* provided an unsurpassed testimony to Indian Prose literature of the first century A.C. In short the *Milindapañha* occupies a unique position in Indian literature, whether looked at from the point of view of metaphysics or literature or history or knowledge of geography. It is an indispensable fact that, in post canonical literature no other treatise on Buddhism equals *Milindapañha*."[21]

The Pali Text Society has published the *Milindapañha* in two volumes edited by V. Trenckner in 1880. Two English translations are also available one by Rhys Davids under the title *Questions of Milinda* in two volumes (*SBE.* in 1890 and 1894) and another by I. B. Horner under the title *Milinda's Questions* in two volumes (*SBB.* published by the *PTS.* 1963 and 1964). In addition there are two German translations (Parts by F. D. Schrader 1905; and completed by Nyanatiloka 1919) and a French translation Book I-III by L. Finot 1923. There is a Sinhala translation by Hinatikumbure Sumangala under the title '*Saddharmādasaya*' written in the reign of King Kirthi Sri Rajasinghe (1747-82 A. C.) during the Kandy period. A *ṭīka* or a sub commentary[22] has been written on the *Milindapañha* called the *Milindaṭikā* (q.v) or *Madhuratthappakāsini* acquired in Siam (Thailand) in 1922-24. According to the colophon it was written by Tipiṭaka Cūlābhayatthera. Padmanab S. Jain[23] who edited the *ṭikā* for *PTS.* doubts its reported Sri Lankan origin and suggests that it may have been written in modern 'Cheing Mai' in Thailand in the year 1328 A. C. by a monk belonging to the Sīhala Saṅgha fraternity in Cheing Mai, Thailand.

As regards the merits of the *ṭīkā* the Editor is of opinion that "although the *Milindapañha* abounds in difficult terms and abstruse doctrinal points meriting a scholarly exposition, our author has chosen only a small number of words for comment and leaves untouched several points of interest.

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20. Law B. C. *History of Pali Literature* Vol. II p. 355-56.
21. Bapath P. V. *2500 years of Buddhism,* 1987 (reprint), Delhi. p. 184.
22. *Milinda Ṭīkā* ed. Padmanabh, S. Jain, *PTS.* London 1961.
23. *Ibid.* Editors Introduction, p. VIII.

MILINDĀ-ṬĪKĀ (var. *Madhuratthappakāsinī*) an exegetical work on the *Milindapañha*. It is called a *ṭīkā* 'sub-commentary' though no *aṭṭhakathā* of the Milinda is known to have been written.

The palm-leaf manuscript of this text has been recovered by Prof. P. Tuxen during his stay in Thailand in the years 1922-24 A. C. It was subsequently edited by Padmanabh S. Jaini in 1961, for the Pali Text Society, London.

The author of the *Milinda-ṭīkā*, as given in its colophon, was a monk named Mahātipiṭaka Culābhaya, a resident of the Mahāvihāra at Anuradhapura, (cf. *Milinda-ṭīkā (PTS)*, pp. 71f). It is, however, strange that there is no mention of this work in the chronicles of Sri Lanka, nor in any catalogue of manuscripts. Jaini denies the author's claim that he was a Sinhalese monk. In his opinion this work was compiled in Chieng-mai in Thailand by a monk who belonged to the Sīhaḷasaṅgha there.[1] (*op. cit.*, p. xiii).

Due to the obscurity of facts given therein, it is difficult to ascertain the date of this work. Nevertheless, it is evident that it was not written earlier than the beginning (or perhaps the middle) of the 13th century A. C., for a good number of texts referred to in it were written during the latter part of the 12th century. Jaini interprets the date as the 835th year of the *Śakarājavassa* and infers that the year 1474 A. C., could be the most plausible date.

The manuscript of the *ṭīkā* consists of 188 leaves written in legible Cambodian script. The exegesis is divided into four sections namely, *Pakiṇṇakatthavivaraṇaṃ*, *Jātakuddharaṇaṃ*, *Ganthasarūpaṃ* and *Saṃkhyāsarūpaṃ*.

The *Pakiṇṇakatthavivaraṇam*, which begins on a promising note, is the only part that can be properly termed a *ṭīka* on the text. In this section, it is described at length, the traditional sixfold ways of elucidating the meaning of a word. This is followed by the *ṭīkā* proper, which is purported to expound enigmatic words, phrases, etc. found in the *Milindapañha*. In that process Culābhaya thera in support of his readings, profusely quotes several other works including *ṭīkās* such as the *Abhidhānappadīpika*, *Vinayavinicchaya-ṭīkā*, *Aṅguttara-ṭīkā*, *Jinālaṅkāra-ṭīkā* and *Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā* some of which are still unpublished.

It is, however, noted that this work is of little value as an exegetical exposition. Not withstanding the fact that the *Milindapañha* is replete with problematic terms and abstruse doctrinal points demanding a scholarly examination, the author of the *ṭīkā* has chosen only a few of them-thus leaving out several points of interest. It is further observed that, of the 175 *pañhas* (91 in the *Milindapañha* and 84 in the *Meṇḍaka-pañha*) referred to by Cūlābhaya thera, only 110 are briefly touched upon, the remaining 65 *pañhas* being merely mentioned.

The second part called *Jātakuddharaṇaṃ* covers nearly three-fourths of the whole *ṭīkā*.[2] This section is apparently a commentary on those portions of the *Milindapañha*, which are directly or indirectly related to the appropriate *Jātaka*. Here, the author is obviously not content with merely tracing the verses and the *Jātakas* found in the *Milindapañha* to their original source, but reproduces all the twenty-four *Jātakas* together with their stories of the present *paccuppannavatthu* and the past-story *nidānakathā*. The *Jātakas* quoted in this section seem to have been based on a Burmese recension.

Yet another noteworthy feature in the *Jākakuddharaṇaṃ* is the corrections effected by the author in some of those *Jātakas* as they are given in the *Milindapañha*. Having spotted those errors Cūlābhaya thera further accounts for them by saying that the king Milinda had heard those stories from others. It must be said that he was the first to note those errors and to correct them (for details see, *op. cit*, p. x.).

Ganthāsarūpaṃ or the third section of the *ṭīkā* appears to be an appendix to the *Milindapañha*. "Only a few of these verses are traced to their original sources. Nevertheless, this collection of the quotations is of considerable value in determining the relation of our extant *Milindapañha* to the version on which this *ṭīkā* was based" (*op. cit*. pp. x-xi). It is, moreover, observed that the numbers given in this section do not tally with those given in the *Milindapañha*.

1. It may be noted in passing that when it is in favour of his argument Jaini, even provisionally, accepts the fact that the *Milinda-ṭīka* was originally written in Sri Lanka and that it was written in Sinhalese characters (cf. *ibid*, p. xiv).
2. The printed text does not reproduce the *Jataka* stories but merely makes reference to Fausböll's edition.

The final section of the sub-commentary is called the *Saṃkhyāsa-rūpaṃ* which can also be reckoned as a sort of appendix to the principal work following the pattern of the *Saṅgitisuttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. Several miscellaneous items occurring in the *Milindapañha* are collected here and presented in ascending numerical order. A remarkable feature of the work is the unusually long colophon in prose and verse. The prose passage is directly borrowed from the *Atthasālinī*.

C. S. Ranasinghe

MINAYEFF, J. P., a versatile Russian Buddhist Scholar of the 19th century who was domiciled in Rangoon, Burma. He spent many years to master Buddhist literature written in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit and edited and published several texts written in those languages which were not brought to light up to that time. He also translated some of those texts into Russian and English. Some of the Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit texts edited by him were published in the prestigious journal of the Pali Text Society of England (*JPTS*) _ They are:

1. *Cha-kesadhātu-vaṃsa* (The Chronicle of the Six Hair Relics) published in the *JPTS*. of 1885;

2. *Gandhavaṃsa* (The Chronicle of Buddhist Texts) published in the *JPTS*. of 1886;

3. *Sīmā-Vivāda-Vinicchaya-Kathā* (The story of the judgment regarding the controversy of boundaries) published in the *JPTS*. of 1887;

4. *Kathāvatthu-Pakaraṇa-Aṭṭhakathā* (The commentary to the treatise *Kathāvatthu*) published in the *JPTS*. 1889;

5. *Prātimokṣasūtra* (translated into Russian) published in the *JPTS*. of 1874;

6. *A Grammar of the Pali Language* (written in French and subsequently translated into English) published in the *JPTS*. of 1884;

7. *Petavatthu*, published in the *JPTS*. of 1889;

8. *Anāgatavaṃsa*, published in the *JPTS*. of 1886;

9. *Sandesakathā*, published in the *JPTS*. of 1885;

10. *Mahāvyutpatti*, published in Volume 13 of *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (Leningrad).

In addition to the above mentioned works he is accredited to have edited or translated several Buddhist Sanskrit works which have been published in other prestigious journals of his day.

Mabel Bode in her *Pali Literature of Burma*, introduction p. 10 says: "....and we ought also to profit by the labours of brilliant and far-seeing scholar Minayeff to whom we owe the discovery and publication (to mention only one work) *Gandhavaṃsa*-Book history written in Burma, a short but interesting account of the earlier Pali literature of Ceylon and Burma".

W. G. Weeraratne

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